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PREFACE

I am grateful to the Reception Committee of the Jaipur Session for contributing Rs. 1000/- towards the publication of this volume and to Sir Dorabji Tata Trust, Bombay, for a donation of a similar amount. My thanks are due to the Sectional Presidents who have selected the papers, to the members of the Indian History Congress who have helped me in seeing the volume through the press and to Messrs. Sree Saraswaty Press Limited, Calcutta.

P. C. GUPTA,
Secretary.

27th November 1953.

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MESSAGE

from

DR. RAJENDRA PRASAD

President, Republic of India

History is a key to the understanding of the social mind of every human grouping. It is, therefore, evident that a scientific history of India tracing the evolution and growth of the Indian mind throught all the preceding centuries is one of the greatest desiderata of our country. I hope the Indian History Congress which is engaged in the task of the re-construction of our history would enthuse our historians to complete this great task at as early a date as possible. May I make a suggestion? We have had a successful non-violent revolt in this country. The history of that movement has not yet been written. It would be a most fitting contribution to historical work if the Indian History Congress could undertake this work. It might ask for Government help and support. After some time the original material will become difficult to obtain, and so far as individuals who participated in it and can be regarded as living and walking records of it are concerned, their ranks are getting thinned every day. I would therefore urge the Congress to see if it can undertake this urgent and necessary work. I wish your Congress all success in its fourteenth session meeting at Jaipur on the 28th of this month.

21st December, 1951 RAJENDRA PRASAD

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

DR. G. S. SARDESAI

1. *Friends and Fellow-workers*

I feel very grateful to you for giving me the high honour of occupying the first seat on the dais this afternoon. Even more than that honour I value this opportunity of meeting so many friends, scholars and fellow-workers. As a humbler student in the same subject as yours, I have never aspired for the lime-light or worldly dignities. Since my early days I have confined my labour and attention to a limited field without any larger ambitions. I have all along been a very fortunate person in having gained special facilities for study and travel in Europe and India during my long career of service in Baroda, and in my present retirement at Kamshet. I thank Providence still more for the health and activity which I fortunately retain even at this age. I have ever regretted my ignorance of Persian, which I could not make up in later life. English, Sanskrit and Persian are altogether essential as a necessary equipment for those who have to handle the subject of Indian history. Now that I am in your midst, I beg you to tolerate my failings and extend to me your co-operation in the discharge of the duties to which you have called me. May I be, through your help, the unconscious instrument of doing at least one good turn to the cause of history which is so dear to the hearts of us all.

2. *Our Task*

The scope and method of history and the task before us have been dealt with by so many scholars and thinkers in the past, that I am sure, you will not expect me to discuss them here again. My distinguished predecessors in this chair have, each in his own way, ably reviewed our situation and clearly enunciated the principles of historical research, while emphasizing the need of constructing a comprehensive history of India, a work to which we all have been for long directing our best effort. I shall, therefore, dwell only on one practical aspect of the subject. I have recently read an illuminating little book, "History, its Purpose and Method" by G. J. Renier, Professor of Dutch History at the University of London, published last year, in which the entire subject of history has been well explained by the author and canons established for the guidance of workers in the subject. It agrees so well with what I have long thought and felt that I have no hesitation in borrowing from it.

It is admitted that authentic history is the story of civilized human societies as told by earnest students of the subject. For every human being the memory of his individual experiences is a matter of primary importance. Without it he can take no important decision, nor advance in the path of

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progress. He cannot even survive without keeping such memory constantly fresh. It is through history that man uses his accumulated experience. History ill-told and misapplied can be dangerous as we realize to our cost in India today. True history has thus to perform a great social service.

The historian who imagines that he can attain to final conclusions, or that he has risen above personal bias, lives in a fool's paradise. It is better, far better, that he should confess to himself and to his readers, the nature of his approach and display his bias, than assume an air of finality and objectivity which will put his readers off their guard. If posterity is to accept and cherish his story, the narrator must practise intellectual integrity, he must not delude. All history is the story of men,—both men in action and men in the course of being acted upon. The historian must attribute motives to the human actors and apply the postulate of causation to their behaviour. Thus history becomes a generalized account of the personal stories of men united in bodies for some public purpose. The value of the historian's narrative is constantly tested by the degree in which it fits in with the evidence gathered up to that time, but still more by the integrity which he brings to bear on his treatment of his subject as an intellectual worker.

It will be clear from this that the historian's task is entirely personal and individual. This is not only legitimate but unavoidable and indeed desirable. In his treatment of the subject, the author is guided by his entire personality,—his reading, his experience, his formed views and character, and his powers of observation and assimilation. The historian's conscience has a prior claim on his loyalty, his theories must occupy a second place. Intellectual honesty is even more important for the historian than for the scientist, for unlike the latter, the historian cannot submit his conclusions to the test of constant experiment. He knows that his work may go unchecked for generations and that he is, on that account, put on his honour. In most sciences experiment is an essential part of the process, in all of them there is prediction and constant verification by frequent observation. But the historian can never predict. He never does nor can predict the future. As a private person, the historian may express his views upon the future. The habit of establishing causal sequences gives him the power of connected insight only. He must feel satisfied that accepted history may become modified by newly detected evidence. This is equivalent of experiment in science.

3. *Research in Jaipur and North India*

For the national history of India which we are all eagerly looking out for, the first thing necessary in my opinion is a diligent and intensive search for the original materials lying unknown and often uncared for both in and outside our country. I shall be failing in my duty if I did not once again emphasize the importance of such a search. The vast northern regions—I mean Rajputana, Malwa, Bundelkhand, the Doab and the country beyond,—are still untapped. What that indefatigable worker V. K. Rajwade did for Maharashtra a generation ago, or the south Indian scholars have in recent years done for the Dravidian Peninsula, has yet to be attempted here in the

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north. Bengal, I believe, has been thoroughly ransacked. Jaipur itself is a gold mine for fresh material which needs a thorough investigation. Sir Jadunath Sarkar declared in his Bombay University Lectures in December 1940: "The Jaipur State archives contain the oldest, richest and most extensive store of records, viz., the Persian Akhbarat commencing from the third year of Aurangzeb's reign, and bundles of news-sheets written in the local dialect of Hindi called Dingal. Shivaji's visit to Agra is vividy described by the officers of Kumar Ramsingh the host of Shivaji there. These precious records are absolutely ungarbled for nearly three centuries now. A few Sanskrit letters written by Shivaji's son Sambhaji and the latter's minister Kavikalash to Ramsingh, have been discovered, throwing immense light on the heroic plans of that unfortunate Prince. Sambhaji seems to have resorted to Sanskrit in order to keep his plans secret.

Twenty-two bundles from these Jaipur papers were taken away by Tod, the historian of Rajasthan, and deposited by him with the Royal Asiatic Society of London. Sir Jadunath Sarkar took and brought back to India full transcripts of these 22 bundles. I have myself seen the Jaipur Daftarkhana and have the impression that the records are likely to yield some unexpected information of value, if they are minutely examined. For such a study one must be able to read not only the Persian but also the Hindi script and understand the old dialect current in Jaipur during the 17th and 18th centuries.

This part of our duty I earnestly recommend to workers in Rajputana, now represented by a University of its own. Upon inquiry I am informed that the Maharaja of Jaipur has allowed free access to these records for the purpose of historical study. In my opinion this should no longer remain a pious wish. The papers must be sorted, arranged and studied by experts; they need to be housed in a suitable building, not only for their proper preservation but also for supplying facilities to the students working among them. The care of archives has now grown into a science, and I would draw the attention of the local authorities to the necessity of making these arrangements immediately; otherwise time will play an irretrievable havoc among them. The Rajputana University appears to me the proper body to take charge of these records, for after all their best value now lies only in their contribution to history, and they have no use as personal possessions.

But Jaipur is only one among many old Rajput States. Bikaner has taken the lead in the collection and printing of old Sanskrit manuscripts. The Gulgule Daftar of Kotah is still awaiting publication; their owner must remember that the papers in his possession may soon crumble into dust and be lost for ever, unless they are carefully stored and looked after in a scientific manner. This Kotah Daftar is indeed of great value to the later history of Maratha rule in north India, mainly with reference to the houses of Sindia and Holkar. The owner will render a national service by handing them over to the Rajputana University or to any State Government of his choice.

Similarly Udaipur, Jodhpur, Bundi and the small States of Bundelkhand, have their own stores of records of the exact range and worth of which I have no idea. It should be very easy to examine and list them, if they could

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be brought to a suitable central place, as these States have now been merged into the Indian Union. To take an example, the Government records of Bombay have been now organized and thrown open to study with a suitable library of the necessary reference books. The historical documents of the former feudatory States of Kolhapur, Bawda, Miraj, Baroda, etc., now amalgamated with the Bombay State, have been made available to students through the Bombay Records Office. A similar concentration is necessary for North India. I am sure we have in this audience representatives of the northern Universities ; to them I appeal for a definite action being taken before we disperse.

These vast regions and their historic cities require a thorough hunt not only for old papers, but also for coins, inscriptions and other relics of the past. In temples and monasteries old inscriptions and deeds of grants in Sanskrit, Hindi and Persian may yet be lying undiscovered. Old royal courts and families have disappeared or changed their abodes, and hence it is quite possible that historical materials may yet be found where they are least expected, for instance, in private families which once enjoyed high office or royal patronage, but are now sunk into insignificance. For the younger generation of the north Indian scholars, there cannot be any nobler task than this. Let them imitate V. K. Rajwade's life-long devoted search in Maharashtra and they will be rewarded with his phenomenal success. I may be allowed to emphasize my appeal in this connection by quoting the instance of Roman History. An eminent writer says:

"We know that the history of the Roman Republic and Empire made an immense advance mainly through the publication of the *Corpus of Latin Inscriptions* on which the University of Berlin employed that indefatigable worker Theodor Mommsen, who, before his death in 1903, published some twenty volumes of it. His colleagues and pupils afterwards made valuable additions. The Corpus proved immensely fruitful for Roman history. Every department of private and public life was irradiated, the administration, the towns, the army, taxation, religion, art, social conditions, communications, etc. The immense scope of the work demanded a man of Mommsen's abilities."

I think we have a pressing need for undertaking a similar task in respect of Northern India. We must have a consolidated body of first class original records collected from different languages and arranged in volumes according to their topics and time. This Corpus should reproduce the original in its own language with English notes and summaries in order to guide a specialist student to the exact documents that he needs, though he may not be a master of so many different languages. The Jaipur State archives will supply a valuable nucleus. Here is a virgin field waiting for the investigator. Shall I live to see a response to this call?

In the south the large State of Haidarabad is another unimaginably rich field. I don't know how long its archives would take to be modernized, but unless this is done, investigation will not be facilitated. The divisional headquarters of this State and the homes of its jagirdars are likely to yield an

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equally rich and vast harvest, because it was an ancient practice to lodge official papers and despatches received, in the private houses of the departmental heads concerned. The homes of many of the saints and poets of Maharashtra are situated in the Haidarabad territory and need fresh search. Haidarabad badly needs a vigorous and well-trained expert to push matters through: otherwise no results can be expected.

Dr. Agrawala in his able address at the Cuttack session rightly emphasized a new cultural approach to history, which deserves our attention. "There is an incessant demand," he said, "for the rich cultural materials being presented and interpreted for each epoch. The historian cannot afford to remain indifferent to their appeal. The new historical model should be a cultural history of the Indian people as a whole, which should take note of the origin and evolution of the manifold aspects of India's national life in the past as exemplified in social institutions, literature, arts, sculpture, painting, architecture, economic forces, movements of religion and philosophy, political vicissitudes and inter-social exchange, which form the glory of India's past." We leave this task to future generations when Pakistan and India are sure to form a lasting union. I wonder how many students have turned their attention to the immense wealth of old Indian inscriptions, published and unpublished. In this respect I must say I was very much fascinated by the large volume of Sanskrit inscriptions recently published by the Calcutta University edited by Dinesh Chandra Sarkar. It contains valuable historical material.

4. *Politics and Muslims*

It is often said that History is dead Politics. But that does not mean that History can be neglected by the politician. Indeed, it is a potent factor in influencing the course of current politics, and very often it can help the statesman in solving grave problems of his own day. The current notion that history repeats itself, is true only in the sense that the same problems of human relations in the mass, reappear age after age through different guises and under changed external circumstances.

Therefore, at the present day, more than at any other time, the study of true history is a necessary equipment of the average citizen, be he in Pakistan or in Bharat. The destiny of both parts of this land of our birth is clearly in the hands of our rising generation.

Has not our past any light to throw on our path towards remedying our present troubles? The Muslim League elected to set up a separate state on the contention that the Hindus and Muslims form two different nations. But is this theory tenable? And even granting that they are separate nations, must they for ever remain so in future? Do we not see the most diverse elements of humanity coming together not only in this modern age of science, but even in the bygone ages of the Aryan expansion both in the east and the west? Let History answer.

The Muslim separatist has used his past records to support his case. He is doubtless inspired by the story of the great events connected with the lives

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of his Prophet and the Prophet's conquering successors. He is equally proud of the great historical figures like Mahmud of Ghazni, Ala-ud-din Khilji and the Emperor Aurangzeb, whose life-stories have made a permanent impression upon Muslim hearts.

But side by side with these heroes, History also records the achievements of an Akbar or a Malik Ambar, which present the necessary corrective by dissolving the corrosive acid of religious dogma. The records of the old Mughal Empire are eloquent on my side. The phenomenal prosperity that India acquired during the peaceful reign of Shah Jahan is a matter of just pride to Hindus and Muslims alike, as it was the result of their mutual co-operation. It was the wealth of Bengal during later Muslim rule that attracted the cupidity of the European merchants and imperialists.

Nalanda was for centuries a nursery of culture. Its colleges attracted students from China, Japan, Korea, Tibet, Mongolia and Khorasan. The present times similarly need a synthesis of different cultures, conducted by a syndicate of scholars who will devote themselves to ameliorating the lot of distressed humanity. What a splendid prospect such a noble task presents to the best brains and the catholic hearts among the Hindus and the Muslims, the Christians and the Buddhists alike!

Our Himalayan regions, now a theatre of warring elements, are inviting material development all round for their mineral resources, forest wealth and water power, a task which can absorb any amount of energy and enterprise. The days of Changiz Khan and Tamerlane are gone ; a new era of conquest and valour has dawned for the Turk and the Arab, for the Sikh and the Gurkha, for the Rajput and the Lama. All these will have plenty to fight for, instead of wasting time before the United Nations. Here is a chance for all to combine and co-operate for improving their lot, not by the brute force of war, plunder and massacre, but by the hazards of the type once undertaken by Huentsiang and Sven Hedin. We have to discover and utilize the tremendous potentialities of the mountainous north, its forests, rivers and mines. The Arab once conquered the world, the Aryans carried their civilization to the far eastern lands beyond the seas. I wonder how many have noticed the great ideological contrast between the life-work of two great figures of our history, the Prophet Muhammad (570-632) and the Emperor Shṛi Harsha (590-647), whose contemporary careers deserve to be put in their right historical setting. Our politicians and leaders of thought must turn their energies to a study of past history and future ventures, if our lot has to be ameliorated. A changing epoch needs a different line of advance.

Religion as a basis of citizenship for a modern State is an inadequate if not a false criterion under present day conditions of life, which are regulated not by traditional dogmas but by competition in education, industrial advance and economic forces. We must realize that the world is fast changing from ancient ideals, and requires for our very existence the adoption of new scientific methods. Today both the Hindus and the Muslims are equally freed from the bondage of foreign rule and possess equal opportunities for showing their worth in all the new avenues of life—army, navy, aviation, modern industry

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and scientific research, in all of which the stimulus of the highest modern training is necessary, if we are to stand abreast of our Western competitors.

The eminent Chief Justice of Bombay, Mr. Chagla has remarked in his book, *Law, Liberty and Life,* published recently: 'A truly educated man is of necessity a cultured man ; a cultured mind is a balanced mind ; it has toleration for weakness, sympathy for suffering ; it hates cruelty, injustice, sin wherever it is found." This thread of human sympathy sets a moral standard for all of us to follow.

Every sensible man feels that partition is no lasting solution of India's problem of problems. Half the Muslim population have to render allegiance to the Indian Government. They form something like a pawn against Hindus being persecuted by the Pakistan rulers. India has declared her Government to be entirely secular, religion having no concern with politics ; religion is confined to the private and home life of the person concerned. Under the stress of science and progress religion has ceased to dominate politics all the world over. The Muslim world outside India is rapidly modernizing on the European model ; Kamal Pasha has led the way. One may form fresh unions and blocks, but they will no longer be on a religious basis. Science and economics are the ruling factors which regulate the politics of the mid-twentieth century. If the Hindus of Bharat treat their Muslim brothers with justice and make them feel that their interests are safe in their keeping, the result is bound to react beneficially upon the whole problem. Mutual trust and unity of interests are alone the lasting solution and not the preaching of the two-nation cult. Far-seeing thoughtful men are already advocating a fresh solution on the lines of reason, humanity, and national interest. History has long since endorsed the same course. Destiny has brought the two communities together on the same soil for nearly ten centuries: they must either endure each other or both perish.

The three dissected parts of India,—the north-west, the central including the Deccan peninsula, and the north-east are one in geography, economics, cultural heritage and past history through twenty centuries and more. My life-long study of our country's history gives me the vision of a united India, in which all sects will be pressing forward to face the world in open competition like brothers with equal opportunities and no political discrimination on the ground of religion. I am fast advancing to the end of life and may not live to see that glorious day, but I am sure that my dream will come true one day. Whom God and Nature have made one, man cannot separate.

I am not dreaming and in order to show that the process of unification is fast permeating every phase of Indian life, let me quote a recent personal experience. Last autumn I spent a month in a Nursing Home at Bombay, where I found high-class Brahman nurses, married and un-married, served patients of all classes, Muslims included. My next room patient was a Muslim gentleman and that same nurse served us both with equal devotion, giving the enema, the sponge-bath, food and medicine without the least distinction or delicacy. I was agreeably surprised to see this example of duty, love and service. Where is the room for abduction, thought I, when I see such a

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genuine fusion in all walks of life? I spoke to that forty-year old married nurse on this subject, and she assured me that they made no distinction between Hindus and Muslims in serving humanity. This struck me as unique and symptomatic of the real trend in which Indian national life is being shaped anew.

5. *My Message*

I began my apprenticeship in history when I made a Marathi translation of Seeley's *Expansion of England*. It was my good fortune to present a copy of it personally to Professor Seeley at Cambridge in 1892 and listen to an interesting discourse on the history of the East from his lips. That was sixty years ago. Today at the other end of life I can think of no better message to the younger students of history than this: "Take up the work that comes to your hand and do it with all your heart, regardless of what others say. Don't wait for perfection, for time does not stand still. The opportunity once rejected may not come again."

This has been my experience. When, after long years of hesitation, the British administrators of Bombay relented and called on me to explore and publish the immense mass of Marathi records in the Peshwa's Daftar, I plunged into the task and completed the work in a practical manner, after four years of unflagging labour, without well paid and trained assistants, without a decent reference library, and surrounded by an expectant public clamouring to know what those old Maratha records contained. If I had declined in view of the disadvantages, or if I had dragged the work over many more years in search of abstract perfection, who knows, the Daftar may have remained a sealed book to the public. Because, after we started, the financial stringency and the shadow of the coming world war led to the Government grant being stopped after the third year. However, I managed to raise subscriptions for the fourth year's expenses and pushed the task to its planned completion, although no one was more conscious than myself of the many glaring blemishes that it contained.

Thus the original State papers of Maratha history were at last brought within the reach of scholars in all parts of the world, in the form of handy printed volumes transcribed in clear Devanagari characters and no longer kept hidden in bundles of loose faded papers in the illegible Modi handwriting of the original scribes.

The work thus completed was severely condemned by my worthy friend Dr. Surendra Nath Sen, who from his presidential chair at the Madras Session of this Congress in 1944, felt himself called upon to describe it "as a pitfall and snare, being an indifferently printed source-book and that it was much better to leave the archives unpublished and refer the beginner to the manuscript sources." At this distance of time I have no wish to return the shuttlecock and humbly bow to my friend's estimate of this phenomenal undertaking and beg a little more tolerance from him. In this connection I would like to inform the audience now before me, that the imperfections of this Peshwa Daftar Series were not unknown to me ; and long before 1944, during the

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summer of 1939 I called together at Kamshet a band of more than a dozen experts, professors and scholars of Maharashtra ranging from Kolhapur to Nagpur, and labouring night and day in their midst, revised the whole series, correcting dates, misreadings, etc. with meticulous care and prepared a fresh edition for a reprint adding cross references and notes. This revised work for all the 45 vols. is now lying with the Director of Archives of Bombay, and I do hope, when he continues the publication programme of the Peshwa Daftar, he will make such use of it as he deems fit. It is some consolation to me that the other series of fourteen English volumes of the Poona Residency Correspondence is now nearing the end ; the last volume is at present being printed. Thus my life's task is done and I cheerfully leave the field to posterity.

6. *Our Immediate Needs*

Thus far I have made only a few general reflections. I now wish to give you some practical suggestions on points which I have long revolved in my mind. This Indian History Congress has now been in existence for some fifteen years. What it has failed to do we know very well and needs no retelling here. We should rather think of how we can do better in the future. For this we must take note of the present situation of Indian historical studies. There has been an immense and nation-wide awakening as to the value of history and the duty of contributing something solid and worthy of world acceptance in the task of unveiling India's past life through the centuries. We have students eager to learn, scholars anxious to do research in this field and universities ready to help and reward fresh studies. The common newspapers and magazines are ready to lend their pages to historical writers ; and the general public are willing to read with appreciation every bit of new information about the country's past. Thus the soil has been prepared and invites us with the prospect of a rich and immediate harvest.

This intense awakening has come up against a severe difficulty in respect of many important source-books, particularly in Marathi, which have gone out of stock and can no longer be procured for study. The Peshwa Daftar selections just mentioned forming a set of 45 volumes, the books printed long ago by Rajwade and Parasnis and many others, have ceased to be available in the market. A new printing of these primary sources is urgently called for if our study of history is not to stop. I myself planned and printed an entirely revised edition of my *Marathi Riyasat* Series and reached the year 1750. Volumes subsequent to this date are held up since 1943 for want of paper and printing facilities, so that I now face the dismal prospect of quitting the world without placing before the public the fully gathered harvest of a long and laborious life.

It is also a matter of serious injury to historical studies that even the ill-edited Peshwa Daftar Selections can no longer be procured on account of their dispersal during the war. I may, however, remind my readers in this connection that some two hundred complete sets were distributed gratis by the Bombay Government to libraries, institutions and individual workers

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throughout India. Some of the Maratha States now merged in Bharat, do own these sets which are no longer needed by their possessors. I would advise the owners that they freely offer these for study to the various universities or other public institutions, where needy students can easily get them for their use.

In such circumstances our first duty is to afford the greatest help within our power to students of history, so that there may be no waste of efforts through lack of proper guidance or the overlapping of research by reason of the mutual isolation of workers in the same field. The foremost need of the moment appears to me to be to organize at once the editorial office of our History Project into a sort of intellectual Labour Exchange or Bureau of information and contact, to which any student wishing to study a particular branch of Indian history may apply for guidance and which will ungrudgingly satisfy his curiosity. This Bureau ought also to be in a position to inform a scholar in need of a rare book or manuscript where in India he can find it. Likewise this Bureau should publish periodically a list of subjects on which scholars are already at work. This will save duplication and overlapping.

It is not humanly possible that one centre will contain all the experts in the various branches of study. We should circulate precise information as to where and how the best guidance on particular subdivisions of Indian history is available.

For helping young workers bibliographies of sources should be printed from time to time with clear indication of subjects which are already occupied territory under research workers. The bibliography to be supplied to the research student must be selective and critical. It must indicate the primary sources and warn the worker against common-place or derivative compilations. Mere indiscriminate all-embracing catalogues will not do.

This highest task of a central organization of Indian history will involve money: but I feel convinced that money will come in, as the devoted labour of competent selfless editors like my friends Prof. Nilakanth Shastri and others of the present Editorial Board, is now assured. A series of source-books in the different subdivisions of Indian history is a great necessity and can well follow the model of the *Patrasar Sangraha* issued by the Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal of Poona for the life of Shivaji.

What we elderly persons assembled here think and write year after year, hardly ever permeates to our schools and colleges or the general public. We must not rest with planning and writing a national history ; we must see to it that this fresh knowledge is freely spread to the rising generation of our students. The teachers among us know too well what sort of stuff comes to be ultimately doled out to the vast number of history students all over the country. No, the best in literature and art must filtrate down to the lowest masses. History must no longer remain a preserve of the high-brow, a dainty available only to a select few. True history must be freely disseminated, if our nation is to succeed in its present ambitions. For many years past I have silently observed our field of historical activity throughout the country and noticed many imperfections in its working which are so patent and obvious

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that I would not dilate on them here. There is above all plenty of scope for the inter-provincial exchange of knowledge and research. At present most of the States of this vast country live almost as strangers to each other. May not this History Congress act as the liaison body bringing about a more intimate contact between the scattered units and remove the causes of unnecessary frictions? If history emphasizes the essential unity of this Bharat land, it must take all steps in its power to make the unity an accomplished fact.

In my solitary musings I often ponder on the tasks that lie before us. But one duty stands supreme over others. It is the realization of the truth that history is a picture of the eternal irrepressible human endeavour. A nation or race is judged at the bar of history not by its military conquest, by the two feet of ground gained by its ancestors at the cost of two thousand human lives, but by what its members had done to expand the human mind, promote the happiness and power of the human race, or console the hearts of unborn generations. These are the imperishable gifts of history. As he meditates on them, the true historian rises above racial prejudice, provincial patriotism, religious bigotry. He feels that he is a citizen of the world, a brother of every other man. India alone of all nations of the world can lead such a mission. This is the noblest task that lies before us.

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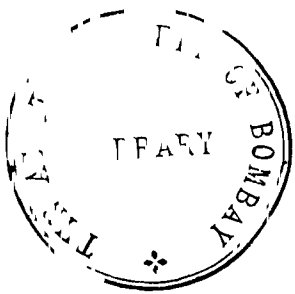
SECTION I

ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY

UP TO 711 A. D.



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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

DR. U. N. GHOSHAL

Friends and Fellow-workers,

From the beginning of this great institution of the Indian History Congress, it has been my lot to watch its onward march to progress with unfeigned satisfaction, though not always as actively as I could have wished. Now that you have honoured me by asking me to participate actively in its deliberations, it will be my endeavour to serve it to the best of my ability, and I confidently look forward to your valued co-operation to make it a success.

In so far as this first section of your Congress is concerned, the task of offering a comprehensive survey of the present state of historical studies in all its branches has been done so well by your Sectional President for the eleventh session that it is superfluous for me to cover the same ground over again only after three short years. I propose instead to devote my address to the brief consideration of a topic which may not be uninteresting to you in the present context of our status as a member of the comity of free and independent nations of the world.

The subject of political institutions in Ancient India has engaged the serious attention of a large number of our scholars for some time past. To them we owe an inestimable debt for the care with which they have unearthed the numerous and valuable data from the most varied sources of our ancient history, as well as for their interpretations which, though not always convincing, have invariably been suggestive and stimulating. And yet I cannot but feel that the time has come for a more critical approach to the study of this valuable aspect of our ancient civilisation. This task I have set before myself in my *History of Hindu Public Life,* of which the first part dealing with the period of the Vedic *Saṁhitās* and the *Brāhmaṇas* was published in 1945, and the second and third parts relating to subsequent times down to the end of the Gupta period is in an advanced stage of preparation. On the present occasion I crave your indulgence for using a small extract from the unpublished portion of this work to illustrate my views on the subject. In brief, my discourse will deal mainly with some aspects of our ancient political institutions during the five or six centuries intervening between the end of the epoch of the Vedic *Saṁhitās* and the *Brāhmaṇas* and the rise of the Maurya empire, or to put it briefly, the pre-Maurya period.

At the outset I have to notice the extraordinary paucity of truly historical documents relevant to our study. Indeed, within the chronological limits defined above, such documents are practically confined to a relatively small tract of country at a fixed date. I am referring, of course, to the writings of the Greek and Roman authors relating to the monarchies and republics of the Indus valley at the time of Alexander's invasion. These writings, as is well-known, are based upon the reports of Alexander's officers who were highly

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trained observers with almost unique opportunities of watching contemporary events in the land. In their accounts of social and religious conditions of the Indians, they could sometimes be misled by wrong information or by hasty generalisations. But with their experience of States and governments, they could be trusted to draw a true picture of Indian political institutions in their time. It must, however, be admitted that the great value of these observations is to a large extent discounted by their fragmentary character.

For the rest, the most important authorities for our present purpose consist of historical traditions relating to well-known kingdoms and republics that are preserved in the Buddhist and Jaina canonical works. Fragmentary as they are, these traditions deserve high credit. For not only do they go back to a relatively high antiquity,—the Pali canon being generally assigned to the first century after Buddha's death, and the Śvetāmbara Jaina canon to the period following *c.* 300 B.C.—, but they refer to characters and incidents that were allegedly associated with the careers of founders of the two faiths. Even where, as in the case of prefaces to the Vinaya regulations, the stories might be suspected to be apocryphal, their account of political institutions and principles may safely be taken to be based upon genuine tradition. Of the later traditions and legends like those that have clustered around the figure of king Udayana of Kauśāmbī from Bhāsa's time onwards, it is only necessary to say that their value for obvious reasons is almost negligible.

The historical traditions to which we have referred above are relatively scanty. A more copious, though less authentic, source consists of the general notices of monarchical and other governments that are found in three distinct classes of works, *viz.* the *Dharmasūtras,* the *Arthaśāstra* and the *Jātakas.* To these have to be added the similar references in the Buddhist and Jaina canon supplementing their more or less genuine historical traditions noticed above, as well as the data of Pāṇini and his fellow grammarians. To utilise this mass of material, it is necessary in the first place to assess the relative worth of the different sources. Now the *Dharmasūtras,* as is well-known, deal with the type of society and State which is featured in the older Vedic literature. But while the ideas of the older authors about the working of the social units are embedded in a mass of hymns and prayers or charms and incantations (as in the *Ṛgveda* and the *Atharvaveda*), or else are inter-twined with dogmatic exposition of the sacrificial ritual (as in the *Yajus-Saṁhitās* and the *Brāhmaṇas*), it was left to the *Dharmasūtras* to give a systematic account of the same. What is more, the conception of the king as a distinct unit of the social system made it possible for the *Dharmasūtras* to deal independently with this institution for the first time. The account of the *Dharmasūtras,* however, is subject to two important drawbacks. In the first place, by taking the king to be an indispensable element of the social scheme, they were led almost completely to ignore the non-monarchical type of polity (*saṁgha* or *gaṇa*) which, as we know from other sources, played no mean part in contemporary public life. Secondly, the *Dharmasūtras* deal with the king's function not in its objective aspect, but in the background of his *dharma* which has its distinctive place in the comprehensive *dharma* of the *varṇas* and the

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āśramas. It is evident that this attitude could not but lead to an imperfect consideration of aspects of the king's government which were not strictly relevant from the point of view of his *dharma*. On the other hand, it has to be remembered that the king's *dharma* in the *Dharmasūtras* is not a mere abstract principle, but it is institutionalised in the shape of concrete rules and principles governing his relations with his people. It follows from the above that in the history of Vedic literature the *Dharmasūtras* give us the first systematic, though far from complete, account of the institutions of government. Again, because of the high authority belonging to these works as a branch of the Vedic literature, the standard laid down by them for the king's guidance as regards general principles as well as concrete details of administration could not but leave its stamp in an undefined measure upon later political development.

Unlike the *Dharmasūtras* which are dominated by the Vedic theological tradition, the works of the *Arthaśāstra* schools and teachers (of which unfortunately we have only one complete specimen in the undoubtedly late treatise of Kauṭilya), grew up independently of this influence. In this difference of their outlook we have to seek the key to their distinctive treatment of political institutions. The type of society and State treated in the *Dharmasūtras* and the *Arthaśāstra* works is essentially the same, as it consists of the standard list of four *varṇas* and four *āśramas* with a king ruling the same. But while the *Dharmasūtras*, as stated above, look at the institutions of government from the standpoint of the king's *dharma*, the *Arthaśāstra* by contrast deals with the same (in fact, if not in theory) in the light of his temporal interests and sometimes even of those of the individual *amātya* or other official. In contrast with the *Dharmasūtras*, again, the *Arthaśāstra*, true to its meaning, treats the art of government in the widest sense of the term, so as to comprise the whole body of the king's administration, not excluding inter-State relations and the art of war. Thus the *Arthaśāstra* gives us what is wanting in the *Dharmasūtras* —a realistic (we might almost say, a scientific) treatment of political institutions which, for reasons that it is not possible to explain in the present place, we would assign to the pre-Maurya times. To the *Arthaśāstra* we owe our oldest known account of a strong centralised administration controlled by the king and a highly trained and organised bureaucracy, a complete code of laws, an elaborate system of inter-State relations and a highly developed scheme of internal and foreign policy. In these respects the *Arthaśāstra* masters doubtless drew upon their experience of historical administrations. At the same time because of the thoroughness of their treatment they could not but influence, for good or for evil, the lines of subsequent development. We may sum up by saying that the *Arthaśāstra* has preserved for us a more complete picture of pre-Maurya public life in all its branches than any other source, while at the same time it has helped to shape its future growth on realistic lines.

Unlike the canonical *Dharmasūtras* and the technical *Arthaśāstra*, the *Jātakas* (or to give them their full title, the *Jātakatthavaṇṇanā*) constitute a body of folklore which for its size is unrivalled in the literature of the world. The stories (nearly 500 in number) consist, as is well known, of five parts, *viz*. 'the story of the present' giving the occasion on which the story is told

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by the Buddha (*paccuppannavatthu*), (b) 'the story of the past' in which the Buddha tells the story of his previous birth (*atītavatthu*), (c) 'the verses' constituting the core of the story (*gāthā*), (d) 'the word-for-word commentary' on the *gāthās* (*veyyākaraṇa*), and (e) 'the connection' identifying the characters of the present times with those of the past (*samodhāna*). Of these parts the second and the third have long been recognised to be a mine of precious information for the social, economic, religious and political conditions of the people of Northern India in the early centuries of Buddhism. In so far as the material bearing on the public life of the times is concerned, the stories often give us vivid pictures of the activities of kings, queens, princes, ministers and other officials down to the meanest subjects, in the context of their normal, almost day-to-day, life. In particular, while they illustrate the high and even noble ideals inspiring the best rulers, they throw at the same time a lurid light upon the ugly spots of the administration which are apt to be ignored in the more or less formal statements of the canonists and the political thinkers. The authors of the *Jātakas*, again, were evidently men of worldly experience and shrewd wisdom. Their accounts are evidently based on keen observation of contemporary institutions, while their piquant comments put into the mouths of human as well as non-human actors in the scenes often reflect intelligent criticism of the same. It must, however, be admitted that a great gulf separates these naïve tales of fictitious kings and their subjects from genuine historical tradition. Not only do we miss in them important details, but the institutions themselves are apt to be simplified from the point of view of the story-teller. Sometimes, again, the influence of the elevated ethics and the stern monastic discipline of Buddhism has combined to warp the authors' description as well as judgment of the ancient institutions. With all these faults it seems not unreasonable to conclude that the picture of pre-Maurya public life in the *Jātakas* is more true to life than that found in the other sources.

Of the minor sources bearing upon our present problem it is unnecessary to speak at great length. As for the general references in the Buddhist and Jaina canon to the working of the ancient monarchical and republican administrations, they are evidently of high value. They belong to the same circle of ideas as the genuine historical traditions and share in the characteristics of the same. To this we have to add that the casual and matter-of-fact fashion in which their data are always given is a guarantee of their being true to life. Turning to the last-named source, I have to observe that the data of the grammarians are the scantiest in amount. But what they lack in quantity is compensated by their quality. This follows as a natural consequence of the strictly impersonal and objective character of the rules laid down by those authors.

In the above I have endeavoured to set forth, as briefly as I could, a critical estimate of the sources of our knowledge of pre-Maurya political institutions. It is, I think, only by co-ordinating the scattered lines of evidence contained in these different sources that we can hope to re-construct, in however incomplete a fashion, the lost history of those institutions. I shall now attempt to examine one or two views of well-known scholars regarding the relations of the king to his people in those times. These views, it seems to

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me, are based on forced interpretations of isolated texts in disregard of the general attitude of the works concerned. To begin with the first view, we are told in a *Jātaka* story (i. 398) how a king of Takkhasilā, when his favourite queen made a request for grant of authority and dominion (*issariya* and *āṇā*) over the whole realm, turned it down with the following words. "Madam," said he, "I have no authority over those who live throughout my kingdom. I am not their lord and master. I have jurisdiction only over these who revolt or do iniquity. For this reason it is not possible for me to give you authority and dominion over the whole kingdom." This has been held (Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, *Lectures on the Ancient History of India,* 135) to point in the clearest terms to "the limitation of the kingly power" and further to show that "the king could not possibly have been invested with uncontrolled and unlimited power" at least during the period from 650 to 325 B.C. How a solitary statement found in a popular tale, for which no parallel can be traced in the authoritative *Smṛiti* or *Arthaśāstra* literature, can be elevated into a fundamental constitutional principle determining the mutual relations of king and people for at least three centuries, it is difficult to understand. The statement itself, to judge from the context, is probably nothing more than a dodge used by a king in a popular tale for refusing the unreasonable request of his queen. Admitting the text to have a high constitutional significance, it has to be assumed that our ancient folk-literature has preserved the memory of an otherwise unknown remarkable theory embodying an ultra-individualistic view of the function of the State in relation to the individual. Now, apart from the fact that this assumption runs counter to the basic Hindu idea of collectivist function of the king (as illustrated by his jurisdiction over *dharmas* of castes and orders), it is rebutted repeatedly by the evidence of the stories themselves. We have thus two stories showing how the life of a king's upright *purohita* (ii. 186*f*) and those of an innocent queen and a pious ascetic (v. 227*f*) were in danger from the unjust suspicions of kings who acted at the instigation of villainous courtiers. With these may be matched a few animal fables (i. 175*f*, iv. 484*f* etc.) conveying through the mouths of humble creatures strong denunciations of kings who similarly at the instance of interested persons passed precipitate orders affecting their lives. The popular condemnation of the inconsiderate king is reflected in a *gāthā* which brackets him with the idle and self-indulgent householder, the ascetic without self-control and the learned man prone to anger, in a list of evil persons. This *gāthā* is repeatedly quoted in our texts, as when a judicial officer reproves a king for hastily judging a suit (iii. 105), or when a pious king admonishes a usurper (*ibid,* 154), or when an ascetic rebukes a king for hastily ordering a fellow-ascetic's execution (iv. 30), or when a judicial officer appeals to the king to reconsider his judgment against an innocent person (iii. 105), or when a prince reproves his father for a capital sentence passed against him (iv. 451). The story of a king who seized the beautiful and virtuous wife of a Brāhmaṇa ascetic by virtue of his sovereign authority (*issariya*), but was afterwards led by the Brāhmaṇa's saintliness to undo the wrong, is told in iv. 23*f*. The stories of divine retribution befalling a king who ordered the execution of an innocent householder on a trumped-up

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charge of theft (ii. 121*f*) and another who, out of spite against his chief queen, caused her infant son to be killed in her presence (iii. 178*f*) tell their own tale of the absence of any constitutional restraint upon the king's misuse of his authority. The popular view of the habitual proneness of kings to wrong-doing is crystallised in such proverbial expressions as that kings are cruel (iv. 427) and are fickleminded (v. 345) and are dangerous (v. 365).

It would appear from the above that the State administration in the times we are considering provided no constitutional guarantee for the security of the subjects against the tyrannical acts of kings. Even the Smṛiti rule of the Brāhmaṇa's immunities, it would appear, was ineffective in practice. From other stories we learn that the administrative procedure like the body of law and custom was defective from the point of view of individual rights. In the branch of judicial administration, as the stories show, the king habitually sat for the trial of civil and criminal suits. In particular, he used to pass capital sentences in a summary fashion upon robbers and others guilty of violent crimes. As the king's sentence was necessarily final, there might arise the danger of serious miscarriage of justice when innocent persons were falsely charged before him by designing and influential persons. Of the reality of this danger the stories leave us in no doubt, as when we are told (i. 199*f*, iv. 29*f*, *ibid*. 447*f*. etc.) how innocent persons (including princes and ascetics) were brought up before the king by evil accusers on trumped-up charges of theft and the like and were summarily condemned to death. The evil assumed serious proportions when (as in i. 438, iii. 105 etc.) the king similarly passed summary sentences on innocent victims under the influence of designing persons occupying high positions near his person.

I shall now take up another view on the above-mentioned subject of mutual relations of king and people, which has been put forward by a well-known scholar in recent years. A text of *Baudhāyana-Dharmasūtra* (i. 10. 18. 1) enjoins the king to protect his subjects with one-sixth share (of the crops) as his means of subsistence. It has been held (Dr. A. S. Altekar, *State and Government in Ancient India*, 64-65) to mean that "the king is really a servant, the 16% [*read* 16 2/3%] tax being his wage." Interpreted in this sense, it has been taken (*loc. cit*) to be an argument for the view that the king, according to ancient Hindu notions, was "the servant of the people". Now the true significance of the above passage, it seems to me, lies in its indirectly setting the seal of canonical sanction upon a fairly common notion of our ancient thinkers. This was the notion of an implied contract between the ruler and his subjects in the sense that the former was bound to the obligation of protection in return for payment of taxes by the latter. The principle is expressed more directly in another *Dharmasūtra* text (Gautama x. 28) which the scholar just named has missed. It runs to the effect that the king takes the specified taxes, since protection of his subjects is his *dharma*. In some later texts, it is true, the corollary was drawn from this principle that the king was the servant of the people with the taxes as his wages for the service of protection. But this was not the only possible corollary, and in any case it appears to have been unknown to the *Dharmasūtras*. On the contrary, the

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Dharmasūtras have a very real conception of the pre-eminent position of the king in relation to his subjects. To take a few instances, the king, says Gautama (xi. 1), is master of all with the exception of the Brāhmaṇas. Applying this dictum to the court etiquette, he observes in a following text (ib. 7-8) that all other than Brāhmaṇas are to serve the king who is to occupy a higher seat and that the Brāhmaṇas are also to honour him. In other texts, the king's social status is assimilated to that of the learned Brāhmaṇa, the officiating priest or the spiritual preceptor (Āpastamba ii. 4. 8. 6-7, Vasishṭha xi. 1-2, Vishṇu xxii. 1*f*). Elsewhere, the king is said to share his function of protecting the people with the spiritual preceptor (Gautama xi. 31-32) or the learned Brāhmaṇa (ib. viii. 1-3). When the king dies, there is to be universal mourning in the kingdom in the shape of interruption of Vedic studies (Gautama xvi. 32, Baudhāyana i. 11. 2. 21. 4), or one day's ceremonial impurity (Vishṇu xxii. 45). I may take this opportunity of recording, for reasons which will appear elsewhere, my dissent from another view expressed by the above-named scholar in the present context. This is the view that the idea of the king's being a servant of the people is an important notion of our Hindu thinkers and that a passage of Kauṭilya quoted from xi. 3 is an additional argument in its favour.

I have now come to the end of my address. In the above pages my main object has been to trace out, with a few concrete illustrations, the general lines along which, as I think, the study of our ancient political institutions and allied topics should proceed. In placing my views before you and through you before the larger world of scholars outside, it is my earnest hope that I shall be rewarded with intelligent and helpful criticism.

ERAN PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF SRIDHARAVARMAN

MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA PROFESSOR V. V. MIRASHI

This inscription is incised on a small pillar, afterwards converted into a Śiva-liṅga, which stands near the left bank of the Bīnā between the ancient town of Eraṇ and the neighbouring village of Pehelajpur, in the Khurai tahsil of the Saugor District in Madhya Pradesh. Another record on the same pillar, *viz.*, the posthumous inscription of Gōparāja was discovered in 1874-75 by Sir Alexander Cunningham and has been edited by Dr. Fleet in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, p. 91 f. The discovery of the present inscriptionum is due to a fortuitous circumstance. During the inspection tour of 1950-51 Mr. Krishna Dev, Superintendent, Archaeological Department, Central Circle, Patna, noticed that the last line of the inscription of Goparāja was concealed by some later accretions to the *argha* or ablution-trough of the linga. When the accretions as well as the *argha* were removed, the inscription which lay concealed was disclosed to view. I came to know of this new

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discovery from a photograph of the record taken by Mr. V. P. Rode, Assistant Curator, Central Museum, Nagpur. At my request Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist for India, supplied me with two excellent estampages, from which I give a short account of the record here.

The pillar, which is now fully exposed to view, measure about 6′ 3″ high and 1′ 6″ in diameter. It is the upper part of a large column which appears to have broken naturally in falling down, as its bottom is irregularly cut. The inscription is incised on the lowest octagonal portion of the shaft, on three faces, each measuring about 7″ broad, on the opposite side of that where the record of Gōparāja is incised at a slightly higher level.

The writing which originally covered a space 1′ 9″ broad by 1′ 5″ high has suffered a good deal. The portion on the right-hand face is almost completely obliterated, only an *akshara* here and there being still visible. That on the left-hand and middle faces also has suffered considerably, but most part of it can be read with patience and perseverance. The characters are of the western variety of the Central Indian alphabets, closely resembling the Kānākherā stone inscription of the same king. The language is Sanskrit. Like the Kānākherā inscription, the record begins in prose and is rounded off with a verse at the end. Except for a few Prakritisms such as the genitive affix *sa* which is also noticed in Western Kshatrapa records and the word *vimśatime* for *vimśatitame,* in line 3, the record is written in correct Sanskrit.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the *Rājan* and *Mahākshatrapa* Śridharavarman, the son of Śaka Nanda, who is said to have attained abundant fame by victories won by his prowess. As in the Kānākherā inscription he is described as *Dharmavijayin* or a righteous conqueror. The record is dated in the twenty-seventh regnal year, expressed both in words and numerical symbols in line 3. The month, fortnight and lunar day were also probably mentioned further in the same line as in the Kānākherā inscription, but have been completely obliterated. Unlike the latter record, however, the present inscription does not contain any date of the Kalachuri or any other era, at least in the preserved portion.

Owing to the unfortunate loss of its one-third portion, the record does not admit of a complete description of its contents, but its object appears to be to record the erection of a funeral pillar (called *yashṭi* in line 9) by Satyanāga, the Arakshika (Police Chief) and Senāpati (General) and the construction of a tīrtha or *ghāt* by one Narayaṇasvāmin at the *adhishṭhāna* of Erikiṇa. Satyanāga appears to be further described as a native of Mahārashṭra and the Chief (*Pramukha*) apparently of the Nāgas. The concluding verse expresses the hope that the yashṭi, raised by the Nāgas themselves, would endure unimpaired and would proclaim (for ever) the duties of the warlike people ; for that was a well-known place of meeting of friends and foes alike.

The Saka king Śrīdharavarman, the son of Śaka Nanda, is already known from the Kānākherā stone inscription, dated in the thirteenth regnal year ; but as in that inscription he bore the inferior title of Mahādaṇḍanāyaka,

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he was supposed to be a military officer of some other ruler. The present inscription which mentions the titles *Rājan* and *Mahākshatrapa* in connection with his name, leaves no doubt that he was an independent king. These titles were generally borne by the Western Kshatrapas of Saurāshṭra, but Śrīdharavarman was probably not a descendant of Chashṭana, the founder of that dynasty ; for he does not date his inscriptions in the Śaka era which was invariably used by the Western Kshatrapas. Besides, the title *Mahākshatrapa* was used by rulers of other dynasties also. We have, for instance, the coins dated in the first and second regnal years of the Mahākshatrapa Īśvaradatta. We have, again, several Valabhī coins of the *Rājan* and *Mahākshatrapa* Śarva Bhaṭṭāraka. Śrīdharavarman, who was ruling in the Vidiśā-Erikiṇa area in the pre-Gupta age, therefore, belonged to a different Śaka family. If my reading and interpretation of the date at the end of the Kānākherā inscription are correct, he probably flourished in the period A.D. c. 338 to 368. Some time after A.D. 365, he seems to have suffered a defeat at the hands of the Gupta Emperor Samudragupta who annexed the territory round Eraṇ where he erected a monument (perhaps the temple of Vishṇu still standing at the place) as recorded in his Eraṇ stone inscription. Śrīdharavarman is probably the Śaka ruler who, according to the Allahabad *praśasti*, paid homage to the Gupta Emperor. He and his successor may have continued to hold Eastern Malwa until the territory was annexed by Chandragupta II in the course of 'his conquest of the whole world'.

The column, on which the inscription is incised, is called yashṭi (a funeral monument). In this sense the word yashṭi is unknown to Sanskrit lexicons. In its corrupt form lashṭi it occurs in four inscriptions of the time of the Western Kshatrapa Rudradāman, discovered at Andhau in Cutch, dated in the Śaka year 52 (A.D. 130). R. D. Banerji who has edited them in the *Epigraphia Indica*, took lashṭi (Prakrit laṭṭhi) to mean a funeral monument. The monuments at Andhau were raised by private individuals in memory of their relatives and though they are called *lashṭi*, they are in the form of long narrow slabs. They cannot be taken to be the standard form of a *yashṭi*. The Sanskrit word is also known to occur in the form *vala-yashṭi* in the Bhumara pillar inscription of the *Mahārājas* Hastin and Śarvanātha. The record is engraved on one of the faces of a small sandstone pillar. Fleet translated *vala-yashṭi* (which he took to be a mistake for *valaya-yashṭi*) as 'a boundary pillar'. The present inscription which calls the pillar at Eraṇ *yashṭi* gives us, for the first time, the standard form of a funeral pillar as distinguished from a victory pillar (*jaya-stambha* or *raṇa-stambha*).

The pillar at Eraṇ was originally a large one. Supposing that the bottom line of the present inscription which was originally incised on it, was at the same height as that of the other inscription of Budhagupta at Eraṇ, *i.e.*, about 3′ 3″ from the plinth, the total height of the pillar above the ground must have been about 9′ 6″. Its top does not appear to have been tampered with. A standard *yashṭi* therefore appears to have been eight- or sixteen-sided or alternately eight- and sixteen-sided, with a round top but without any capital such as crowns a victory pillar or a dhvaja-stambha. It was generally

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decorated with panels depicting scenes of battle, reception of warriors in heaven and their dalliance with celestial nymphs. The panel representing a man and woman sitting, which, as it occurs above the inscription of Gōparāja, was taken by Fleet to represent Gōparāja and his wife is evidently such a scene of dalliance ; for the pillar was set up much earlier than the time of Gōparāja. The other sculptures of men and women on the remaining faces of the pillar were also not intended for Gōparāja, his wife and friends as Fleet supposed. The scenes are probably of the same type as those seen on Satī-stones.

The present pillar was erected by Satyanāga, the military officer of the Śaka king Śrīdharavarman probably to commemorate some great battle fought at Erikiṇa (modern Eraṇ) in which his relatives or Naga soldiers had met with a hero's death. He therefore expresses the hope that the *yashṭi* would inspire future generations to similar heroic deeds befitting warlike people ; for the locality where the pillar was erected was well-known as a meeting place of friends and foes alike. This description fits Eraṇ most remarkably ; for it was the battle-ground of contending forces for several centuries as testified to by several Satī-stones and inscriptions ranging in date from the fourth to the seventh century A.D. One of the memorable battles fought at Eraṇ was during the reign of the Gupta Emperor Bhānugupta in the Gupta year 191 (A.D. 510-11). In this battle Gōparāja 'renowned for manliness' who had accompanied Bhānugupta to Eraṇ as his ally, died fighting. His wife immolated herself on his funeral pyre. The event was fittingly commemorated evidently by the order of the Gupta Emperor who is eulogised as 'the bravest man on the earth', by incising another short record on the opposite side of the same *yashṭi* which had been exhorting warlike people to perform such heroic deeds for more than a century.

As for the geographical names occurring in the inscription, Mahārāshṭra finds epigraphic mention here for the first time. Satyanāga seems to have taken pride in mentioning his Mahārāshṭra origin and plainly refers to the Nāgas as a warlike people. Erikiṇa is plainly Eraṇ. The place-name occurs as *Erakaṇa* (i.e. as Erikiṇa, with the vowels restored) on old coins and as *Airikiṇa* in the Eraṇ inscription of Toramāṇa. In the present record it clearly occurs as *Erikiṇa*.

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ECONOMIC CONDITION OF WESTERN INDIA DURING 200 B.C. TO 500 A.D.

DR. A. S. ALTEKAR

Trade, industry, agriculture and the connected arts and crafts were the mainstay of the economic life of the society in Western India during our period.

Rayatwari system seems to have been prevailing in the Deccan during our period, as it does now. We usually come across small pieces of lands being owned by ordinary individuals. Thus one donor at Junnar makes a gift of a field of 15 Nivartanas[1] at the village of Puvanada, and another of 12, 8 and 4 Nivartanas at Vatākaka. Obviously land was divided into small units and owned by individual proprietors. It is, however, likely that the Mahārathis, Mahābhojas and Mahāsenāpatis, who were feudal chiefs or high officers, may have owned fairly extensive pieces of lands. For instance, Ushavadāta is seen in the enjoyment of a field of 200 Nivartanas at the village of Kakhaḍī.[2] Revenues of villages and houses may have also been assigned to civil and military officers, as is recommended in the Smṛitis. We get some instances of monasteries being assigned the revenues of entire villages ; the same could as well have been the case with the Amātyas and Mahāmātrās.

The state owned some pieces of arable land, in different towns and villages, which it used to get by escheat or purchase. These are described as royal lands (rājakaṁ *khettaṁ*), in one Nasik record.[3] When the king possessed no personal land of his own and desired to make a land grant, he had to purchase the land required. We find Ushavadāta purchasing a field for 4000 kārshāpaṇas (=Rs. 1500) in order to gift it to the monks at Nasik.[4] Waste and fallow land belonged to the state, but under the Gupta administration the village councils had to be consulted at the time of their disposal. Such formalities are not mentioned in connection with land transfers described in Western Indian records. We, however, find that land transfers were regularly recorded in the registers kept for the purpose in the city and village councils.

Some Nasik records refer to the donations of entire villages. Thus Nasik inscription No. 19 refers to the donation of the village of Samalipada in exchange for the villave of Sudisaṇa. This exchange obviously suggests that the gift of the village meant the gift of its royal revenues ; it did not interfere with the private ownership of land. When ownership in private land was transferred, it was usually of small fields which kings used to purchase or which used to belong to the state.

Our records supply no data to determine the incidence of the land taxation ; nor do we know anything about the share which the lessee received from

1. See Junnar Nos. 9, 14 and 18. The dimension of a Nivartana is not definitely known, but it was probably equal to four or five acres.
2. *E.I.*, VIII, p. 71.
3. Nasik inscription No. 3.
4. Nasik No. 10.

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the lessor. Probably his share varied from 40 to 50% of the gross produce.[5] There is no datum to determine the price of land in Western India during our period ; Nasik inscription No. 10 refers to the sale of a piece of land for 4000 silver Kārshāpaṇas (=Rs. 1500) but we do not know the dimension of the field purchased. In the Gupta empire the arable land was usually sold at about three Dīnāras (=two and a quarter tolas of gold) per Kulyāvāpa. But the precise dimension of the Kulyāvāpa is not known and so we do not get any definite idea of the land prices. Nivartana is the land measure frequently occurring in our records, but its precise measure is not known. It appears that it was about four acres in extent.

Crops grown in our period were probably the same that are grown at present in Western India, *viz.*, Jwar, Bajra, wheat, sugarcane, rice, gram, cotton, oil-seeds and betel leaves. Timber and fire wood were important forest products and they figure among the exports to foreign countries. Lead mines were worked in the Deccan and supplied the metal for the Sātavāhana currency. It is likely that the gold mines near Maski may have been worked in our period, as also the diamond mines near Golkunda.

Cotton industry seems to have been the most thriving industry of the Deccan during our period. Rough, fine and coloured cotton cloth figures prominently among the exports from Bharoch, as described by the *Periplus*. Tagara, most probably Ter in Hyderabad state, and Pratishthāna, the capital of the Sātavāhana empire, were great centres of the cotton industry. The Andhra province also had a large number of the centres of this industry.

During the first century of the Christian era, there was considerable trade carried on with the outside world through the ports of Western India. Bharoch was the most prominent among them. Among the imports of this port, the *Periplus* mentions Arabian and Italian wines, copper, tin, lead, coral, topaz, fine and rough cloth, bright coloured girdles, storax, flint glass, antimony and gold and silver coins. For the use of kings were imported costly silver vessels, singing boys, beautiful maidens and choice ointments. The exports of this port included spikenard costus, bdellium, ivory, agate, carnelian, onyn, stones, lycium, cotton cloth of all kinds, silk, long pepper and such other things as are brought from various market towns.

Bharoch was the main centre of foreign trade, but there were other ports on the western coast which had their own share of both foreign and coastal trade. Among these may be mentioned Sūrpāraka or Sopara in Thana district, which figures as a harbour in the Jatakas also. Kalyan in thana district was a flourishing port. For a time, it was the rival of Bharoch, as most of the Sātavāhana exports and imports took place through it. During the Śaka-Sātavāhana struggle, the Śakas tried to block it several times. Kalyan had several flourishing merchants, some of whom figure as donors at Kanheri and Junnar during the 2nd century A.D.[6] As late as the 6th century A.D., Cosmos

5. *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti*, undoubtedly composed during this age, permits the lessor 50% share. I. 166.

6. Among the donors from Kalyan, some are merchants, some goldsmiths and some blacksmiths.

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Indieopleustes enumerates Kalyan among the five chief marts of Western India with trade in brass, cloth and timber and fire wood.

Seumulla or Chawlse near Bombay, Mandagora (probably situated on the Rajapuri creek), Palaipamai (either Pal near Mahad or Dabol), Buzantion (Vaijayantī or Vijayagada) are other ports mentioned by the *Periplus*. Some of the above ports like Sopara and Kalyan have now become land-locked.

Dvārkā Prabhāsa and Valabhi were the principal ports of Kathiawar and Khambayat of Northern Gujarat.

From the *Periplus*, we get a clear idea of the routes of the overseas trade. Ships from the western countries started from Arabia Felix (Aden) and followed the Arabian coast as far as Kane, from where the route to India diverted ; some ships sailing to the Indus and on to Bharoch, and others direct to Arabia in July, as they could thereby utilise the monsoon to accelerate their speed.

Ujjayini in Mālwā, Paithan in Mahārāshṭra and Tagara, probably Ter in Hyderabad state, were the chief inland centres of trade. There were brought down to Bharoch from these market towns various articles, through bullock carts or on pack animals. Among the minor trade centres, we may mention Junnar, Karahāṭaka (Karhad in Satara district), Nasik, Govardhana and Vaijayantī. Roads were bad or non-existent according to the author of the *Periplus*, but he is probablf over-drawing the picture. They appear to be sufficiently good and workable. We find residents of Vaijayantī in Karnataka making donations at Karli, residents of Karhad and Nasik in Mahārāshṭra making gifts at Bharhut in Bagelkhand and citizens of Dattamitri in Sindh donating caves at Nasik. Sea communications were also well developed ; Buddhist monasteries at creek heads like Kanheri show that priests also travelled by the sea in the company of merchants, who built or excavated monasteries for their use. River traffic was not much in vogue ; rivers in Western India usually flowed through hilly country and petty streams, along the Tāpī and the Narmadā, however, there was some traffic in Gujarat.

Thanks to the numerous donative records, we get a fairly good glimpse into the different cross-sections of the trading community. Traders in corn, (*dhāñikas*), drugs (*gandhikas*) and jewels (*maṇikāras*) are frequently referred to. Garland makers (*mālākāras*), iron-smiths (*lohavāṇijakas*) or (*Kammāras*), goldsmiths (*suvaṇakāras*), braziers (*kāsakāras*), stone-cutters (*Salavanijakas*), artisans (*āvesanis*), carpenters (*vadhikas*), weavers (*kolikas*), potters (*kulārikas*), hydraulic workers (*odayantrikas*) and oilmongers (*tilāpishakas*) are seen vying with one another in making donations for religious objects connected with Buddhism and Hinduism. Caravans were the arteries of trade and are referred to as donors in several places. Farmers did not lag behind the traders and caravans in their religious zeal ; they are referred to as *kuṭubikas*, *hālayikas* and *gahapatis*. The general impression produced by the votive records is that society was rich and prosperous and that the artisans, traders, caravans and farmers contributed a good deal to its well being.

Guild organisation was a special feature of trade and industry during our period. Guilds were known as *śrenis* and their aldermen were known as

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Śreṣṭhins. Our records refer to the guilds of weavers, potters, braziers, oil-mongers, hydraulic workers, bamboo-workers, corn-dealers, etc.[7] Sometimes, as at Govardhana, there were two guilds in the same town of one and the same industry, *viz.*, weaving. Guilds had executive committees of their own, consisting of four or five members, whose president (*śreshṭhin*) carried on the executive work with their help. The guild must have been primarily intended to safeguard the interest of the particular trade or industry. It, however, also conducted banks, whose services were availed of not only by its members but also by the general public. Guilds and their banks were regarded as stable institutions, more enduring than kingdoms and empires. When Ushabadāta, the son-in-law of the great king Nahapāṇa, who was most probably the governor of northern Mahārāshṭra, desired to make permanent arrangements for the annual supply of a fixed income to certain monasteries near Nasik, he did not issue orders to the local treasury officers to make an annual remittance. His endowment took the form of a permanent deposit in local guild banks, with instructions to hand over the annual interest to the beneficiaries. Obviously he regarded the guild banks as more enduring than the government of which he was a distinguished member. Empires were established and destroyed in the course of a few years or decades, but guilds and their banks lived from age to age. A Gupta record shows that guilds would carry out their liability even if they changed their headquarters. Precaution, however, was often taken to get the permanent endowment at a guild bank registered in the office of the town municipality or *nigama sabhā*, which was expected to see to it that the guild banks carried out their obligations from generation to generation.

It is a great pity that we should not have so far found the seals or sealings of even a single guild of the Deccan and Western India. The numerous guild sealings found at Vaiśāli give us quite a vivid picture of the working of the organisation during the Gupta period, showing how there were joint guilds of bankers, traders and caravans with their membership spread over a large number of towns. It is not unlikely that similar organisations may have existed in the Deccan also during our period, as they certainly did five hundred years later.

Let us now consider the currency problems. The larger part of the ordinary daily transactions were probably done by barter.[8] But silver, lead and copper currency was also in existence to supplement them. We have not so far found any specimens of gold currency current in Western India. The gold coins or Suvarṇas, one of which is equated to 35 silver Kārshāpaṇas in a Nasik record, were probably the gold pieces weighing about 120 grains which were issued by the Kushāṇas in Northern India, some of which occasionally travelled down to the south with trade. Neither the Sātavāhanas nor the Śakas, neither the Abhiras nor the Traikūlākas issued any gold currency.

Kārshāpaṇa is a term applicable both to the silver and copper coins, but in our records it usually refers to silver ones. The Nanaghat inscription of

7. See Nasik inscriptions Nos. 12, 15; Junnar inscriptions Nos. 16 and 31.
8. This is the reason why some of the governments of the day like the Ikshvāku and the Vākāṭaka administrations did not issue any coins at all.

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Nayaṅikā refers to her husband giving a *dakshiṇā* of 24,400 Kārshāpaṇas on one occasion and of 11,000 on another. At that time the Sātavāhanas were issuing no silver coins. Probably the Kārshāpaṇas or punch-marked coins of Northern India were current in the kingdom or were minted in it by some private moneyers. At Kondapur several moulds of punch-marked coins were discovered which were in vogue in the Sātavāhana period. Only a few later Sātavāhana kings sporadically issued silver currency in the second century A.D.

The Western Kshatrapa currency was on the other hand predominantly in silver. Each piece weighed about 30 grains. These coins were known in contemporary times as Rudra damakas, after the most powerful king of the dynasty, but this name does not occur in our records. A Nasik record tells us that 2000 Suvarṇas were equal to 70,000 silver Kārshāpaṇas. If we ignore the alloy in both the coins, this equation shows that 1050 (35 × 30) grains of silver were equal to 120 grains of gold. This gives the ratio between the prices of gold and silver as about 9:1. Silver being not indigenous to the country was dearer in India in the terms of gold ; this was also one of the reasons as to why so much of Roman gold flowed into the country.

We possess no data at present to give either the nomenclature or the relative value of the copper and lead currency that was profusely issued by the Sātavāhanas.

Our records give us a good idea of the money market. Nahapāṇa's son-in-law Ushavadāta invested 2000 Kārshāpaṇas in one bank of the weavers' guild at Nasik as a permanent deposit on which an interest at 12% per annum was guaranteed. Another weavers' guild at the same place however agreed to pay only 9% interest to the same person. It is difficult to understand the causes for this difference in the rate of interest. When permanent deposits were fetching interest at so high a rate as 9 or 12% per annum, we may well conclude that short term loans must have been possible even for solvent parties at about the rate of 20 or 24%. The *Manusmṛiti* mentions 24%[11] as the normal rate of fair interest and its statement is thus confirmed by the epigraphical evidence in our age.

There is no sufficient evidence to reconstruct the price level of the period. One Nasik inscription gives 4000 Kārshāpaṇas as the price of a piece of land, but since no information is given either about its size or yield, the statement is not of much value. As regards the price of cloth we are on surer grounds. We find that usually 12 Kārshāpaṇas[12] were sufficient for the three robes of the monks. A Kārshāpaṇa weighed about 50 grains and was thus somewhat heavier than the four anna silver piece. So about three rupees and a half were sufficient for the underwear, the upper garment and the robe of a monk. These

9. In one Nasik record (No. 12), the term *Prati* is also used as a synonym for Kārshāpana.

10. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's view that the silver coins introduced by Nahapāna were known as Kushānas (*I.A.*, 1919 p. 81) is untenable. *Kushaṇamūla* like *Chīvaramūla* was a sum given to the monks for the expense of purchasing *Kushanas*. What they were we do not know.

11. Chap. VIII, 140-1.

12. One record at Kanheri however provides for 16 Kārshāpaṇas for the robing of each monk. This was rather an unusual and liberal provision.

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clothes required about 12 yards of cloth and so the price of one yard was about 4 annas.

We have no sufficient data to determine the cost of living during our period. Unfortunately no votive records give us any data about the money necessary to feed one monk every day. Northern Indian records of the Gupta period, however, show that one Dīnāra or $\frac{3}{4}$ tola of gold was usually sufficient to feed a monk throughout the year. The monthly cost of one sumptuous meal was the ports of Limyrike on the Malabar coast. The ships used to start from thus about Rs. 2 in the pre-war value of that coin.

LAKULĪŚA—THE FOUNDER OR THE SYSTEMATISER OF THE PĀŚUPATA ORDER

PROFESSOR J. N. BANERJEA

R. G. Bhandarkar was one of the first scholars to find a reference to Śaiva sect in the casual mention of the Śiva-Bhāgavatas ('devotees of Śiva, the Bhagavat') by Patañjali in the latter's comment on a *sūtra* of Paṇini (V. 2, 76) in his *Mahābhāshya* (Kielhorn's Edition, Vol. II p. 387). He identified these Śaiva devotees with the followers of Lakuliśa, a great Śaiva saint later regarded by his followers as an incarnation of Śiva himself. Lakulīśa's historicity was conclusively proved by D. R. Bhandarkar on the basis of literary as well as archaeological data. His followers came to be known as Pāśupatas or La(Na)kulīśa Pāśupatas after him, and played an important part in the development of Śaivism in India. Patañjali flourished in the middle of the 2nd century B.C. according to the opinion of almost all the Indologists. Thus, in R. G. Bhandarkar's opinion Lakulīśa's school of Śaivism originated at about tht same period ; Lakulīśa himself belonged almost to the same age.[1]

The Mathura Pillar Inscription of Chandragupta II, dated Gupta era 61 (381 A.D.), however, helps us to fix the approximate date of Lakulīśa in a very convincing manner. It records the erection of two images called Kapileśvara and Upamiteśvara (really two Śiva-liṅgas named after Kapila and Upamita, the teacher and the teacher's teacher of the donor) in the *Gurvāyatana* ('memorial shrine of the spiritual preceptors') by the venerable (*ārya*) Uditāchārya, the Māheśvara (Pāśupata) teacher. The latter is described in the record as tenth in apostolic succession from Kuśika (*Kuśikād-daśamaḥ*). This Kuśika appears to have been no other than the first of the four immediate disciples of Lakulīśa, Kuśika, Mitra, Garga and Kaurushya. Allowing 25 years each to the generations of the apostolic successors, D. R. Bhandarkar fixed Lakulīśa's date in the first half of the second century A.D.[2] Thus, Lakulīśa could not have been the founder of the school of the Śiva-Bhāgavatas mentioned by Patañjali. It was, however, pointed out by the present writer some years ago that the

1. *Vaishṇavism, Śaivism and minor Religious Systems* (Strassburg Edition), p. 117.
2. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXI, pp. 1-9.

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way in which the Śiva-Bhāgavatas are characterised by the great grammarian seems to show that some of their practices were similar to those of the Lakulīśa-Pāśupatas as recorded in later literature like the *Pāśupata-sūtras* with Kauṇḍinya's commentary, and the account of the sect in the *Sarvadarśana-saṁgraha*. A problem was raised by the writer in this connection, which could not be solved at that time.[3]

The solution of this problem, however, seems to lie in the suggestion that Lakulīśa was really the systematiser or organiser of the order of the exclusive worshippers of Śiva ('Śiva-Bhāgavatas' of Patañjali) existing from a much earlier time, even long prior to the period of Patañjali. The affinity of the Śiva-Bhāgavatas with the Lakulīśa-Pāśupatas would not necessarily mean that the originators of the two Śaiva orders were one and the same. It would rather show that one similar to that of the Lakulīśa-Pāśupata was already in existence much prior to the time of the reputed founder of the Pāśupata sect. Lakulīśa was most probably responsible for a careful systematisation and organisation of the creed, as Basavāchārya of a much later date was in respect of the Vīra-Śaiva or Liṅgāyata form of South Indian Śaivism. This is probably hinted at by the Purāṇic statement that Lakulīśa was the 28th or the last incarnation of Śiva. In it he incarnated himself as a Brahmachārin, having entered a dead body thrown into a cremation ground of Kāyāvatāra or Kāyāvarohaṇa (modern Kārvān in Kathiawar Peninsula). He composed a work called *Pañchārthavidyā*, (or *Pañchādhyāyī*) now lost but quoted from by Mādhavāchārya. The passage tells us that 'a Pāśupata should bathe thrice a day, he should lie upon dust or ashes. Oblation is an observance divided into six members'. The Pāśupata vow is summarily described in the *Atharvaśiras Upanishad*, a sectarian work devoted to the exhaltation of Rudra's glory. It describes the *vrata* which consists of besmearing the initiate's body with ashes while muttering the following *mantra*: 'Agni is ashes, Vāyu is ashes, water is ashes, dry land is ashes, the sky is ashes, all this is ashes, the mind, these eyes are ashes.' By the performance of this *vrata*, the devotee of *Paśupati* or Rudra-Śiva has his bonds loosened, and he is delivered from the fetters of his individual existence. This is *Paśupāśa-vimokshaṇa*, and it is one of the principal characteristics of the Pāśupata sect. This Upanishad might or might not have been composed before the time of Lakulīśa who, as we have already seen, enjoined his followers to besmear their bodies with ashes.

R. G. Bhandarkar was also the first to draw the attention of scholars to a passage in the Nārāyaṇīya section of the *Mahābhārata*, which mentions the Pāśupata as one of the five schools of religious doctrines. We are told there that 'Śiva-Śrīkaṇṭha, the consort of Umā, the lord of beings, and the son of Brahmadeva revealed the tenets of the school.'[4] It might be a 'mere general

3. *Proceedings of the Ninth Session of the Indian History Congress*, 1946, Presidential Address, Section I.

4. *Sāṁkhyaṁ yogaḥ pāñcharātraṁ vedāḥ pāśupataṁ tatha,*
Jñānānyetāni rājarshe viddhi nānāmatāni vai,
Umāpatirbhūtapatiḥ Śrīkaṇṭha Brahmanaḥ sutaḥ,
Uktavānidamavyagro jñānaṁ pāśupataṁ Śivaḥ.

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statement' like that made in the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad* (II.4, 10) that 'the *Ṛigveda, Yajurveda,* etc., are the breath of this great being' and might not contain any historical significance. But the point is that though the passage cannot be dated with confidence at any time before the Christian era, it can be assumed to contain an older tradition even if it was written sometime in the early post-Christian period. In any case we can antedate the existence of the Śaiva sect long prior to the time of Patañjali on the basis of earlier textual data. We may find such an evidence in the characteristic description of the Siboi given by the annalists of Alexander's invasion. The Siboi or Sibae living in the Punjab near the confluence of the Hydaspes and the Acesines (Jhelum and the Chenub) in Alexander's time are described by Curtius and other classical writers as 'dressed in the skins of wild beasts having clubs for their weapons, and branding with the mark of a club their oxen and mules'. The existence of the Śibis or the Śivas (Śaivas) in the Punjab region some centuries before the Christian era is also vouched for by Patañjali. While commenting on the first and the third *vārttikas* on Pāṇini's *sūtra,* IV.2,104 (*Avyayāt-tap*), he refers to the northern village (*udīchyagrāma*) Śivapura or Śaivapura. The *Mahāmāyūri,* one of the five great Mantra-formulas of northern Buddhism, says that the principal object of worship in the *āhāra* (province) of Śivapura was Śiva.. Sylvain Lévi connected these two Śivapuras long ago. The evidence of the Buddhist text, thus, shows that the Siboi or the Sibis, the inhabitants of Śivapura-Śibipura-Śaivapura region were the exclusive worshippers of Śiva, or for the matter of that, Śaiva sectaries, both clericals and lay-worshippers. The alternative form 'Śaivapura' of the *Mahābhāshya* should be noted in this connection. The existence of the Śaivas in the extreme north-west of India centuries before the Christian era is not only substantiated by the aforesaid textual data, but also by the *Ashṭādhyāyī* of *Pāṇini.* His *Sūtra Śivādibhyo'n* (IV.1,112) refers in a way to the followers or the worshippers of the god. The aphorism means that 'the affix *an* comes in the sense of a descendant, after the words Śiva etc.' The form *Śaiva,* thus arrived at, means a descendant or rather a worshipper of Śiva. Pāṇini lived in the ancient Gandhāra country (modern Peshwar district in Western Pakistan), and we know from Hesychiyus, one of the early pre-Christian Greek writers, that 'bull (Śiva in his theriomorphic form) was the god par excellence of this region'.

Instances need not be multiplied in support of the view that there existed Śaiva sectaries in northern or north-western India long before the beginning of the Christian era. It is true that these do not give us a clear picture about the religious practices of the early Śaivas. Pāṇini's *Sūtra,* V.2,36 (*ayaḥśūladaṇḍājinābhyāṁ ṭhakṭhañau*), in course of his comment on which Patañjali brings in the Śiva-Bhāgavatas, seems to contain an indirect, though meagre reference to them. Mendicant monks carrying a bamboo staff are mentioned by the great grammarian in his *Sūtra,* VI. 1, 154 (*maskaramaskarināṁ veṇuparivrājakayoḥ*). In course of his comment on it, Patañjali observes that a mendicant carrying a bamboo (staff) always says, 'No works are to be done by you men, for it is peace which is your highest end' (*mā kṛita karmāni*

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mā kṛita karmāni śāntirvaḥ śreyasītāhato maskari parivrājakaḥ). The Maskari Parivrājakas described by Pāṇini and his commentator have been identified by scholars with the Ājīvikas, one of the early exponents of whose tenets, Maṅkhali or Makkhali (Maskari) Gośala, was the third of their celebrated teachers, the first two being Nanda Vachchha and Kisa Saṁkichchha. Maskari Gośāla was a contemporary of Mahāvīra and Buddha, and thus the Ājīvikas existed as a sect sometime before the 6th century B.C. Whether they had any close association with any of the better known religious systems had long been in doubt. They were sometimes associated with the Jainas and at other times with a particular section of the Buddhists. It is not true to say that the Ājīvikas were wholly merged in the Jainas sometime after the beginning of the Christian era, for their separate existence in southern India is clearly proved by epigraphic data. Neither the Buddhists nor the Jainas were inclined to associate themselves with this order, and the Ājīvikas were looked down upon by both. It is highly probable that some sections of the Ājīvikas were originally associated with one or other of the Brāhmaṇical sects. Kern and Bühler's suggestion that they were worshippers of Nārāyaṇa was refuted by D. R. Bhandarkar long ago. Bhandarkar found a reference, however, to a Brāhmaṇical section of the Ājīvikas in the expression *babhaneshu ājīvikeshu* in the Pillar Edict VII of Aśoka, and these Brāhmaṇical Ājīvikas might have represented a section of the Maskari-Parivrājakas. They seem to have enjoyed an important position in Aśoka's time, and some of the caves were excavated for their use in the Barabar hills by the Maurya emperor's order. Might these 'Brāhmaṇical Ājīvikas' have been the predecessors of the Lakulīśa-Pāśupatas, or for the matter of that, the Śiva-Bhāgavatas? Maskari Gosāla is said to have indulged in shameless words and meaningless actions, the latter including acts such as holding a mango in his hand for no purpose, drinking, dancing, improperly soliciting the potter woman Hālāhala at whose residence at Srāvastī he was living for sometime just prior to his death. All these actions were done by him, according to the Jaina *Bhagavatī-sūtra* in the delirium of fever which put an end to his life. But these apparently insane and indecent acts of the Ājīvika leader particularly remind us of some of the measures adopted by the Pāśupatas in the performance of their great vow. They are, among others, dancing in a crazy way, showing oneself to be in love by means of amorous gestures on seeing a woman (*śṛiṅgaraṇa*), doing a thing condemned by all (*avitatkaraṇa*), and speaking nonsensical and absurd things (*avitad-bhāshaṇa*). The carrying of an iron lance and wearing an animal skin, the peculiar practice of Śiva-Bhāgavata, and the recourse to violent means (*rabhasa*) as briefly indicated by Patañjali seem to allude to some such mode. These practices were *atimārgika* ('away from the path') and insane from the point of view of a social being. Thus, Utpala, while commenting on v. 19 of the chapter 59 of the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* (Dvivedi's Edition) says that the images of Śambhū (Śiva) are to be installed by the ash-besmeared Pāśupatas according to the rites mentioned in the *Vātulatantra*, i.e., the 'Code of Lunatics'. The practice of besmearing bodies with dust and ashes was one of the peculiar

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customs of the Ājīvikas who, according to the evidence of some Jātakas (*Jātakamālā*, I, 390 and 493) covered their bodies with dust, and did such insane things as 'eating the ordure of a calf', 'painful squatting on heel', 'swinging in the air like bats', 'reclining on thorns', and 'scorching themselves with five fires'. The far earlier *Majjhimanikāya* (II, Tevijja-vacchagottasutta) refers to the Ājīvikas who, however, are described there as a particular class of religious householders, indulging in many other difficult ascetic practices. Buddhaghosa, in his *Samantapāsādikā* (Vol. I, p. 44), refers to the 'ash-besmeared' parivrājakas and other Brāhmaṇical ascetics (*Brāhmaṇanāñcha Brāhmaṇa-jātīya pāshaṇḍānāñcha pāṇḍaraṅga paribbājakādīnām*). In these pāṇḍaraṅga Paribrājakas one might recognise the Ājīvikas. The close similarity between the practices of a class of ancient Ājīvikas, and those of the Śiva-Bhāgavatas and the Pāśupatas seem to support our contention that at least a section of the Ājīvikas had Śaiva affiliation. Jarl Charpentier, arguing on a different line altogether, came to an almost identical conclusion. He observed that 'Ājīvika originally had nothing to do with Gośāla especially, but was a much older name designating a sect to which he originally belonged and afterwards transferred to his disciples. This sect which flourished in eastern India in pre-Buddhistic times was Śaiva in character, to which Gośāla's father Maṅkhalī also belonged'.[5]

All the aforesaid data lead to one conclusion. Lakulīśa was a great religious personality who seems to have systematised and reorganised the already existing Śaiva order in his own way. But such was the importance attached to his contribution in this respect, that the reorganised creed came to be known by his name, and even the subsects that owed their origin to the religious zeal of his immediate disciples came under this general order. The analogy of this case to Basava's association with Vīra-Śaivism of a much later date holds good up to certain point. Basava was a sort of politician turned into a religious reformer, while Lakulīśa appears to have been a far greater religious personality. He was rightly regarded by the successive generations of the Śaivas after him as an incarnation of their Lord in the 28th kalpa.

5. *J.R.A.S.*, 1913, pp. 669-74.

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AJĀTASATTU'S WAR WITH THE LICCHAVIS

DR. A. L. BASHAM

The war between the king of Magadha Ajātasattu and the confederacy of the Vajjis, of which the most important element was the tribe of the Licchavis of Vesāli, must have made a great impression upon contemporary India, for it is remembered and described in some detail by the independent traditions both of the Buddhists and the Jains. It is scarcely necessary to summarise the Buddhist account, but we will do so for the sake of completeness. The story occurs in the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya, and in Buddhaghosa's commentary thereon.

A certain river port half in Magadhan territory and half in that of the Vajjis, produced a mysterious scented substance which was much in demand. Ajātasattu claimed this stuff, but when he sent his men for it on one occasion he found that the Vajjis had anticipated him and had taken it all.[1] He vowed to extirpate the Vajjis root and branch, and his chief minister Vassakāra went to the Buddha to enquire whether the project was feasible. This was the occasion of the famous pronouncement of the Buddha, which seems to me to bear every sign of being authentic—as long as the Vajjis held together, had regular folk-moots, revered the ancestral shrines and respected their women they were invincible. These are evidently the words of one who had a great love for the more or less democratic constitution of the so-called 'republican tribes and deplored the passing of traditional virtues. Soon after his interview with Vassakāra, Buddha went north on his last journey. As he crossed the Ganges with his followers he again met Vassakāra, with another minister named Sunīḍha, supervising the construction of a fort at the village of Pāṭaligāma, and prophesied the future greatness of the site.[2] Meanwhile Vassakāra thought of a scheme to weaken the Vajjis. He pretended to quarrel with Ajātasattu, and fled to Vesāli in the guise of a refugee. He was given a position of trust in the council of the tribal chieftains, and made use of the position to sow discord among them. In this he was so successful that in three years they were completely divided among themselves. Then Vassakāra sent a message to Ajātasattu that the time was ripe, and he occupied Vesāli with very little fighting.[3]

The Jain story, like the Buddhist, has to be pieced together from various sources. In this summary I retain the Buddhist names of the kings of Magadha for convenience. There is of course no shadow of doubt that the Seṇiya and

NOTE—From considerations of time and space I have not given references to many of the better known facts. All are to be found in such well known works of reference as Dr. Malalasekera's Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names and Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri's Political History of Ancient India.

1. *Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī*, ii, 516.
2. *Dīgha Nikāya*, ii. 72 ff.
3. *Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī*, ii, 522.

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Kūṇiya of the Jains are the Bimbisāra and Ajātasattu of the Pāli scriptures. Bimbisāra, according to the Nirayāvalikā Sūtra, committeed suicide in prison in order to save his usurping son of the sin of patricide. This story virtually confirms the Buddhist account of Ajātasattu's murder of his father. But even before his father's death the new king had repented of his evil courses. On hearing of the suicide he moved his court to Campā. But soon after he was again inspired to evil by a wicked queen, called by the common Jaina name of Padmāvatī. His younger brothers Halla and Vehalla possessed a splendid elephant and a wonderful jewelled necklace. These the queen coveted, and persuaded Ajātasattu to demand them. The princes, rather than give them up, fled to the court of their maternal grandfather Ceṭaka, the chieftain of the Licchavis of Vesāli. Ajātasattu sent to Ceṭaka to demand the treasures. When they were refused he made war on the Licchavis and the Nirayāvalikā speaks of a great battle in which many of Ajātasattu's brothers were killed.[4] The story is continued by the Bhagavatī Sūtra, which speaks of two great battles. The first lasted ten days, and on each day the Magadhan army lost one of its generals, shot by Ceṭaka. On the eleventh day Ajātasattu threw in a secret weapon, presented to him by the god Indra himself—a *mahāśilākaṇṭaka,* which from its description seems to have been a great stone-thrower. This turned the scales. The second battle had a similar course, and Ajātasattu's fortunes were turned in the nick of time by another wonderful weapon, a chariot-club (*rathamuṣala*), which caused great carnage.[5] The story is carried yet further by the early medieval commentator Jinadāsa Gaṇī in his *cūrṇī* to the Āvaśyaka Sūtra. The ruling body of the confederacy, described here and elsewhere in the Jaina scriptures as the nine Licchavis, the nine Mallakis and the eighteen tribal chieftains (*gaṇarāja*) of Kāśī and Kosala, broke up. The confederate chieftains went home, and Ceṭaka, forced to fight alone, retreated to Vesāli, where he was besieged for twelve years. The Licchavis had a living palladium in Kūlapālaka, a famous ascetic whose piety and austerities rendered the city impregnable. But Ajātasattu lured him to break his vows by means of a beautiful prostitute, and so the city fell. Ceṭaka drowned himself in a well and the remnant of the Licchavis fled to Nepāl.[6] The story, which is told very elliptically by Jinadāsa, is expanded in a commentary to the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra quoted in the Jain encyclopedia *Abhidhāna Rājendra.*[7]

The two versions disagree in many important details, but certain facts are in agreement and it is possible to extract credible history from them. The Jaina account of a long and difficult war is indirectly confirmed by the Buddhist story. The result of the war was clearly much in doubt when Ajātasattu sent Vassakāra to the Buddha to enquire as to his prospects of success. The fort on the Ganges was built specifically for defence and not attack. In the frag-

4. *Nirayāvalikā Sūtra,* ed. A. S. Gopani and V. J. Chokshi, Ahmedabad, 1935, p. 19 ff.
5. *Bhagavatī Sūtra,* 3 vols., Bombay, 1918-21, sūtra 299 ff.
6. *Āvaśyaka Sūtra with cūrṇī of Jinadāsa Gaṇī,* 2 vols., Ratlam, 1928-9; vol. ii, p. 172 ff.
7. *Abhidhāna Rājendra,* vol. iii s.v. Kūlavālaya.

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mentary opening paragraph of the Sārvāstivādin Sanskrit version of the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta, recently published by Prof. Waldschmidt, Ajātasattu uses the words *vyasanam*, disaster, and *ṛddhāṃś* ca *sphī(tāṃ)*, rich and prosperous, in his rage against the Vajjis.[8] The easy victory superficially indicated by the Buddhist story was evidently preceded by a period of protracted and difficult warfare.

The enemy of Ajātasattu was not a single one, but a confederation. The Vajjis of the Pāli scriptures are explicitly stated to be such a confederation, but the phrase used by the Jains 'the nine Licchavis, the nine Mallakis, and the eighteen tribal chieftains of Kāśī and Kosala', suggests a wider alliance than that of the eight local tribes under the leadership of the Licchavis who comprised the Vajjian confederation. This phrase has attracted the attention of Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri, who suggests 'that all the enemies of Ajātaśattu, including the rulers of Kāśī-Kosala and Vaiśāli, offered combined resistance. The Kosalan war and the Vajjian war were probably not isolated events but parts of a common movement directed against the hegemony of Magadha'.[9] The Kosalan war, that between Ajātasattu and his uncle Pasenadi of Kosala immediately on the former's usurpation, is less well attested than that with the Vajjis, since it is mentioned in the Buddhist tradition only.[10] But the evidence of that tradition points to the fact that peace had been concluded between the two sides, and Pasenadi had been succeeded by his son Viḍūḍabha and had died, before the war with the Vajjis. Raychaudhuri's hypothesis does not explain how Kāśī and Kosala, both of which had been controlled by Pasenadi, came to be ruled by eighteen tribal chieftains. For this reason it is difficult of acceptance as it stands. Even more improbable is a theory once suggested by Prof. B. M. Barua,[11] that the whole of the Kosalan kingdom was under the suzerainty of the Licchavis ; this is contradicted by the whole of the Buddhist tradition and need not be considered further.

A possible explanation of the eighteen *gaṇarājas* of Kāśī and Kosala would link them with Viḍūḍabha's devastation of the Sākiyas, and his death soon afterwards. The motive given for Viḍūḍabha's wanton attack on the tribe, that he was incensed at their duplicity in providing his father with a base born girl as a bride, is too fantastic to be easily credible. It may well be that the only motive of the new and ambitious king of Kosala was the desire to impose a tighter and more centralized control on the feudatory tribes to the north and east of his kingdom. But whatever his motive, such an attack might be expected to rouse the suspicion and hostility of other tribes tributory to Kosala, of which the Mallas were one. We have no reliable account of the fate of Viḍūḍabha, but the Pāli story that he was drowned immediately after his destruction of the Sākiyas[12] indicates at least that he did not long survive that event. It may well be that he was killed while trying to subdue other subordinate tribes in the eastern part of his kingdom. We suggest that these

8. *Berlin*, 1950, p. 7.
9. *Political History of Ancient India*, 5th edn., Calcutta 1950, p. 213.
10. *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, tr., i, 109
11. *Indian Culture*, ii, 810.
12. *Dhammapada Commentary*, i, 346 ff, 357 ff.

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tribes, unwilling to accept Viḍūḍabha's suzerainty and incensed at his destruction of the Sākiyas, took advantage of his death to throw off all allegiance, and allied themselves with the strongest tribal republic of the region, the Vajjis or Licchavis of Vesāli.

Of the names given in the Jaina formula the nine Licchavis need no further definition. They are the chiefs of the Vajjian confederacy of the Pāli scriptures. The nine Mallakis must surely be the Mallas, probably the most important of the Kosalan tribes formerly tributory to Pasenadi. The eighteen tribal chieftains of Kāśī and Kosala are probably the leaders of lesser tribes, originally included within the Kosalan empire. We would agree with Raychaudhuri to this extent, that the accounts give evidence of a widespread league of the tribal peoples north of the Ganges, no doubt uneasy at the growing imperialist ambition of the new rulers of Kosala and Magadha, and determined to preserve their own constitutions and way of life, which they saw were seriously threatened.

It is perhaps possible to trace a definite general policy followed throughout the reigns of Bimbisāra and Ajātasattu, of which the Vajjian war was one phase. When Alexander reached the Beas he was told that all the Ganges-Yamunā basin was in the hands of a single king, Agrammes. The expansion of Magadha at the time of the Buddha was the first stage of the process which led to the empire of Asoka. It is hardly likely that Bimbisāra and Ajātasattu ever visualized so mighty an empire, but they may have had the more limited objective of gaining control of as much of the Ganges river system as possible. It may be possible to trace the same objective later, motivating the campaigns of Samudra Gupta, Śaśāṅka, and Dharmapāla—the king in possession of the lower course aiming at control of the whole river system. The importance of the rivers, in an India where population was smaller, roads were bad, and jungle more widespread, need hardly be emphasized.

Bimbisāra's one annexation was Aṅga, with its wealthy river-port of Campā, where, if we are to believe the Pāli accounts, an already flourishing trade with the south brought gold jewels and spices. Campā must have served as an entrepôt, from which southern luxury goods were distributed all over northern India. The acquisition of Aṅga was perhaps a necessary preliminary to the further expansion of Magadha, providing the wealth with which Bimbisāra financed his policy of internal consolidation and Ajātasattu his aggressive wars. Of these the war with Kosala seems to have given Magadha control of a further length of the river, while from the war with the Vajjis she gained a foothold north of the Ganges, and thus controlled both banks. It is perhaps significant that according to the Buddhist story the latter war arose over a dispute in a river port which was half controlled by Ajātasattu and half by the Vajjis.

Both in internal and external policy Magadha under Bimbisāra and Ajātasattu seems to have transcended earlier Indian conceptions of statecraft. It is possible, and I believe reasonably probable, that some inspiration for these new developments in ancient Indian polity came from the west. It may be more than a coincidence that while Bimbisāra was a young man Cyrus was building up the greatest empire the world had yet seen. Before Ajātasattu's

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usurpation Achaemenid power extended to the Indus, if not beyond, and Takṣaśilā seems to have been annexed. Bimbisāra had been in diplomatic contact with Pukkusāti, the king of Takṣaśilā. A busy caravan route led from Magadha to the north-west, and young men of the two upper classes would go from the Ganges valley to Takṣaśilā to finish their education. It seems very unlikely that the two energetic king of Magadha should have been unaware of what was happening on the north-western borders of India. With the increased wealth at their disposal as a result of their control of trade at the eastern gate of Āryan India they may well have been inspired in their policy of expansion by what they heard of Persian affairs.

One further point deserves consideration—the wonderful weapons with which, according to the Jain story, Ajātasattu successfully decided his two battles with Licchavis. The *'mahāśilākaṇṭaka'* evidently suggests a catapult, and the *'rathamuṣala'* a battering ram. In the acceptance of the historicity of the latter weapon there is no difficulty once allowance has been made for the exaggerations to which Jain writers were so inclined. The catapult is more difficult however. Battering rams, siege towers, and other large war-engines were used by the Babylonians and Persians, and there is no reason why Ajātasattu should not also have used them. But we have no record of the use of war-engines for the discharge of large missiles in Asia until the days of Alexander, with one dubious exception. This exception occurs in the Old Testament, in the 2nd Book of Chronicles (xxvi, 15), where it is stated that king Uzziah of Judah, in the 7th century B.C., defended Jerusalem with engines which discharged great stones. If it could be shown that some form of catapult was even occasionally used in the Middle East the acceptance of Ajātasattu's *mahāśilākaṇṭaka* would be much easier. But the Book of Chronicles is generally thought to have been compiled at a comparatively late date, and Professor Sidney Smith, with whom I have discussed the matter, believes that Uzziah's catapults are almost certainly the false attribution of a much later writer, to whom catapults were familiar. I am assured by Prof. Henning that there is no record of their being used by the Achaemenids.

This being the case we must either believe that catapults were invented independently in India at about the time of Ajātasattu, or that the wonderful weapon described by the Jain commentator is also a false attribution. On the strength of this one late reference I find it hard to accept the former alternative. The Jaina story, read in conjunction with Pāli references, may, however, be taken to indicate that as in civil so in military affairs the Magadha of Bimbisāra and Ajātasattu outstripped its contemporaries. The foundation was laid by the peaceful Bimbisāra and the aggressive Ajātasattu of the first united India, and the fact that Bhārat at the present day is a single republic and not an aggregate of warring petty states must in some measure be ultimately due to the progressive policies of these two energetic kings of 2,500 years ago.

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NAṆḌŪRU EARTHEN POT INSCRIPTION

DR. DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

The village of Naṇḍūru lies about ten miles to the north of Bapatla, headquarters of the Taluk of that name, in the Guntur District, Madras. Sometime about 1930, some workmen, in course of digging earth for use in the rice fields, discovered a brick encasement containing an inscribed earthen pot. The pot was later transferred to the Śāradāniketana, a well known Girls' School at Guntur, where it is now preserved. It is said to be $5\frac{1}{2}$" in height, while its mouth has a circumference of 11" and its belly a little above 16". There are three deeply incised lines on the pot, one running round its belly and the two others just below its neck. The letters of the inscription are incised between the line on the belly and the second line below the neck. It has been pointed out that the pot resembles in shape the big burial urns, recovered from Ādichchanallūr and Perumbur and now preserved in the Madras Museum. The inscription, in Brāhmī characters of about the third century A.D., is in one line containing only seven *aksharas* and two marks of interpunctuation. These marks are formed by putting two dots vertically before a curve and is the early form of the later *daṇḍa* preceded by the *visarga*-like sign found in numerous records including the Madras Museum plates of the time of Narendradhavala, recently edited by me for the *Epigraphia Indica*. The lower end of medial *i*, used twice in the record, has a slight protrusion in both the cases. The inscription covers a space about 6" in length. The letters, which are deeply incised and quite clear, had apparently been engraved before the earthen pot was dried up and baked in the furnace.

Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri published the above inscription in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, Vol. VIII, 1934, pp. 95-99. He deciphered it as: *āyamaṇi*|*prushṭikā*|. His explanation of the inscription runs as follows: "The word (i.e., *prushṭikā*) in this form is unknown . . . . But I think it may be safely connected with *prushṭa*, a word known to Amarasiṁha (*prushṭa-plushṭ-oshitā dagdhe*, III, i, 99) in the sense of 'burnt' . . . . *Prushṭikā* would, if what has been said so far is correct, mean literally anything that is burnt. Though it may thus conceivably mean a pot, I think it is meant to apply to the contents of the pot, the relics of some person preserved in it. If the interpretation of the second word is correct, the first would naturally give the name of the person whose relics were thus preserved. The name, as we read it, is Āyamaṇi. Considering the provenance of the pot, one is tempted to say that this word, Āryamaṇi, shows the pot to be the reliquary of no less a person than the celebrated Buddhist divine Āryadeva (a disciple of Nāgārjuna)".

I am sorry that I find it difficult to agree with either the reading or the interpretation of the record as offered by Professor Sastri. It will be seen that, even if the interpretation of the word *prushṭikā* in the sense of the relics

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of a dead man is not regarded as impossible, the name Āyamaṇi, Āryamaṇi or *ārya*-Maṇi can hardly be taken to be the same as Āryadeva. Again, if the inscription was intended to convey the sense of "the relics of *Āyamaṇi*", the mark of inter-punctuation after *Āyamaṇi*, a word used without any case-ending although the sixth case-ending was expected, seems to remain unexplained. What is more important, however, is that the reading *prushṭikā* is certainly wrong. The first of the three *aksharas* is undoubtedly *pū* and not *pru*, and consequently the correct reading of the word or name is *pūshṭikā* and cannot be *prushṭikā*. The medial *ū* sign in *pū in the Naṇḍūru* inscription is exactly of the type to be noticed in records like the Jaggayyapeta and Nagarjunikonda inscriptions of the Ikshvāku kings who flourished in the Krishna-Guntur region in the third century A.D. The inscription under review also belongs to the same area and period. Attention may be drawn to *pū* as found in the Jaggayyapeta records and reproduced by G. H. Ojha in his *Prāchīna-lipi-mālā*, 1918, Plate XII ; cf. the facsimiles of the Nagarjunikonda inscriptions, B.5, line 5 ; C.3, line 7 ; C.5, line 2, etc., published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XX. See also *mū* in the Nagarjunikonda inscriptions, B.2, line 3, etc. Attention may further be drawn to *khū* reproduced by Ojha, *op.cit.*, Plate IX, from the inscriptions of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and *mū* and *ḍū* in *op. cit.*, Plate VIII from the Junagarh inscription of Rudradāman (cf. *pū* in the facsimile of the same inscription, lines 10 and 11, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. VIII). In this connection it may be pointed out that, although *prū* is not met with in early South Indian epigraphs, the subscript *r* and medial *u* with *p* must have resembled the same signs found in conjuncts like *dhru* as reproduced by Ojha, *op. cit.*, Plate XVI, from the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta.

Professor Sastri's suggestion regarding the mention of Āryadeva in the inscription under review seems to show that he is inclined to assign the record to the second century A.C. Considering however the influence of Sanskrit in the conjunct *shṭi* in the word discussed above, I do not think that the epigraph is earlier than the third century (cf. *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 166).

Āyamaṇi seems to be the name of a man and Pūshṭikā that of a woman. I therefore think it reasonable to suggest that Āyamaṇi was the husband of Pūshṭikā who committed *Satī* or *Sahamaraṇa* (also called *sahagamana* and *anvārohaṇa*), that is to say, she burnt herself on the funeral pyre of her husband. In case the relics of both the husband Āyamaṇi and the wife Pūshṭikā were jointly preserved in the pot under review, we may understand why their names only, followed by marks of interpunctuation, were inscribed on the pot without any case-ending after them. The relics represented the persons themselves and we know that on numerous seals the names of the persons concerned are offered without the first or sixth case-ending noticed elsewhere. The custom indicated by the record under notice seems to have been that, on the occasion of the *Satī*, a potter was asked to make an earthen pot especially for the purpose of preserving together the relics of the husband and wife with their names inscribed on it.

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H. T. Colebrooke gives excellent accounts of the *Satī* and the funeral ceremony as indicated in the Sanskrit texts on law (cf. *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I, 1837, pp. 114-22, 155 ff.). In connection with the latter he says, "The fire must be so managed that some bones may remain for the subsequent ceremony of gathering the ashes . . . . On the last day of mourning, or earlier in those countries where the obsequies are expedited on the second or third day, the nearest kinsman of the deceased gathers his ashes after offering a *śrāddha* singly for him . . . . The son or nearest relation of the defunct, accompanied by his kinsmen and clothed in clean apparel, repairs to the cemetery carrying eight vessels filled with various flowers, roots and similar things . . . . He advances to the northern gate [the practice of enclosing the funeral pile with temporary walls is almost universally disused] or extremity of the funeral pile, sits down there and presents two vessels as an oblation to spirits . . . . Then walking round the spot with his right side towards it, he successively places two other vessels containing eight different things at each of the three other gates or sides of the enclosure which surrounds the funeral pile . . . . He then . . . . silently sprinkles the bones and ashes with cow's milk and using a branch of the Śamī and another of Palāśa instead of tongs, first draws out from the ashes the bones of the head and afterwards the other bones successively, sprinkles them with perfumed liquids and with clarified butter of cow's milk, and puts them into a casket made of the leaves of the Palāśa: *this he places in a new earthen vessel,* covers it with a lid, and ties it up with thread. Choosing some clean spot where encroachments of the river are not to be apprehended, he digs a very deep hole, and spreads Kuśa grass at the bottom of it, and over the grass a piece of yellow cloth ; *he places thereon the earthen vessel containing the bones of the deceased,* covers it with a lump of mud together with thorns, moss and mud, and plants a tree in the excavation, or *raises a mound of masonry,* or makes a pond, or erects a standard . . . . To cover the spot where the funeral pile stood, a tree should be planted, or a mound of masonry be raised, or a pond be dug, or a standard be erected. [This does not appear to be very universally practised ; but *a monument is always erected on the spot where a woman has burnt herself with her husband's corpse,* or where a person has died a legal voluntary death . . . .] Again, at a subsequent time, the son, or other near relation, carries the bones, which were so buried, to the river Ganges: he bathes there, rubs the vessel with the five productions of kine, puts gold, honey, clarified butter and *tila* on the vessel, and looking towards the south, and advancing into the river . . . . throws the vessel into the waters of the Ganges . . . . " It appears that the reexcavation of the buried earthen pot containing the relics of a dead man for throwing it into the waters of a river was not a custom followed in all parts of the country.

The prevalence of the cusom of *Satī* in South India in the third century A.D., as evidenced by the inscription under reference, need not surprise us. There is definite evidence to show that *Satī* was practised in India at least from the fourth century B.C. down to 1829 A.D. when it was prohibited by

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law. For a short history of the practice in different parts of India, readers may be referred to P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II, pp. 620 ff.

Text	*Translation*
Āyamaṇi | Pūshṭikā |	[Here lie the relics of] Āyamaṇi. [Here lie the relics of] Pūshṭikā*

ROLE OF PROPERTY, FAMILY AND CASTE IN THE ORIGIN OF THE STATE IN ANCIENT INDIA

RAM SHARAN SHARMA

In the study of the origin of the State reference has been generally made to the state of nature depicted in the Buddhist sources[1] but no attempt has been made to present its complete picture on the basis of all the sources including the Purāṇas, Mahabharata, and the Jaina traditions.[2] A study of these sources not only furnishes an idea of the early state of nature but also of the circumstances which led to the origin of the State. Although the pictures differ in details from one another, four essential characteristics of the early state of nature stand out clearly.

First, the earliest means of subsistence was the fruits and roots of trees. The description of *'kalpabrikṣa'* as the main source of the livelihood of the people is a very common affair in the Brahmanical and Jaina traditions.[3] The Buddhist traditions refer to *'vanalatā'* and some sort of roots (*bhumiparpataka*) as the earliest means of sustenance.[4] It is natural that in the earliest stage of his life which generally corresponded to the kṛta age of the Purāṇas and epics, men should have lived as food gatherers and not as food producers. This is supported by anthropology and is true of the people of paleolithic age.[5] As Morgan points out, the first livelihood was "natural subsistence upon fruits

* After this paper had been prepared, I was very glad to learn that Mr. N. L. Rao and Dr. N. P. Chakravarti have also read the second word of the Naṇḍūru inscription as *pūshṭikā*. Mr. Rao copied the inscription for the Government Epigraphist for India in 1939 and prepared a short note on it for incorporation in the section on Epigraphy of the annual report of the Archaeological Survey of India for the year 1939-40, wherein he has also pointed out that there is no justification for connecting the record with Āryadeva.

1. Ghoshal—*Hindu Political Theories* pp. 118-20; Bhandarkar—*Carmichael Lectures* 1918, pp. 115-22; Bandhopadhyaya—*Development of Hindu Polity and Political Theories*, pp. 275-77; Banerjea—*Public Administration in Ancient India*, p. 34 ff.; Beni Prasad—*Theory of Govt. in Ancient India*, pp. 205-6; and Dikhsitar—*Hindu Administrative Institutions*, pp. 17-18.

2. *Mārk. P.*, 49th Ch; *Vāyu P.*, Ch. 8; *Kūrma P.*, Ch. 29; *Brahma P.*, Ch. 5; *Viṣṇu P.*, Bk. I, Ch. VI; *Brahmānda P.*, Chs. 29 to 31; *Padma Charita*, Ch. 3; *Tibetan Dulva quoted in Rockhill's Life of Buddha*, pp. 2 to 9; *Mahavastu*—Vol. I, pp. 340-48; *Dīgha Nikāya*—Aggañña Sutta; *Mbh.* XII, Chs. 59, 67, 69 and 206.

3. *Vāyu P.*, VIII—84; *Padma-Charita*—Ch. III—55.

4. *Mahāvastu*, Vol. I, pp. 340-41.

5. Childe—*Man Makes Himself*, Ch. IV.

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and roots on a restricted habitat."[6] Nobody could then conceive that the fruits and trees belonged exclusively to him. It was a period of savagery when "a passion for its (property's) possession had scarcely been formed in their (men's) minds, because the thing itself scarcely existed. It was left to the then distant period of civilization to develop into full vitality that greed of gain (*studium lucri*), which is now such a commanding force in the human mind."[7]

Second, except in the Mahābhārata, the traditions about the state of nature give no clear indication of the origin of the monogamous family in which the father is supreme and all the domestic activities centre round the wife. As it is stated in the Śānti Parva: "A householder's home, even if filled with sons, grandsons, daughters-in-law and servants, is regarded empty if destitute of the housewife. One's house is not one's home ; one's wife is only one's home."[8] But how did this home originate? It can be said on the basis of epic and Puranic traditions that formerly there existed a state of promiscuity when children could be produced merely by *'saṃkalpa'* to co-habit. In the Kṛta age there was neither like marriage (*maithun*) nor recognised monogamous marriage system (dvaṇḍva).[9] The Mahābhārata says that in the land of Uttarakurus the institution of marriage did not exist. This is also supported by Āṭānāṭya-sutta in Dīgha Nīkāya which refers to the land of Kuru in these words: "There do men live calling no goods their own, nor as their chattels any womankind."[10]

Third, it is clearly stated in the Purāṇas that there were no 'varṇas' in the Kṛta age. The Buddhist sources also do not mention the division of the people into classes in their account of the earliest life of mankind.[11]

Fourth, it can be said on the basis of the clear statements of the Śānti Parva that in the early stage of the state of nature, the institution of State did not exist.[12] According to Kauṭilya in certain lands called "Vairājya" there was no kingly office and the people thereof had no sense of thine and mine.[13] This implied that the absence of the ruler coincided with the lack of private property.

6. Morgan—*Ancient Society*, p. 20.
7. *Ibid*, p. 27.
8. *Śānti Parva*, Chs. 144-5 & 6. *Mbh.* I, 4-9, 12.
9. नचैषां मैथुनो धर्मोबभूव भरतर्षभ ।
संकल्पादेव चैतेषामपत्यमुपपद्यते ॥
द्वापरे मैथुनो धर्मस्तेषामपि जनाधिपे ।
तथा कलियुगे राजन् द्वन्द्वमापेदिरे जनाः ॥

S.P., Ch. 207—38 to 41 ; तासां विशुद्धात् सङ्कल्पाज्जायते मिथुनाः प्रजाः । *Vāyu P.*, VIII—57

10. *Śānti-Parva*—Chs. 102-26 (Bombay Edition) ; Rhys Davids—*Dīgha Nīkāya*, Pt. III, p. 192.
11. *Vāyu P.* VIII—60 ; *Rockhill's life of Buddha*, pp. 2-6 ; *Mahāvastu*, Vol. I, pp. 340-48 ; Rhys Davids—*Dīgha Nikāya*, Pt. III, pp. 82-87.
12. न वैराज्यं न राजाऽसीन्न दण्डो न च दाण्डिकः S.P., Ch. 59—14.
13. वैराज्यं तु जीवतः परस्याच्छिद्य "नैतन्मम" इति मन्यमानः..... *A.S.*, VIII—2. The sense of this passage has been given above on the basis of Jayaswal's translation, *Hindu Polity*, Pt. I, p. 94.

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A study of primitive societies existing in recent times establishes that the institutions of property, family and class (or caste) were conspicuous by their absence in the earliest stage of man's life. It is not just a mere coincidence that in ancient India in absence of these institutions, the State also did not exist. As it will be shown later there was a vital connection between the existence of these institutions and the rise of the State in ancient India. Although people living without these institutions cannot be called civilized, they enjoyed a sort of harmonious life free from cares, anxieties and greed.[14]

But this harmonious tenor of life was destroyed due to the discovery of the art of cultivation[15] which enabled the people to produce more than they could consume. There began the tendency to store rice[16] and the people "appropriated to themselves by force and violence rivers, fields, hills, trees, shrubs and plants.[17] For the first time they established their separate houses which required the sanction of the law. Rice fields were divided and boundaries were set up round them saying—"This is thine, this is mine."[18] But when people began to snatch away the rice of others without their consent, there arose the necessity of some authority which would protect their respective fields. And that led to the creation of the office of the "Mahākhattiya" or protector of fields.[19]

The Buddhist sources not only emphasise the importance of the rise of private property in the origin of the State but they also vaguely refer to the role of the family in this connection. They inform us that when sexual congress began between man and woman, in order to conceal their sin they built houses (or huts).[20] Probably one house was meant for one family. According to the Tibetan Dulva (Vol. V) this was the first appearance in the world of division by houses (or families ?), and this division was made lawful or not lawful according to the king's decision.[21] At one place Śānti Parva refers to the rise of *'Dvandva'* or monogamous family in the kali age but does not connect it with the rise of the State.[22]

The importance of *'varṇas'* in the rise of the State is chiefly dealt with in the Purāṇas. According to them, when the means of subsistence had been provided, people were divided into four *'varṇas'*. Brāhmaṇas were meant for

14. *Vāyu P.*, Ch. VIII—48, 49, 52, 62 & 63 ; विशोकास्सत्वबहुला एकान्नबहुलास्तथा... ता वै निष्कामचारिण्यो नित्यं मुदितमानसाः *Kūrma P.*, Ch. 29.

15. *Vāyu P.* VIII—128, 142-45 & 154 ; *Mārk P.* Chs. 49—59, 60 & 74 ; ... तस्मिं वनलते अन्तर्हिते तं शालिं अकणं अतुषं सुरभिततण्डुलफलं आहारमाहरन्ता चिरं दीर्घमध्वानं तिष्ठेन्सु *Mahāvastu*, Vol. I, p. 342.

16. Rockhill: *Life of Buddha*, p. 5 ; *Dīgha Nikāya op. cit.*, p. 86 ; *Mahāvastu*, Vol. I, p. 343.

17. पर्य्यगृह्णन्त नदी क्षेत्राणि पर्वतानि *Vāyu P.* VIII—31 ; *Mārk P.*, Chs. 49—62 ; *Kūrma P.* Ch. 29.

18. *Life of Buddha, op. cit.* pp. 5-6 ; *Dīgha Nikāya, op. cit.* p. 87.

19. *Life of Buddha, op. cit.* pp. 6-7 ; *Dīgha Nikāya, op. cit.* p. 88 ; *Mahāvastu*, Vol. IX, pp. 347-48.

20. *Mahāvastu*, Vol. I, p. 343 ; *Dīgha Nikāya, op. cit.* p. 85 ; *Life of Buddha, op. cit.* p. 4.

21. *Life of Buddha, op. cit.*, p. 5.

22. *S.P.*, Ch. 207—40.

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praying, Kṣatriyas for fighting, the Vaisyas for producing and the Śūdras were addicted to manual tasks.[23] This division worked in favour of those who fought and prayed and therefore it might have been resented by the conscious producers. Therefore the Purāṇas say that the duties of the castes were settled but they did not fulfil their respective duties and came into mutual conflict.[23a] "Having become aware of this fact the Lord Brahmā prescribed (daṇḍa) criminal justice and war as the profession of the Kṣatriya."[24]

It is in the Śānti Parva that the *role* of all the three institutions of property, family and caste in the origin of the State can be seen at one place. The circumstances that led to the creation of the State are set forth clearly: "The wealth of one is snatched away by two, that of those two is snatched away by many acting together. He who is not a slave is made slave. Women, again, are forcibly abducted. For these reasons the gods created kings for protecting the people."[25] And when the people made compact to put an end to such a state of affairs, two main conditions were that they should throw out those who abduct other people's wives or rob other's wealth.[26] Besides, the compact was made to "inspire confidence amongst all 'varṇas'."[27] In order to place the compact on a permanent footing they went out in search of a king. They were prepared to give him certain share of their own property and beautiful maidens in marriage.[28] The result would be that the king would have a vital and permanent interest not only in the preservation of his property and family but also those of his subjects. It was on such conditions that Manu finally accepted the kingship.

Besides Manu, the Epic and Puranic traditions make Pṛthu, the first traditional king.[28a] The tradition says that one of the main grievances of the people was that dishonest men seized the property of their neighbours. When Pṛthu was consecrated, he removed the grievances of the people.[29] At the time of his coronation, the first king Pṛthu assured the people in these words: "I shall establish the *svadharma, varṇadharma* and *aśramadharma,* and enforce them with the rod of punishment."[30] It is further said that the first king was equally honoured by all the four *varṇas*.[31]

While the above direct references to the origin of the State throw sufficient light on the importance of property, family and caste in it, certain indirect evidences may also be examined. One line of approach may be: what would happen if the State does not exist? The one recurrent tone both in Śānti-

23. वर्णधर्मैजीवन्त्यो व्यरुध्यन्त परस्परं *Vāyu P. VIII*—155-59. *Cf. Padma-Charita,* III—240.

24. ब्रह्मा तमर्थं बुद्धत्वा यु याथातथ्येन वै प्रभुः ।
क्षत्रियाणां बलं दण्डं युद्धजीवमादिशत् ॥ *Vāyu P.* Ch. VIII—161.

25. *Śānti Parva,* Ch. 67—14 & 15.
26. *Ibid,* Ch. 67—17 & 18.
27. *Ibid.,* Ch. 67—19.
28. *Ibid.,* Ch. 67—23 & 24.
28a. *S.P.,* Ch. 59—125.
29. *Viṣṇu P.,* Bk I, Ch. XIII.
30. *Samarāṅgaṇa-Sūtrādhāra,* Ch. VII.
31. *Brahma P.* Ch. V—116-121.

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Parva and Ayodhyā-Kāṇda which contain long description of *'arājaka'* states is that family and property would not be safe.[32] It is stated that if the king did not exercise the duty of protection, no body, then, with reference to any article in his possession would be able to say this is mine. Wives, sons, food and other kinds of property would not then exist.[33] It is further mentioned that the strong would forcibly appropriate the possession of the weak.[34] Bhandarkar has quoted five passages which suggest that the kingly office arose to protect the weak against the strong.[35] Possibly it may not be correct to interpret the 'weak' as poor and 'strong' as rich. But there are certain references which give the impression that the kingly office was meant to support the haves against the combined attacks of the have-nots. Thus it is said that in absence of the royal protection the wicked men would forcibly appropriate the vehicles, robes, ornaments and precious stones and other kinds of property belonging to others.[36] Obviously only the wealthy could own such items of property. It is also said that if the king does not protect, the wealthy would have to encounter death, confinement and persecution.[37] In such a case two persons combining together snatch the wealth of one, and many acting in concert rob the two.[38] The Ayodhya-Kāṇda informs us that in a kingless State the wealthy feel insecure and they cannot sleep keeping their door open.[39] Further, under such conditions, all restrictions about marriage and intercourse cease, and the institution of marriage ceases to exist.[40] It is said that in the absence of the king, the *varṇavyavasthā* would be destroyed and an intermixture of castes would take place.[41] Exactly the same consequences follow if *daṇḍa*, the symbol of the power of the State disappears. It is pointed out that it was by means of *daṇḍa* that the misappropriation of other people's possession was stopped and that is why it was called *Vyavahāra*. But once, when it disappeared, the results were disastrous. "There were no restraints in the matter of the union of the sexes. All idea of property ceased. All creatures began to rob . . ."[42] Thus it can be argued that since the absence of the ruler or 'Daṇḍa' has been regarded in the classical traditions as a great menace to the institutions of property, family and caste, the State arose due to the necessity of protecting them.

The chief duties of the king also can throw light on the purpose for which his office was created. It is well-known that one of the main duties of the king was the protection of private property by punishing the thief, and that of family by punishing the adulterers. So great was the responsibility of protecting property that it was incumbent on the king to restore to a subject the

32. *S.P.*, Ch. 68 ; *Ayodhyā Kānda*, Ch. 67.
33. *S.P.*, Ch. 68—15, 33 and Ch. 57—46 ; of *Ayodhya Kāṇda*, Ch. 67—10, 11 & 31.
34. *S.P.*, Ch. 68—14.
35. Bhandarkar, *Op. cit.*, pp. 115-118.
36. *S.P.*, Ch. 68—16.
37. *S.P.*, Ch. 68—19.
38. *S.P.*, Ch. 90—39 & 40.
39. *A.K.*, Ch. 67—18.
40. *S.P.*, Ch. 68—21 & 22.
41. *S.P.*, Ch. 68—29.
42. *S.P.*, Ch. 121—13 *cf. Manu* VII—20 to 24.

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stolen wealth at any cost.[43] At one place it is said that a king of strict rule was one who cherished the poor.[44] But there is also an evidence to the contrary. It is stated that the king should always honour those of his subjects that are rich because in every kingdom the wealthy constitute an estate. Further, there is no doubt that a wealthy person is the foremost of men.[45] Besides, the protection of the family and the prevention of adultery was another great responsibility of the king. Manu enumerates eighteen offences into which the king should look. Out of them ten offences are connected with the property and two are connected with the family.[46] Similarly Kātyāyana lists ten wrongs deserving attention by the king. Out of them five are connected with property and one with family.[47] Kātyāyana is specially particular that there should not be sudden accession of riches in the case of an indigent man.[48] Similarly according to Śukranītisāra offences against the State included murder of women, inter-mixture of castes, adultery, thieving, pregnancy without husband.[49] Out of seven conditions which Buddha laid down for the success of the Vajji state, two can be said to be related to property and family. One condition was that the Vajjis should act in accordance with the Vajjidharma as established in the old days. If Vajjidharma is explained in the light of the extract from Aṭṭathā quoted in Dīgha Nikāya (Hindi translation), it means that the thief should be punished according to law.[50] As to the second condition it clearly said that they should not detain among them by force or abduction women or girls belonging to them.[51] Specially, according to the Buddhist sources punishment of thieves was one of the primary charges of the king and the thief could be summarily killed at the order of the king either by hanging or by the removal of his skin, flesh and bones etc.[52]

The Buddhist sources, however, do not refer to the maintenance of the castes, which according to the Brahmanical sources[53] was one of the most important duties of the king. According to the Rāmāyaṇa under the ideal rule of Daśaratha—members of the different castes pursued their respective avocations.[54] The inscriptions also refer to the connection of the king with the four *varṇas*. One of them describes the king Rudradāman I as being ap-

43. *S.P.*, Ch. 75—10 ; *Āpastamba Sūtra* II, 10, 27. 4.
44. *S.P.*, Ch. 139—97.
45. धनिनः पूजयेन्नित्यं पानाच्छादनभोजनैः ..
अङ्गमेतन्महद्राज्ये धनिनो नाम भारत ।
ककुदं सर्व भूतानां धनस्थो नात्र संशयः ॥ *S.P.*, Ch. 88—29 to 30.
46. *Manu* VIII—4-7.
47. *Kātyāyana*—947 & 8. (Kane's Edition).
48. *Ibid*—949-50.
49. *S.N.S.* Chap. IV, Sec. V—161-2.
50. *Dīgha Nikāya* by Rāhula Sānkṛtyāyana and Jagadiśa Kaśyapa, pp. 118-9.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 118.
52. *Ibid.*, pp. 201, 204 *cf.* p. 236.
53. *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. III, Ch. I ; *Kāmandaka Nītisāra* Sec. XIII—41 & 58 ; *Bṛhaspati A.S.*, III—18 ; *Manu* VII—17 & 35 ; *Kātyāyana*—949-50 ; *Śānti Parva*, Ch. 57—15, Ch. 63—27, Ch. 65—12 and Ch. 77—11-17 ; *Brahma P.* Ch. 222—103 ; *Viṣnu P.*, Bk. III, Ch. VIII.
54. *Bāla Kāṇda*, VI—17 & 19.

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proached by the *varṇas*[55] and the other represents Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāyi as the preventer of the confusion of the four castes.[56] Among the ancient Indian law-givers, Manu laid special emphasis on the preservation of the caste system by the king. In his view the kingdom would prosper only so long as the purity of castes is maintained, otherwise it will perish together with its inhabitants.[57] Presumably, taking it for granted that the Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas would perform their duties, Manu ordained that the king should carefully compel the Vaiśyas and Śūdras to perform the work prescribed for them ; since if these two castes swerved from their duties, they would throw this whole world into confusion.[58] It appears that the existence of the State or the ruler was so completely identified with the maintenance of the institutions of property, family and the caste system that the Śānti Parva provides the same punishment for a person guilty of arson, theft or such co-habitation with women as may lead to inter-mixture of castes as is prescribed for the person guilty of compassing the death of the king.[59]

It is commonly accepted that the king in ancient India was the upholder of *dharma*. The Buddhist sources also want him to become *dharmadhvaja, dharmaketu* and *dharmādhipati*.[60] What Dharma meant in case of the Vajjis has been explained above.[61] But what were the concrete contents of the Brahmanical Dharma which the king was asked to uphold? This may be known from the Dharmaśāstras—the lawbooks to be followed by the kings. They contain elaborate chapters on property laws, marriage relations and caste system. The Śānti Parva which describes *dharma* as resting upon the king[62] refers to the consequences of its disappearance in these words: "When sinfulness is not restrained, no one can, according to the rights of property as laid down in the scripture, say—this thing is mine and this is not mine. When sinfulness prevails in the world, men cannot own and enjoy their own wives, animals, fields and houses."[63] It was also said that *dharma* was meant to aid the acquisition and preservation of wealth ; and besides, if *adharma* increased it caused a confusion of castes.[64] In the address of the sages to the tyrannical king Vena, *dharma* is explained in similar terms. They warned him that *dharma* was the greatest friend of men of all castes. If the king renounced *dharma,* no body's wife, wealth or house would be his own. According to Kauṭilya when all *dharmas* perish, the king becomes the promulgator of the *dharma* for the establishment of the four-fold caste system and the protection of morality.[65] Thus it seems that in concrete terms the king's maintenance of *dharma* signified nothing but the defence of the social order based on the institutions of family, property and caste system.

55. *Junāgarha Rock Insc. in Select Inscriptions* by Sarkar, Vol. I, p. 171.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 199.
57. *Manu* X—61 *cf. Śukranītisāra* IV, Sec. I, 215-16.
58. *Manu* VIII—418, *cf.* IX—253 ; *Vṛhannāradīya P.*, Ch. 104—62.
59. *S.P.*, Ch. 85—22.
60. *Dīgha Nikāya* (Hindi), p. 234.
61. See back p. 7.
62. *S.P.*, Ch. 90—5.
63. *S.P.*, Ch. 90—9 & 10.
64. *Ibid.*, Ch. 90—17 & 35.
65. *Kauṭilya,* Bk. iii—Ch. I.

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Therefore, from whatever point of view we study the problems of the origin of the State—the circumstances in the state of nature leading to the rise of the State, the conditions obtaining in a kingless State, the chief duties of the king, the meaning of the upholding of *dharma* by the king—it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that property, family and caste played the primary and vital *role* in the rise of the State in ancient India.

NOTE:—EDITIONS OF THE ORIGINAL SOURCES CONSULTED IN THE ARTICLE

(1) Brahma Purāṇa	...	Ānandāśrama Series, 1895.
(2) Brahmāṇda ,,	...	Venkateśwara Press.
(3) Kūrma ,,	...	Calcutta, 1890.
(4) Mārkaṇdeya ,,	...	Bibliotheca Indica.
(5) Vāyu ,,	...	Calcutta, 1880.
(6) Viṣṇu ,,	...	Wilson's Translation.
(7) Vṛhannārdīya ,,	...	Calcutta, 1891.
(8) Padma Charita	...	Bombay, V.S. 1895.
(9) Śānti Parva ...	...	Chitraśālā Press, Poona, 1932.
(10) Ayodhyā Kāṇda	...	Bombay, 1913.
(11) Bāla Kāṇda ...	...	Bombay, 1912.
(12) Mānavadharmaśāstra	...	Edited by V. N. Mandalika, Bombay, 1886.
(13) Kauṭilya ...	...	Shama Sastry's Edition.
(14) Kāmandaka Nītisāra	...	Trivandrum Sansk. Series.
(15) Śukra Nītisāra	...	Madras, 1882 and S. B. H., Allahabad.
(16) Bṛhaspati A.S.	...	Punjab Sansk. Series.
(17) Kātyāyana Smṛti	...	Kane's Edition.
(18) Dīgha Nikāya	...	Palī Text Society, London, 1890-1911.
(19) Mahāvastu Vol. I	...	Senart, Paris, 1882.

THE SĀTĀVĀHANA RIVAL OF RUDRADĀMAN

DR. M. RAMA RAO

There is a statement in the Junagadh inscription of Rudradāman,[1] the celebrated Śaka king, to the effect that he defeated Sātakarṇi, ruler of Dakṣiṇāpatha, twice but did not destroy him on account of his being not distantly related. One of the Kanhēri inscriptions[2] mentions a Śaka princess of the Kārdamaka family and a daughter of Mahākṣātrapa Rudra, as the queen of Vāsiṣṭīputra Sātakarṇi. These two inscriptions have given rise to several problems, *viz.*, who was the Sātakarṇi that was defeated by Rudradāman? Who was the Sātakarṇi that was the husband of the Śaka princess?

1. *EI*, vol. VIII.
2. *ASWI*, vol. V., p. 78; *IA*, XII, p. 273.

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Are the two identical or separate individuals? There has been a good deal of controversy about these problems and various solutions have been suggested. Scholarly interest in these problems has been recently revived. An attempt is made in this paper to examine the entire question afresh.

Rapson believed[3] that Vāsiṣṭīputra Pulōmāvi was both the rival and son-in-law of Rudradāman. D. R. Bhandarkar thought[4] that Rudradāman defeated the great Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi himself twice and gave his own daughter in marriage to Vāsiṣṭīputra Śivaśrī, son of the Sātakarṇi. R. G. Bhandarkar held[5] that Yajñaśrī was the rival and Vāsiṣṭīputra Catarapaṇa Sātakarṇi, the son-in-law of Rudradāman. Dubreuil conjectured[6] that Śivaśrī was the rival and relation of the Śaka king. Prof. Nilkanta Sastri[7] and following him Dr. Gopalachari[8] also hold the same opinion. The latter identifies Śivaśrī with V. P. Sātakarṇi of the Kanhēri inscription and considers him the son-in-law of Rudradāman. This writer also states that the Śivaskanda Sātakarṇi of the Purānas, identical with Śivamaka Sada of an Amarāvati inscription and probably a brother or nephew of Śivaśrī, was the ruler twice defeated by the Śaka king. Altekar has recently suggested[9] that V. P. Sātakarṇi, son through a queen other than the Śaka princess, was the king twice defeated by the Śaka ruler, and that this V. P. Sātakarṇi is identical with Śivaskanda Sātakarṇi of the Purānas described as Śivaśrī Sātakarṇi and with V. P. Sātakarṇi of the coin. All these suggestions are defective and open to serious criticism.

Rapson considered the synchronism 46th year of Nahapana = 124 A.D. = 18th year of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, that sheet anchor of later Sātavāhana chronology.[10]. It follows from this that Gautamīputra ruled between 106 and 130 A.D. and Vāsiṣṭīputra Pulōmāvi, his son, between 130 and 154 A.D. Rudradāman is mentioned as Kṣatrapa in the Andhau inscriptions[11] and as Mahākṣatrapa in the Girnar inscription dated in the 52nd and 72nd years respectively. Taken to have been dated in the Śaka era, these two records give the date 130-150 A.D. for Rudradāman. Thus he and Pulōmāvi would be contemporaries and rivals. One strong objection against this view is that the Girnar inscription mentions Rudradāman's rival as a Sātakarṇi and Pulōmāvi was not known as Sātakarṇi. Secondly, it is generally agreed by scholars that the dominions conquered by Gautamīputra were intact till at least the 19th year of his son Pulōmāvi[12], i.e. till (130+19) 149 A.D. There is no mention of Rudradāman after 150 A.D. Thus all the events mentioned in the Girnār and Kanhēri inscriptions have to be crowded into one year 149-150 A.D. and this is against probability. In the third place Pulōmāvi

3. *CAC*, Intro. pp. 37-38 & 112.
4. *IA*, vol. 48, p. 155.
5. *EHD*, p. 47.
6. *Anc. Dak.*, pp. 43-44.
7. *JRAS* 1926, p. 659.
8. *Early Hist. Andhra*, pp. 54-55.
9. All-India Oriental Conference, Lucknow session, Summaries of Papers, pp. 127-28.
10. *CAC*, Intro. p. 27.
11. *ASI* 1914-15, p. 67.
12. *EI*, VIII, Nasik ins. no. 2.

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ruled till 154 A.D. according to Rapson's chronology and was then succeeded by a number of Sātakarṇis. But Rudradāman seems to have died in 150 A.D. or immediately afterwards and this leaves no scope at all for his being a contemporary of any Sātavāhana king named Sātakarṇi. For these reasons Rapson's view is untenable.

D. R. Bhandarkar's suggestion that Gautamīputra was the rival of Rudradāman was the result of his view that Gautamīputra and his son Pulōmāvi ruled conjointly and made conquests together. But there is no evidence to show that Gautamīputra was ever defeated, much less by the Śakas whom he is said to have destroyed. Secondly, the theory of conjoint rule is untenable because the Purāṇas are unanimous in stating that the father and the son ruled in succession. In the third place Ptolemy mentions that Pulōmāvi and Chastana, the founder of the Śaka kingdom, were contemporaries. If so it is impossible that Pulōmāvi's father Gautamīputra and Chastana's grandson Rudradāman could be contemporaries. For these reasons Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's view cannot be accepted.

Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's opinion that Yajñaśrī was the rival of Rudradāman[13] is equally untenable. The Purāṇas mention three generations between Yajñaśrī and Pulōmāvi while on the Śaka side there were Chastana, his son Jayadāman who predeceased the father and Rudradāman his grandson. This disparity in the successions makes it impossible for Yajñaśrī to have been the contemporary of the Śaka king Rudradāman. Further, epigraphical and numismatic evidence shows that Yajñaśrī ruled over most of the dominions over which Rudradāman ruled, obviously after conquering them. This would be possible only after the death of Rudradāman and not before or during his life time.

Many writers have hit upon Śivaśrī as the rival of Rudradāman. This is a nice guess for this ruler's matronymic Vāsiṣṭīputra and the title Sātakarṇi satisfy the requirements of both the Girnar and Kanhēri inscriptions. But there are objections to this guess. Firstly, Śivaśrī is a personal name of this king while the Girnār record requires it to be Sātakarṇi.[14] Secondly, the Purāṇas give Śivaśrī a reign of seven years and mention him immediately after Pulōmāvi. If Pulōmāvi's reign ended in 130 A.D. the period of Śivaśrī would be 130-137 A.D. It is clear that the Śaka-Sātavāhana matrimonial relationship was formed earlier than the two defeats of Sātakarṇi by Rudradāman. Rudradāman was only a Kṣatrapa in 130 A.D. and some time must have elapsed between that date and that of his becoming Mahākṣatrapa and during the intervening period Chastana must have died. Rudradāman lost his ancestral territory and title and subsequently regained both by his own valour. These events should have taken five or six years at the least. This would coincide with the end of Śivaśrī's reign, and his being the rival and contemporary of Rudradāman becomes more or less impossible. If this becomes impossible Rudradāman's giving his daughter in marriage to a successor of Śivaśrī becomes

13. *EHD*, pp. 49-50.
14. Dr. Gopalachari dismisses this serious discrepancy cheaply stating that Śiva and Srī are mere honorific prefixes.

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still more impossible. Further, the identification of Śivaśrī with the Śivaskanda of the Purāṇas and the V. P. Sātakarṇi of the inscription and coins is unwarranted. The Purāṇas mention Śivaśrī and Śivaskanda as separate kings who ruled in succession and there is no evidence to discredit this version. Dr. Gopalachari gives Śivaśrī a reign of thirteen years while the Matsya Purāṇa and Pargiter's list give him a short rule of seven years.

Dr. Altekar has made a very curious suggestion. He says that V. P. Sātakarṇi was a son of his father by a queen other than the Śaka princess and that he would therefore be a step-son of Rudradāman's daughter. The matronymic Vāsiṣṭīputra makes this Śivaśrī a son of the famous Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. It follows then that this great monarch was the son-in-law of the Śaka king. This is an untenable proposition. If on Ptolemy's testimony V. P. Pulōmāvi was the contemporary of Chastana, it is patently impossible that Pulōmāvi's father was the contemporary and rival of Chastana's grandson Rudradāman. Secondly, this writer assigns Gautamīputra to 90-115 A.D. and his son Pulōmāvi to 115-140 A.D. He also assigns Nahapāna to 55-105 A.D. and makes him a contemporary of Gautamīputra. If so, 105 A.D. must be the 18th year of Gautamīputra's reign which must then have commenced in 87 and not 90 A.D. as proposed by Dr. Altekar. Pulōmāvi's rule would have begun in 111 A.D. and not 115 A.D. It is generally agreed that the conquests of Gautamīputra were intact till the 19th year of the reign of Pulōmāvi, *i.e.* till (111+19) 130 A.D. This writer also makes the mistake of identifying as one person different rulers mentioned in the Purāṇas as successive rulers.

It is not very difficult, however, to establish the identity of the Sātavāhana rival of Rudradāman. The Matsya Purāṇa[15] mentions Pulōmāvi with 28 years' reign and after him Śivaśrī with reign for seven years and then contains the expression: Śivaskandhaś-śāntikarṇād-bhavitāḥ-yatāmajas-samāḥ. This line does not mention the reign period of Śivaskanda and makes him *ātmaja* or son of a Śantikarṇa or Sātakarṇi. Śivaśrī, the preceding ruler, is not mentioned as a Sātakarṇi. It is obvious that a Sātakarṇi has been omitted from the list either before or after Śivaśrī. The Viṣṇu Purāṇa mentions in order Gōmatīputra or Gautamīputra, Balimān or Pulōmāvi, Sāntakarṇī or Sātakarṇi, Śivaśrita or Śivaśrī and Śivaskandha. According to Pargiter the copy of the Vāyu Purāṇa mentions a Sātakarṇi immediately after Pulōmāvi. This king is included in Pargiter's list as no 24a and the line giving him a reign of nineteen years is mentioned within brackets in the consolidated reading given by that scholar. The Kanhēri inscripition mentions a Vāsiṣṭīputra Sātakarṇi. A silver coin mentioning a Hiru Hātakaṇi Vāsiṣṭīputra has been recently found in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.[16] The Tarhala hoard of Sātavāhana coins contains many coins of a Śrī Sātakarṇi. In Rapson's Catalogue[17] are to be found many coins of the Elephant type containing the legend Śrī Sāta-

15. The edition of the Purāṇas referred to here is that of Venkatesvara Press edition.
16. Gopalachari—*EHA*, p. 54.
17. See *Pl.*, VII, nos. 171, 173, 175, 176.

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karṇi and Satakaṇi. Similar coins have also been obtained from Koṇḍāpūr and Berar.[18] I do not see any objection to considering all these Sātakarṇis as one individual and identifying him as the rival of Rudradāman. Following the copy of the Vāyu, I would assign to him a reign of 19 years between 130-149 A.D.

The following course of events in Śaka-Śātavāhana history may be deduced from the Girnār and Kanhēri inscriptions, from the coins of Chastana and Jayadāman and from the identification proposed above. It is likely that Chastana was sent to the south by a Kushana overlord in order to arrest Sātavāhana aggression. He arrived on the scene in or about 125 A.D. and took possession of Ajmer and assumed the title of Kṣatrapa. After consolidating his position there he conquered Cutch, Guzerat and Malwa, assumed the title of Mahākṣtrapa and struck coins with the three arched caitya, in imitation of the coins of Nahapāna restruck by Gautamīputra which must have been in circulation in this region. His son Jayadāman was the Kṣatrapa for a short time during this period. Jayadāman as Kṣatrapa also struck coins in imitation of the Sātavāhana copper coins which were in circulation there and adopted even the Ujjain symbol. Jayadāman predeceased his father and about 130 A.D. his son Rudradāman became the Kṣatrapa. Both Pulōmāvi and Chastana passed away in 130 A.D. Taking advantage of the death of Chastana the Yaudhēyas might have invaded the Śaka kingdom. Sātakarṇi, who succeeded his brother Pulōmāvi, as the ruler of Dakṣiṇāpatha, found his opportunity in this and invaded the Śaka kingdom from the south and probably conquered Mālwā. Unable to fight a battle on two fronts Rudradāman might have made peace with his southern neighbour Sātakarṇi by giving him his own deaughter in marriage. The Yaudhēya war continued for a long time and Rudradāman was at a disadvantage in the early stage. Sātakarṇi must have made another attempt to wrest the Śaka territories and this time Rudradāman might have defeated him in an engagement. After driving away the Yaudhēyas and restoring order in the Śaka kingdom Rudradāman seems to have turned his attention to the south. He must have invaded Aparāmta and encountered Sātakarṇi again in that connection. The Sātavāhana king was defeated and driven out of Aparāmta. Sātakarṇi must, thereafter, have confined his rule to Asaka, Assaka, Mulaka, Vidarbha and eastern Dakkan wherein his coins are to be found.

In view of what has been stated above I believe that V. P. Sātakarṇī, a brother and immediate successor of Pulōmāvi, was the Sātakarṇi Dakṣiṇāpapathapati who was the rival and son-in-law of the Śaka king Rudradāman.

18. *JNSI*, vol. II, pt. 8, nos. 11 & 12.

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A NOTE ON SĀLANKĀYANA GENEALOGY

R. NARASIMHA RAO

The genealogy of the Sālankāyana kings has been a tough problem and given rise to a good deal of speculation. Out of the five copper-plate grants[1] of this family, till recently known, only the Pedavēgi grant contains four generations and the Kollēru grant enumerates two. The three remaining grants mention names of their respective donors only. The problem was how to interrelate these rulers. The recent discovery of two more grants[2] of this family has further complicated this problem. This paper is devoted to a comprehensive discussion of Sālankāyana genealogy with the aid of all the seven copper-plate grants, now available.

For a long time scholars were misled by the existence of a so-called Prākrit grant of the Sālankāyanas in Elliot's collection. Fleet, who first published this information, showed that the grant mentions a Nandivarman and his son Buddhavarman. Several scholars like Dubreuil, K. V. Lakshamana Rao, M. S. Sarma, R. Subba Rao, K. R. Subramanyam, accepted this information and incorporated these two kings in the genealogies worked out by them. Fleet himself, however, corrected[3] his first information and showed that the so-called Sālankāyana grant was really a Pallava grant now familiarly known as the British Museum plates of Chārudēvi. It is, therefore, no longer correct to consider this Nandivarman (who is really Skandavarman) and his son as members of the Sālankāyana dynasty.

The Allahabad pillar inscription, which narrates the exploits of Samudragupta, mentions a Vaingēyaka Hastivarman or Hastivarman of Vēngī as a rival of the Gupta emperor. Since no other dynasty is known to have ruled over Vēngī about the middle of the 4th century A.D., and since all the grants of the Sālankāyanas were issued from Vēngī, it is admitted by all scholars that this Hastivarman was a Sālankāyana king.[4]

The following is the genealogical information contained in the fine copper-plate grants of this family till recently known:—

1. Ellore Prakrit plates of Vijayadevavarman in *E.I.*, IX, pp. 56-59; Pedavegi plates of Nandivarman II in *JAHRS*, I, pp. 92-102; Kanteru plates of Vijayaskandavarman in *E.I.*, V, pp. 42-47 and *JAHRS*, VI, pp. 21-31; Kanteru grant of Nandivarman in *JAHRS*, VI, pp. 31-32; Kolleru grant of Vijayanandivarman in *I.A.*, V, pp. 175-77.

2. The Kanukollu plates (Sanskrit and Prakrit) edited by Mr. B. V. Krishnarao in the *Bharati*, Madras, Jan. 1950, pp. 69-86.

3. Cf. *I.A.*, IX, p. 100; LXXIV and *E.I.*, VIII.

4. Dr. Gopalachari seems to make too much of this expression 'Vaingeyaka Hastivarman' which is unwaranted because the kings themselves are described in their own grants as Salankayanas and as of Salankayana gotra. Cf. the Kolleru grant line 2; Ellore plates line 4; Pedavegi grant line 7; Kanukollu Sanskrit plates line 7.

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PEDAVĒGĪ
Hastivarman
Anēka-samarā-vāpta-vijayin
Nandivarman
Vividha-dharma-pradhānaḥ
Caṇḍavarman
Pratāpō-panata-sāmantaḥ
Nandivarman II
Citrarathasvāmi-pādānudhyātaḥ
Bappabhaṭṭāraka-pāda-bhaktaḥ
Paramabhāgavataḥ
Putrō Jyēṣṭaḥ

KOLLĒRU
Caṇḍavarman
Vijayanandivarman
Citrarathasvāmi-pādānudhyātaḥ
Bappabhaṭṭāraka-pāda-bhaktaḥ
Paramabhāgavataḥ
Sunur-jayēṣṭaḥ

KANTERU
Vijayanandivarman
Citrarathasvāmi-pādānudhyātaḥ
Bappabhaṭṭāraka-pādá-bhaktaḥ
Paramabhāgavataḥ
Sālankāyanaḥ

KANTERU
Vijayaskandavarman
Citrarathasvāmī-pādānudhyātaḥ
Bappabhaṭṭāraka-pāda-bhaktaḥ
Paramabhāgavataḥ
Sālankāyanaḥ

ELLORE
Vijayadēvavarman
Aśvamēdhin
Citrarathasvāmi-pādānudhyātaḥ
Bappabhaṭṭāraka-pāda-bhaktaḥ
Paramabhāgavataḥ
Sālankāyanaḥ

Various suggestions have been made by various scholars regarding the inter-relation of the kings mentioned above. The Ellore grant of Vijayadēvavarman is in the Prākrit language while the other four are in Sanskrit. It is generally admitted that the Prākrit charters preceded those written in Sanskrit. According to Hultzsch, the language of the Ellore plates is more archaic than the literary Prākrit of the British Museum grant of Charudēvi. This indicates for him a place for earlier than the other rulers. Still, Lakshmanarao and Sarma considered Dēvavarman as the son of Hastivarman and thus accommodated him in the Pedavēgī group of kings. Jayaswal took him to be a successor of Nandivarman of the Kollēru grant ; K. R. Subramanyam, Panchamukhi,[5] Dr. Gopalachari[6] and Dr. Sircar[7] place Dēvavarman before the Pedavēgī group. This is also my view. It accords with considerations of palæography and language.

5. *E.I.*, XXV, pp.
6. *Early History of Andhradesa*, p. 169.
7. *Successors of the Satavahanas*, p. 73.

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Dr. Sircar[8] and Panchamukhi[9] identify Vijayanandivarman of the Kollēru grant with Nandivarman II of the Pedavēgī group. This identification is supported by two important facts, *viz.*, in both Nandivarman is described in identical terms and as the eldest son of Chaṇḍavarman, and the *Ājñapti* of both the grants is the same Mulākura Bhōjaka.

Nandivarman of Kantēru is identified by Lakshmana Rao with Nandivarman of Kollēru ; by Dr. Sircar with Nandivarman II of Pedavēgī, and by Panchamukhi and Dr. Gopalachari[10] with Nandivarman I of the same grant. In support of his identification Dr. Gopalachari mentions the fact that Nandivarman of Kantēru is not described as a son of Chaṇḍavarman. Panchamukhi argues that the script of the Kantēru plates of Nandivarman is more angular and antique than that of the Pedavēgī and Kollēru plates which is rounded and more developed. Dr. Sircar lays emphasis on the epithet *paramabhāgavata* which is commonly applied to Nandivarman II of Pedavēgī and Nandivarman of Kollēru and Kantēru and takes them to be identical. There is one serious objection to the identification of Nandivarman of Kantēru with Nandivarman I of Pedavēgī. The adjectives applied to Nandivarman of Kantēru and Vijayaskandavarman of Kantēru are the same. Both plates contain donations to the Maudgalya gōtra and both were found in the same place. It is obvious, therefore, that this Nandivarman and Skandavarman are closely related to each other and ruled almost in succession. The narration of names in the Pedavēgī plates indicates an unbroken and regular succession of four generations. If Nandivarman of Kantēru is identified with Nandivarman I of Pedavēgī, there is no room in the Pedavēgī group of Skandavarman, who must, as stated above, have followed him immediately. For this reason also Nandivarman of Kantēru must be identified with the donor of the Kollēru plates and with Nandivarman II of Pedavēgī.

Regarding Skandavarman, Dr. Gopalachari[11] considers him a brother and successor of Nandivarman I but it has already been pointed out that it is against the spirit of the Pedavēgī plates. Panchamukhi considers this Skandavarman a predecessor or elder contemporary of Vijayadēvavarman. But Skandavarman's Kantēru grant is in Sanskrit while the Ellore plates of Dēvavarman are in Prākrit. There is nothing therefore that connects these two kings. There is on the other hand a close affinity between the two Kantēru grants, as shown above. For these reasons I agree with Dr. Sircar and take Skandavarman to have been the younger brother and successor of Nandivarman II.

In view of what has been stated above, the genealogy of the Sālankāyanas, as known from their five grants hitherto published, may be stated as follows:

8. *Ibid.*, table on p. 73.
9. *E.I., XXV.*
10. *Early Hist. Aidhra,* p. 175.
11. See supra tabular statement.

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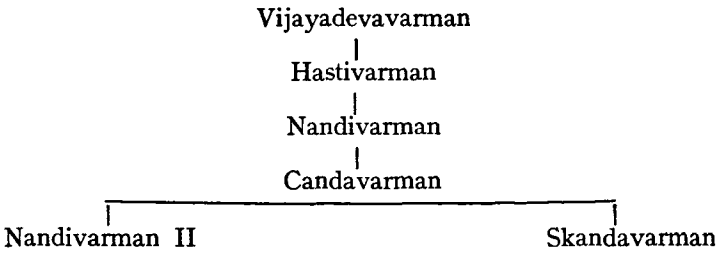

Two more copper-plate grants, both discovered in the village of Kānukollu in the West Godavari district, have been recently brought to light. They contain the followng important information affecting the genealogy of the Sālankāyanas:

KANUKOLLU	KĀNUKOLLU
Hastivarman I Aneka-samara-vikhyāta-karmā Nandivarman I Pratāp-ānītā-hitavarman Hastivarman II Cātu-rudadhi-tarangā-liṅgita-yaśaḥ Nandivarman II Citrarathasvāmi-pādānudhyātaḥ Bappabhaṭṭāraka-pāda-bhaktaḥ Sālankāyanaḥ	Nandivarman Bappabhaṭṭāraka-pāda-pariggahita Kaṁdapōtta Bālaka-mahārāja-kumāra

Mr. B. V. Krishnarao, who edited these plates, remarks as follows: (i) The script of the Prākrit plates resembles that of the Mydavōlu and Hiraḥaḍagalli plates of Pallava Śivaskandaraman and the Koṇḍamuḍi plates of Jayavarman. (ii) Certain expressions like Bappa-Bhaṭṭāraka-pādapariggahitena are akin to expressions like Mahāsēna-Pariggahitassa of the Ikṣvāku inscriptions. (iii) The mention of the season and fortnight shows their anteriority to those mentioning the month and fortnight and *tithi*. It is certain, therefore, that Nandivarman of these plates flourished earlier than Vijayadēvavarman of the Ellore Prākrit plates. Regarding the second Kānukollu plate Mr. Rao says (i) that they resemble the Kantēru grant of Skandavarman and the Pedavēgī plates and are earlier than these two grants. (ii) That Hastivarman I of Kānukollu is identical with Hastivarman of Pedavēgī. (iii) That Hastivarman II of Kānukollu and Chaṇḍavarman of Pedavēgī were sons of Nandivarman of Kānukollu.

The Kānukollu Prākrit plates do not expressly describe Nandivarman, its donor, as a Sālankāyana. Nor is he described as a devotee of Chitraratha as all other donors of Sālankāyana grants are described. For these reasons it may be doubted if this Nandivarman was a Sālankāyana at all. The alphabet as well as phraseology of these plates is akin to that of the Ellore Prākrit plates. It is not likely that any other dynasty ruled from Vēngī before the Sālankāyanas. Nandivarman may, therefore, be tentatively considered a Sālankāyana. If so, what should be his relation to Dēvavarman? Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao makes

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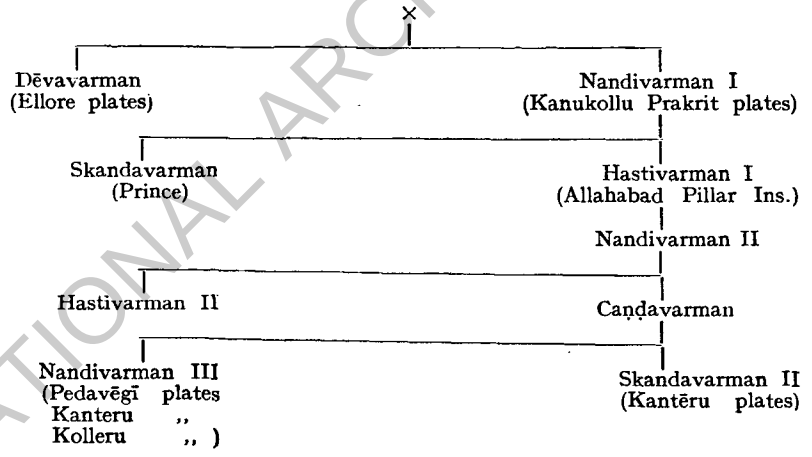
Nandivarman the predecessor of Dēvavarman and since both he and Dēvavarman style themselves devotees of the feet of Bappa, he makes the two kings brothers. It must be noted, however, that Dēvavarman is described as the performer of *Aśvamedha* while Nandivarman is not so described. Dēvavarman's *Aśvamedha* must be a token of the foundation of his independence. The village of Piḍiha, whose gift is registered in the Prākrit Kānukollu grant, is identified by Mr. Krishna Rao with Peyyēra near Kānukollu in the Gudivada taluq where the plates were found. This region was included in the Kuḍūrahāra-viṣaya of those times. Many other Sālankāyana grants contain gifts made in this viṣaya indicating Sālankāyana conquest of and rule over it. This Viṣaya was under Jayavarman of the Brihatpalāyana gōtra before the Sālankāyanas. Obviously the Sālankāyanas conquered this region from the Brihatpalāyanas. Dēvavarman's *Aśvamedha* might be a token of this conquest. In that case Nandivarman could have made a gift in this Viṣaya only if he came after Dēvavarman and not before him. For this reason I am inclined to believe that Nandivarman of the Prākrit grant was a son or younger brother of Dēvavarman. Hastivarman I of the Kānukollu Sanskrit plates and Hastivarman of the Pedavēgī plates may be taken to be identical.

The comprehensive genealogy of the Sālankāyanas, as known from the seven copper-plate grants referred to in this article, may then be stated as follows:



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NOTES ON THE ERAN STONE INSCRIPTION OF SAMUDRAGUPTA

JAGAN NATH, M.A.

1. *The Inscription is Posthumous.*

The Eran inscription of Samudragupta has been published by Dr. Fleet in CCI, III, pp. 18-21. It is a fragmentary record. The first six lines containing the first verse and about three-fourths of the second verse, are completely lost. From line 8 to 24 a few syllables in the beginning of each line are gone. The stone is also broken away at the bottom and an indefinite portion of the text is lost and we can form no idea about the extent of the record. The extant portion in the opening lines runs as follows:

line. 7. [— — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑] सुवर्णदाने
8. [विस्मा]*रिता नृपतयः पृथुराघवाद्याः [॥]*२
9. [— —]बभूव धनदात्तकतुष्टिकोपतुल्यः
10. [⏑ — ⏑म-नयेन समुद्रगुप्तः [।]*
11. [— —] प्य पार्थिवगणस्सकलः पृथिव्यां
12. [— --] स्त (स्व)-राज्यविभवद्ध् तमास्थितोऽभूत् [॥]*३

The first half of verse 3 appears to contain a complete idea. It may be put in the prose order as follows: धनदासकतुष्टिकोपतुल्यः समुद्रगुप्तः बभूवः । The use of the Perect tense would mean that Samudragupta was not alive at the time the inscription was composed. Dr. Fleet, however, construed the verb *babhūva* as referring to some predecessor of Samudragupta. He says, "From the occurrence of the word *babhūva* in line 9, the first part of the inscription probably mentioned some of his ancestors. But, that the inscription did not extend to the time of any of his successors is shown by the fact that none of their names can be fitted into any of the places where letters are illegible in lines 11 to 24 ; consequently the prowess etc. described in these lines are those of Samudragupta."[1]

As regards the suggestion of Dr. Fleet that the first part of the inscription probably mentioned some of Samudragupta's ancestors, it has to be noted that there are only two verses preceding the mention of Samudragupta's name in the inscription. Of the first verse nothing has been preserved and so it is impossible to say what it actually contained. But whatever is left of the second verse, appears to pertain to Samudragupta. In line 8, the two missing syllables in the beginning may be restored as *vismā* and this line may be read as given above. The mention of gifts of gold—*suvarṇa-dāna* in line 7 may easily be referred to Samudragupta, who alone in the official Gupta genealogies is given the epithet—*nyāy-āgat-āneka-go-hiraṇya-koṭipradaḥ*—bestowing many crores of lawfully acquired cows and gold. This verse, therefore, purports to say that by his munificent gifts of gold, Samudragupta caused the people to forget even

1. *CII*, III, 19.

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great Kings of the past like Pṛthu and Rāghava. It, therefore, does not refer to Samudragupta's ancestors, but to Samudragupta himself.

The verb *babhūva* occurs in the first half of verse 3, and has, evidently, for its subject the only occurring noun in the nominative, *i.e.*, Samudragupta. The second half of this verse is to be referred to Samudragupta, and cannot be connected with any of his predecessors. By no stretch of imagination can we refer the verb to any of the preceding verses. As explained above the second verse mentions Samudragupta's charities. It is clear beyond doubt that the sense is completed within the verse itself and has not been extended to the third verse. Verses 2 and 3 do not form what is technically called a *yugma*. With the second verse intervening between the first and the third, it is out of question that the verb *bahūva* in the third verse should have anything to do with the first, the contents of which are unknown to us.

As regards the second part of Dr. Fleet's statement, that the names of none of Samudragupta's successors can be fitted into the lacunae up to line 24, it is of course evident that the entire description refers to Samudragupta alone ; but the stone is broken away at the bottom, and in the circumstances it cannot be ascertained how far it extended and what its concluding part contained. This portion might easily be supposed to have contained the name of a successor of Samudragupta. In view of the fact that the verb *bahūva* has been used, as shown above, for Samudragupta, the inscription has to be regarded as posthumous.

2. *Meaning of the Compound Pauruṣa-Parakrama-Datta-Śulkā.*

The compound pauruṣa-parākrama-datta-śulkā occurs in the following verse:

— — स्य पौरुषपराक्रमदत्तशुल्का
— — श्च रत्नधनधान्यसमृद्धियुक्ता ।
— — गृहेषु मुदिता बहुपुत्रपौत्र
— कामिणी कुलवधुः ब्रतिनि निविष्टा ॥

The word *Śulka* in the first line of this verse has been taken by Dr. Fleet in the sense of dower and he has translated the line thus: "whose dower was provided by (his) manliness and prowess." The late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal also understood the line as conveying a similar meaning as is clear from his following observation:

"Wife was never so honoured as Samudragupta honoured Dattadevī. In the greatest moment of his triumph at Eran the Emperor of All India proudly remembered his life-partner and the day of his marriage when the dowry consisted of only the manliness of her lord."[2]

The lexiconic meanings of *Śulka* are: 1. custom-duty, 2. money advanced to ratify a bargain, 3. purchase price of a girl, 4. nuptial present, 5. dowry, 6. present given by the bride-groom to his bride.[3] In order to determine the particular sense in which *Śulka* has been used in the Eran inscription, the best

2. *History of India 150 A.D. to 350 A.D.*, p. 208.
3. Apte's *Sanskrit English Dictionary*.

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method is to study some parallel passages in which the word occurs, compounded with *'pauruṣa'* and *'parākrama'* or a synonym for the same. The following are a few important parallels:

(a) In the Rāmāyaṇa the word occurs in the following verses uttered by Janaka, when Rāma had successfully bent and broken the bow:

मम सत्या प्रतिज्ञा सा वीर्यशुल्केति कौशिक ।
सीता प्राणैर्बहुमता देया रामाय मे सुता ॥ I, 67, 23.

and राजानं प्रश्रितैर्वाक्यैरानयन्तु पुरं मम ।
प्रदानं वीर्यशुल्कायाः कथयन्तु च सर्वशः ॥ I. 67, 25.

In both these verses *virya-śulkā* means 'she whose price is valour', *i.e.* who is to be won or obtained in marriage only by the merit of personal valour.

(b) The following verse occurs in the Bhāgavata Purāna:

या वीर्यशुल्केन हृता स्वयंवरे प्रमथ्य चैद्यप्रमुखान् हि शुष्मिणः ।
प्रद्युम्नसाम्बासुतादयोऽपरा याश्चाहृता भौमवधे सहस्रशः ॥ I, 10, 28.

Here there is a reference to brides who had been won in a *svayamvara* by the display of valour (lit. by the bride-price of valour) having overthrown the valiant heroes headed by the King of Cedi.

(c) In the Raghuvaṃśa of Kālidāsa, the word occurs in the following verses:

1. तस्य वीक्ष्य ललितं वपुः शिशोः पार्थिवः प्रथितवंशजन्मनः ।
स्वं निश्चिन्त्य च धनुर्दुरानमं पीडितो दुहितृशुल्कसंस्थया ॥ XI, 38

Here we are told that Janaka felt oppressed on account of the condition of the 'bride-price' for his daughter, which consisted of the power to bend the bow—on seeing the tender body of the youth (Rama) and thinking of the bow which was unbendable.

Further, 2. दृष्टसारमथ रुद्रकार्मुके वीर्यशुल्कमभिनन्द्य मैथिलः ।
राघवाय तनयामयोनिजां रूपिणीं श्रियमिव न्यवेदयत् ॥ XI, 47

Here, Janaka, is said to have heartily approved of the 'purchase-price' which consisted of the valour of Rāma, and offered his Sītā.

In all the verses quoted above the word *vīryaśulkā* (lit. she whose price consisted of valour) has been used for a maiden, the condition for winning whose hand was the possession of manly prowess which was to be displayed by the suitor according to specific conditions. The compound *pauruṣa-parakrama-datta-śulkā*, in the Eran inscription is an exact parallel to the compound वीर्यशुल्क occurring in the quotations given above. It may be, therefore, inferred, that the father of Dattadevī had laid down as a condition precedent to her marriage that the suitor seeking her hand must give proof of physical strength and courage in some way the exact nature of which is not known to us. This may, however, be regarded as certain that Samudragupta had won Dattadevī in an open contest like those known to us in the case of Rāma and Arjuna, by the performance of some valiant and heroic deeds and thus fulfilling the conditions for the marriage laid down by Dattadevī's father.

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THE EXPRESSIONS *AVANIPATITRITAYA* AND *TRAIRĀJYA* IN EARLY CHĀLUKYA INSCRIPTIONS

DR. G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI

The expression *avanipatitritaya* is found for the first time in the Kurnul Plates of Vikramāditya I, dated in the third year of his reign, in course of the statement that he "having gained for himself the royalty of his father, which had been concealed by the triad of kings, caused the burden of the whole kingdom to be governed by himself alone".

sva-guroś-śriyam-avanipati-tritay-āntaritām-ātmasāt-kṛitva kṛitaik-ādhi-shṭhit-āśesha-rājyabhāras

The same triad of kings are apparently referred to as *rājyatraya* in the very next line, and it is said that Vikramāditya "by his own mouth confirmed the property of temples and the grants to the Brahmins which had lapsed in that triad of kingdoms (or destroyed by those three kings)'.

As for the term *trairājya* it is met with for the first time in the Jejuri Plates of Vinayāditya which states that he, at the command of his father (*i.e.*, Vikramāditya I) arrested the extremely exalted power of *trairājya-Pallava.*

There is a lack of unanimity among scholars as to the exact significance of the two terms *avanipatitritaya* and *trairājya* in the above inscriptions. Fleet, for example, took the former term to refer to the three Pallava kings Narasiṁhavarman I, Mahendravarman II and Parameśvaravarman I, who are known to have been defeated by Vikramaditya I.[1] But we now know that there are serious chronological difficulties in the way of accepting Fleet's view, and it has been rightly given up by subsequent writers.[2] Hultzsch and several other scholars expressed the opinion that *avanipatitritaya* actually referred to the kings of the Choḷa, Pāṇḍya and Kerala kingdoms.[3] A high authority on south Indian history, however, has recently argued that the three kings were either Vikramāditya's own brothers Ādityavarman, Chandrāditya and Raṇarāgavarman, or the first two and the Pallava king Narasiṁhavarman, who as we all know inflicted a series of defeat on Pulakeśin II and even captured Vātāpi.[4] In this connection our attention is specially drawn to the following facts:

(1) Pulakeśin II probably lost his life in the sack of Vātāpi by Narasiṁhavarman I, and the Chālukya capital passed into the possession of the invader at least for a time.

1. *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, 362.
2. Cf. *EI*, xx, 28n ; *Journal of Āndhra History and Culture*, i, 172.
3. *EI*, ix, 101n ; x, 105n ; xxii, 26n.
   According to some scholars the three kings belonged to the three branches of the Pallava dynasty who ruled over three different regions of the Pallava kingdom. For criticism of this view see *EI*, xxii, 27f.
4. *Journal of Āndhra History and Culture*, i, 171 ff. The name Raṇarāgavarman, an elder brother of Vikramāditya I, is known from the Honnur Plates of the latter (Mysore Arch. Dept., *An. Rep.* 1939, 129 ff.

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(2) Both Ādityavarman and Chandrāditya are known to have assumed imperial titles from which it can be inferred that on the fall of Pulakeśin II his sons who were in charge of different provinces of his extensive empire made an attempt to carve out independent principalities for themselves.

(3) Vikramāditya I resolved to reestablish the Chālukyan empire in all its strength. He first waged war against the invaders, and then fell upon his brothers. Only one of them, Jayasiṁha, stood by him, and was rewarded with the governorship of the Lāṭa province. "The danger of the empire being cut up into separate kingdoms was thus averted; and this is the meaning of the phrase relating to the three kings having obscured the glory of his father's estate, and Vikramāditya having rescued it entire and made it his own."

(4) Vikramāditya's struggle with his brothers is *probably* hinted at in a set of spurious Kurnul Plates referred to his reign which says that he acquired the sovereignty of the entire earth by conquering all his kinsmen (sarvān dāyādān vijitya).

We admit that the suggested interpretation of *avanipatitritaya*, as it has been presented to us, has considerable force in it. But there are several serious objctions that must be met before we can finally accept it.

Firstly, there are a few indications in the Chālukya records themselves, which seem to equate the term *avanipatitraya* with the Choḷa, Pāṇḍya and Keraḷa kings. We have seen above that the *avanipatitritaya* are also referred to as *rājyatraya* in the Kurnul Plates of the third year of Vikramāditya I. The Nausari Plates of Pulakeśin Avanijanāśraya of Lāṭa, distinctly refer to the three Tamil states as Chera-Chola-Pāṇḍya-kramāgata-rājyatraya, and it is specifically stated that Vikramāditya I conquered them.[5] This statement almost certainly point to the practice, current in the Chālukya court, of grouping the kings of Choḷa, Pāṇḍya and Keraḷa into a triad.

Secondly, the Kurnul Plates suggest that the recovery of the royal fortune of his father by Vikramāditya I took place after victories won by the king over "would-be conquerors" (vijigīshu). The implication appears to be that the "would-be conquerors" were outside enemies rather than internal rivals. Again, the *avanipatitritaya* not only obscured the royal fortune of Pulakeśin II, but they also destroyed the properties of temples and grants to the Brahmins. Now can such activities be reasonably expected from Pulakeśin II's own sons, Ādityavarman and Chandrāditya, who certainly had an interest in gaining the affection of the inhabitants of their own territories? As a matter of fact the only record of Ādityavarman which has come down to us shows him making grants to Brahmins on the occasion of *Paitāmahi hiraṇyagarbhadāna*.

We should also note in this connection that there is no inherent impossibility in making Ādityavarman a predecessor of Vikramāditya I. There is nothing to show that their reigns overlapped. The Kauthem Plates of Vikramāditya V,

5. *Vienna Oriental Congress*, Aryan Section, p. 230 f.

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and similar other records, actually mention a certain Neḍamari and Ādityavarman as the immediate successors of Pulakeśin II, and predecessors of Vikramāditya I.[6]

Thirdly, regarding Chandrāditya, it may be observed that in one of the records of his wife he is styled a *mahārāja*, and in the other *mahārājādhirāja* as also a *pṛithivīvallabha*. But the significant title of *Parameśvara*, found applied to both Ādityavarman and Vikramāditya, is never applied to him. This strongly raises a suspicion that he never aspired to independent position, and readily accepted Vikramāditya's suzerainty.[7]

Finally, what about the evidence of the spurious Kurnul Plates of the time of Vikramāditya I that the latter conquered his *dāyādas ?* It is interesting to note in this connection that during several reigns the *Chālukya* kings had to fight with their *dāyādas*. Thus for example the Godachi Plates of Kīrtivarman I describes him as *utsaditasarva-dāyādaḥ*. Maṅgaleśa fought with Chālukya Svāmikarāja, a hero of eighteen battles. It is, therefore, by no means impossible that these recalcitrant *dāyādas* once again raised their heads after the death of Pulakeśin II, and were finally subdued by Vikramāditya I.

In the light of the Nausari Plates of Pulakeśin Avanijanāśraya we believe that *avanipatitritaya* actually refer to Choḷa, Pāṇḍya and Keraḷa kings. Some scholars even find a reference to the three Tamil states as *dharanidharatraya* in the records of Vikramāditya's son Vinayāditya. But the reading *dharanidharatraya* is extremely doubtful.[8]

Now as to the term *Trairājya*, Fleet, Kielhorn, Krishna Sastri, Pathak and several other scholars understood it to mean the three Tamil states referred to above. Dubreuil took it to refer to the Pallava, the Pāṇḍya and the Siṁhala prince Mānavarman. According to several others it refers to the three divisions of the Pallava kingdom.[9] Another view is that the "expression has reference to the constitutional organization of the kingdom (here apparently the Pallava kingdom) by which three members of the royal family have definite places assigned to them, namely the *adhirāja*, the *yuvarāja* who is the heir apparent, and the *muturāja* . . . a senior male member of the family who will be by right guardian and regent during a minority and perhaps also carry on the work of the state in other unforeseen contingencies when the *adhirāja* and *yuvarāja* were unable to act." We are here concerned with this last view. On the analogy of *dvairājya*, *trairājya* can certainly mean a type of government in which royal power is shared between three persons. But the point is whether the meaning suits the context of the Chālukya epigraphs, and the known facts from the Pallava records of the period. So far as is known to me, there is nothing to show in Pallava records, or in any other records for that matter, that the royal power of the Pallavas were ever divided between three persons

6. The name of Neḍamari is not known to us from any other source. Could he have been identical with Raṇarāgavarman which word actually looks like a *biruda*, rather than a proper name? One should, however, note that no imperial or royal epithets are applied to Raṇarāgavarman in the Hunnur plates.

7. Note that the expression *Prithvīvallabha* was applied to feudatories as well. Cf. the Chiplum Plates of Pulakesin II, the Ellora Plates of Dantidurga etc.

8. See *E.I.*, V, 202n.

9. *E.I.*, xxii, 27.

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in the latter half of the seventh century A.D. In an earlier age we indeed hear of Pallava Yuvamahārājas, but there was none corresponding to a Muturāja of the Telugu-Choḍa inscriptions to which attention has been drawn. On the other hand we have shown above that there was an actual practice in the Chālukya court of referring to the three Tamil states as a triad, and *Trairājya* can very well refer to them. Attention may also be drawn in this connection to the expression *Kāñchīpuriśa-Pallav-ānvaya-pramāthi-parigṛihita-trairājya-rājyaḥ* used as a description of Vikramāditya I in the Surat Plates of Śryāśraya Śilāditya of Lāṭa.[10] It seems to us that a clear distinction has been sought to be made here between the Pallava lord of Kāñchī and the three kings of the Choḷa, Pāṇḍya and Keraḷa countries. The commentator of Jinasena's *Ādipurāṇa* also understood *trairājya* to mean the same triad of kings as has been pointed out by another scholar.[11] Trairājya-Pallava, according to our *view, refers to a confederacy of the powers of the far south in which Pallava king* apparently enjoyed a position of supremacy.

A NOTE ON AN EXPRESSION IN ROCK EDICT XIII OF AŚOKA

DR. C. C. DAS GUPTA

The object of this short note is to discuss the significance of an expression which occurs in Rock Edict XIII of the emperor Aśoka. The expression under discussion occurs in the Kalsi, Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra versions. They run thus:—*a shashu pi]yo[janashateshu (Kalsi)*: *[a] shashu pi yojana-śa[t] eshu* (Shahbazgarhi) ; *a shashu pi y[o]ja[na-śa]t[e]shu* (Mansehra).[1]

This expression is translated by a number of historians. It was translated by Smith as "as far as six hundred leagues"[2], by Bhandarkar as "even as far as six hundred yojanas"[3], by Hultzsch as "even as far as (the distance of) six hundred yojanas"[4], by Mukherji as "even to the extent of six hundred yojanas"[5] and by Barua as "even over a distance of six hundred leagues".[6]

The proper interpretation of the word *yojana* is absolutely necessary to understand the real significance of this expression. There is a very learned discussion on the measurement of the *yojana* in an article written by the late Dr. J. F. Fleet.[7] According to the view expressed there the *yojana* as found in the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya measures approximately 9 miles. M. J. A. Decourdemanche also independently proved that the value of one *yojana* is

10. *Vienna Oriental Congress,* Aryan Section, 225 f.
11. *E.I.,* xxii, 27 f.
1. *Corpus Inscriptonum Indicarum,* Vol. I. *Inscriptions of Aśoka.* By E. Hultzsch, p. 210, 1925.
2. *Aśoka.* By V. A. Smith, p. 131.
3. *Aśoka.* By D. R. Bhandarkar, pp. 330-31, 1932.
4. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum,* Vol. I. *Inscriptions of Aśoka.* By E Hultzsch, p. 48, 1925.
5. *Aśoka.* By R. K. Mukherji, p. 166.
6. *Inscriptions of Aśoka.* By B. M. Barua, pt. II, p. 192, 1943.
7. *J.R.A.S.,* 1912, pp. 229-39.

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9.532312 miles.[8] We may, therefore, conclude that the *yojana* as used in the Maurya period and as found in the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya is either approximately 9 miles or 9.532312 miles.

In this connection it is necessary to know the actual extent of the kingdoms of the Yavana rulers. The Yavana rulers have been twice mentioned, *i.e.*, in Rock Edict II and Rock Edict XIII. In the Rock Edict II we have the following significant lines in the Girnar version:—*Aṁtiyako yonarājā ye vā pi tasa Aṁtiya*[*a*] *kas*[*a*] *sāmīp*[*aṁ*] *rājāno.*[9] Hultzsch translated the word *sāmīp*[*aṁ*] as "neighbours'".[10] We find slightly different versions in other recensions.[11] We find the name of this monarch as well as the name of other four monarchs in Rock Edict XIII in the following lines:—*"at*[*a*] *Atiyoge nām*[*a*] *yo*[*na-lā*] . . [*pa*]*laṁ chā tenā A*[*ṁ*]*tiyogenā chatāli 4 lajāne Tulamaye*[*nā*]*m*[*a*] *Aṁteki*[*ne*][*nā*] *ma Makā nāma Alikyashudale nāma"* (Kalsi version).[12] This has been translated by Hultzsch in the following manner:—"Where the yona king named Antiyoga (is ruling), and beyond this Antiyoga, (where) four—4—kings (are ruling), (viz., the king) named Tulamaya, (the king) named Antekina, (the king) named Makā, (and the king) named Alikyashudala."[13] The same sort of translation is given of the Shahbazgarhi version.[14] If we make a simultaneous study of both these sections of Rock Edicts II and XIII, we find that whereas the four rulers besides Antiyoga are mentioned in Rock Edict XIII, these rulers are only indicated by the expression *"Aṁtiy*[*a*] *kas*[*a*] *sāmīp*[*aṁ*]*rājāno"* in the Girnar version of Rock Edict II. Instead of the word *sāmīp*[*aṁ*] we find *sā*[*ma*]*ṁta* (Kalsi), *samaṁta* (Shahbazgarhi), *samata* (Mansehra), sāmaṁta (Dhauli), *sāmaṁta* (Jugada).[15] After reading this portion very carefully it seems that these states were contiguous to each other. When Aśoka's missionaries went to those distant kingdoms, they passed from the kingdom of one friendly monarch to that of another friendly monarch without going through any inimical State. We should now see the identification proposed for these five princes. Regarding this point Hultzsch observes, "Antiochus II Theos of Syria (261-246 B.C.) is probably meant".[16] He further observes, "The four kings are Ptolemy II Philadelphos of Egypt (B.C. 285-247), Antigonous Gonatas of Macedonia (B.C. 276-239), Magas of Cyrene (C. 300-250), and either Alexander of Epirus (272-C. 255) or, more probably Alexander of Corinth (252-C. 244)."[17] We

8. *Journal Asiatique*, Sept.-Oct., 1911, p. 375 ff.
9. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I. *Inscriptions of Aśoka*. By E. Hultzsch, p. 185, 1925.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 4, 1925. Hultzsch has added an important note which runs thus:—"For *sāmaṁtā*, 'neighbours', and its equivalent *sāmīpaṁ*, literally 'neighbourhood', see *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, 21, 398, *I.A.*, 34, 245, and *A.J.P.*, 30, 183 ff. The 'neighbours' of Antiochus II were probably the four kings named in the *Kalsi edict* XIII, Q." (*Ibid*, p. 4).
11. *Ibid.*, p. 185.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 210.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 48.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 70. No translation of this portion is given of the Mansehra version.
15. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I. *Inscriptions of Aśoka*. By E. Hultzsch, p. 185.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 3, foot-note 11.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 48, foot-note 6.

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should now find out the exact extent of the kingdoms of the five rulers mentioned here. In this connection it is necessary to take into account a map showing the Hellenistic kingdoms, C. 275 B.C. and prepared specially for a chapter entitled "The new Hellenistic kingdoms" written by Tarn.[18] Here we find the extent of the Seleucidan empire, *i.e.*, the empire of Antiochus II Theos of Syria, the Egyptian empire, *i.e.*, the empire of Ptolemy II Philadelphos of Egypt, the kingdom of Macedonia, *i.e.*, the kingdom of Antigonus Gonatas, the kingdom of Cyrene, *i.e.*, the kingdom of Magas, the kingdom of Epirus, *i.e.*, the kingdom of Alexander. Corinth is not written down in this map; but the exact location of Corinth is quite well-known. The scale is indicated on the left lower side of the map. It seems that the distance from Peshawar to Epirus and from Commagene[19] to Egypt and Cyrene is approximately 4130 miles. The distance from Pāṭalīputra which was the capital of the Maurya empire to Peshawar which was probably the seat of another provincial administration is approximately 1150 miles. So the whole distance becomes 4130 plus 1150=5280 miles. 600 yojanas roughly becomes 5400 miles. This account shows that the actual distance as given by Aśoka in Rock Edict XIII is not mythical but a fact corroborated by the actual measurement.

That Aśoka caused the survey of the whole extent of his empire is derived both from external and from internal evidences. That Aśoka sent men within his empire and outside his empire is clear from the purport of Rock Edicts II and XIII. In Rock Edict II we come to know that Aśoka made arrangement for the medical treatment of both men and animals not only in his kingdom but also outside his kingdom in the Far South as well as to the west of his empire. If Aśoka did not survey the whole extent of his empire as well as did not know the limits and routes of other kingdoms mentioned therein, then how could he have sent his men in those distant regions? Moreover there is probably the mention of the roads not only of his empire but also of the realm of other monarchs. Here attention is drawn to a line which occurs in a number of recensions of Rock Edict II and which has been translated by Bhandarkar as follows: "On the roads wells have been caused to be dug, and trees caused to be planted for the enjoyment of man and beast".[20] It is interesting to note that no scholar has yet given an opinion about the point, *i.e.*, whether the roads are to be located only in the empire of Aśoka or in the empire of Aśoka as well as in the territory of other monarchs and kingdoms mentioned in this inscription. If we read the inscription as a whole, then we should conclude that whatever is mentioned here refers to both his empire as well as the kingdoms of other monarchs as well as other kingdoms mentioned in Rock Edict II. If Aśoka could have been allowed to found hospitals for men as well as beasts in the realm of other monarchs as well as other kingdoms, then there is no impossibility of Aśoka being allowed to cause wells to be dug and trees to be planted on the roads not only of his empire but also of

18. Map facing p. 75 of *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. III.
19. For its location see D 2 section of map facing p. 75 of *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. VII.
20. *Aśoka*. By D. R. Bhandarkar, p. 276, 1925.

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the realm of other monarchs and states. This also incidentally shows that the roads of the empire of Aśoka as well as the roads of the Yavana rulers and other states mixed with each other.

Rhys Davids once remarked, "It is difficult to say how much of this is mere royal rhodomontade. It is quite likely that the Greek kings are only thrown in by way of make-weight, as it were ; and that no emissary had actually been sent there at all. Even had they been sent, there is little reason to believe that the Greek self-complacency would have been much disturbed. Aśoka's estimation of the results obtained is better evidence of his own vanity than it is of Greek docility.' We may imagine the Greek amusement at the absurd idea of a "barbarian" teaching them their duty ; but we can scarcely imagine them discarding their gods and their superstitions at the bidding of an alien king."[21] Following this statement of Rhys Davids Tarn wrote, "The Mauryan Emperor Aśoka, who was converting Northern India to Buddhism, subsequently sent missions to several Hellenistic kings, including Antigonus. It is pleasant to let fancy play round the meeting of the Stoic king and the Buddhist missionary ; but it is not known if Aśoka's envoys reached Macedonia".[22] In a previous work Tarn observed that missionaries "were sent, not only throughout India, but to five of the Hellenistic courts, those of Antiochus II, Ptolemy II, Magas of Cyrene, Alexander of Epirus, and Antigonas".[23] He again remarked, "Nothing hinders us from taking Aśoka's statement to be literally true."[24] That this statement of Aśoka is correct is proved by the proper explanation of the expression *a shashu pi[yo]jana-shateshu* in the body of this paper.

KARAVAN—THE SEAT OF THE LAKULIŚA SECT

R. N. Mehta

Karavan, a big village in the Dabhoi Taluka of the old Baroda state in Central Gujarat, is situated at a distance of about 18 miles from Baroda city. It is a Railway station on the Miyagam-Dabhoi branch of the B.B. and C.I. Rly.

The village stands on a high mound commanding the surrounding plain, and has on its east, a pond of irregular shape. Around the pond are probably artificial mounds, about 20′ high, from the dry bed of the pond, and locally known as Kāśiviśveśvara Mahadevano Tekaro and the Śmasāna (cremation ground). From the irregularity of the pond and the division of these mounds it seems that the pond is rather late. The śmaśāna shows a thick mantle

21. *Aśoka.* By D. R. Bhandarkar, p. 150, 1925.
22. *Cambridge Ancient History,* Vol. VII, pp. 204-05, 1928.
23. *Antigonas Gonatas.* By W. W. Yarn, p. 337, 1913.
24. *Ibid.,* p. 338, 1913.

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of black earth over the archaeological remain, probably a later deposit from the pond. To the east of this mound is a plain piece of fallow land, to the N.E. of the latter is another mound with a temple of the goddess Śabavāhinī or Sindhavāi from which the mound obtains its name as Sindhavāi mātāno tekaro. Behind the temple runs a rivulet, Rangāo or Rangāi by name, which traverses on the northern outskirts of the village. The west is a flat area of little archaeological importance, while to the south runs the B.B. and C.I. Rly.

Local tradition ascribes the foundation of the city of Karavan to the sage Viśvāmitra[1] while literary references from a late work called Kāravaṇa Māhātmya[2] show that the place was known as Kāyāvarohaṇa, Kāyarohaṇa, Kārohaṇa and Kāravaṇ. The Linga,[3] Kūrma[4] and Śiva[5] Purāṇas suggest Kāyāvatāra as the name of this Śaivite holy site. The Navasari copper plates of the Gurjjara king Jayabhaṭa II were issued from the royal camp at Kāyāvatāra.[6] The Devārām hymns[7] sung in the south in praise of the Śiva temples at Negapattana and Kumbhakonam show that the two cities were known even in the 7th century as Kāyarohaṇa or Kāroṇa, so named after Karavan, the original seat of the Lakuliśa sect. The grant of the Sendraka king Nikumbhāllaśakti[8] refers to the place as Kāyāvatāra while the Ekalingaji stone inscription of 971 A.D., and the Cintra Praśasti[9] of the latter part of the 13th century show that the names Kāyāvarohaṇa and Kārohaṇa were also current. According to the narrative in the Kāravana Māhātmya, Lakuliśa migrated to this place from a certain Ulkā-grāma and ascended in bodily form to heaven from this city. Hence the holy city was known as Kāyāvatāra, Kāyāvarohana, etc.

The site was first visited by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in 1906[10] and he has given a summary of the Kāravan Māhātmya besides referring to the Lakuliśa images at Karavan. The Baroda Gazetteer, compiled in 1923 A.D., also takes notice of the site, and mentions that "copper and silver coins and bracelets of small value are found at the foot of the hill, where in the Gayākunda, the name of Viśvanātha Mahādeva is written.[12]

Dr. Hirananda Shastri, Director of the Department of Archaeology, Baroda State, visited the site in 1934 and wrote: "The sculptures kept in the shrines of Karavan are mostly fragmentary but show considerable skill in the use of the sculptor's chisel. The fine pillars used in the entrance of the Ekadaśa-lingeśvara temple seem to belong to an older structure . . .[12] In the same report Dr. Shastri referred to another place called Lingasthali, situated about two miles to the south of modern Karavan and identified this as the original

1. *Baroda Gazetter*, Vol. 2, pp. 509-510.
2. *Gana karika*, G.O. Series xv, Appendix IV.
3. *Linga Purana*, Adhyaya 24, 124-133.
4. *Kurma Purana*, Chapter 53, 10.
5. *Siva Purana*, Tritiya Satrudra Samhita Ch. V, 58.
6. *I.A.*, 70 ff.
7. *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, I, 19.
8. G. H. Khare—*New Indian Antiquary*, March 1939, p. 747.
9. *E.I.*, I, 271 ff.
10. Bhandarkar, D. R.—*A.R., A.S.I.*, 1906-07, p. 179 ff.
11. *Baroda Gazetter*, Vol. II, p. 509-10.
12. *A.R.* of the Director of Archaeology Baroda State 1934-35, p. 7.

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site of Kāyāvarohaṇa-tīrtha. But the view is untenable as the village of Lingasthali does not show any trace of old remains nor do the topographical features of Lingasthali tend to suggest an archaeological site of a big ancient place. The Sendraka grant suggests the existence of a large pond and a fine grove of trees where Nikumbhallasakti halted and practised some penance. The Ekalingaji stone inscription says that the God (Lakuliśa) did not remember his Kailasa, while the Cintra Praśasti refers to the city as an ornament of Lata. The locally remembered tradition of Lakuliśa, the topographical features, the presence of a large pond, the numerous remains of archaeological interest coming from its vicinity make it certain that Karavan is the old Kāyāvatāra or Kārohaṇa tīrtha of the Śaivites.

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar had rightly drawn our attention to the archaeological importance. But Śrī R. V. Desai, former Revenue officer of the Baroda State, took antiquarian interest in the locality and collected a number of coins, sculptures, beads, and pot-sherds from the site. Dr. M. R. Majumdar discussed some of these antiquities and a few other sculptutres from and around this village. He also quoted the identifications of a few of these coins made by Mr. Gadre of the Baroda Archaeological Department.[13]

Many interesting sculptures are lying loose in Karvan, and are mainly distributed at four places, namely, near the Sindhavāi Mātā shrine, the Pond and the Suthāra ovārā, the Ekādaśalingeśvara Mahadeva, the Falwā tekari and the Verai Mātā.

The modern temple of Sindhavāi Māta probably dates from about the twelfth century as can be inferred from the style of its śikhara and its designs in stucco. The present mandapa is a later addition. Outside the temple, however, are more interesting, mutilated sculptures, carved in high relief on probably Songir sandstone, most of them being about 23" in breadth, valuable as specimens of the art of the post-Gupta age and of special iconographic interest for students of the Lakuliśa cult and Hindu Iconography. They include a beautiful figure of Pārvatī, four-armed, exquisitely carved and nicely modelled, an image of a Kumāri in a light dancing movement, sportively holding in one of her hands a braid of her hair, adorned with a beautiful coiffeur. Her peacock vehicle sits behind on one side. The group includes a partly mutilated sculpture of Svāha with the ram-vāhana, a standing Vyāghrēśvarī with an emaciated skeleton-like form and having the tiger as her vehicle. Amongst other sculptures may be noted two mutilated sculptures of standing Pārvatī, a Bhairava and a figure probably representing Agni. All these sculptures assignable to *c.* 8th-9th centuries, point to some temple in the vicinity. The mound of the Sindhavāi Mātā temple shows clear traces of the remnants of a wall. The size of these foundations on plan is roughly 122 ft. × 48 ft. A part of these foundations exposed on the southern side shows about half-a-dozen courses of bricks. A study of these sculptures suggests the existence of a temple of the sixty-four Yoginis.

A number of sculptures, fragments of stones used in buildings and frag-

13. M. R. Majumdar—Antiquities in Karvan with Reference to Lakulis'a worship. *Jor. Univ. of Bombay*, Part 4, vol. XVIII, Jan. 1950, p. 43 ff.

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ments of images are strewn around the village-pond. The temple of Ekādaśa-lingeśvara, with eleven lingas in it, situated near the Suthāra Ovārā of the pond, is noteworthy even though the present structure is not old. For it contains an old figure of dancing Ganeśa, and a pillar with the pūrṇa-ghaṭa motif, a floral design and the Gavāksha motif. The pillar is assignable to *c.* 9th century A.D. on stylistic grounds. But the figure of a dancing goddess in the inner sanctuary of this temple is one of the most beautiful specimens of sculptural art in Gujarat. It represents a four-armed goddess—probably Kumārī—with the two upper arms mutilated and the two lower ones resting on the thigh during the act of dancing. Her coiffeur is rather elaborate and ornamental, the earrings hang on the shoulders, she wears a hāṅsadi as neck-ornament along with a longer necklace with bells jingling at its ends. The smilling oval face with rather heavy cheeks, proportionate neck, full breasts on supple and slim torso, the rather heavy hips, the drapery of the textile garment—all these are very well carved. The whole sculpture breathes with life and the joy of dancing.

A figure of Śiva-Pārvatī, now fixed up on the wall of the pond is another fine specimen of art.

Besides these there are about ten loose heads, a mutilated figure of Lakuliśa and a śālabhanjikā etc. lying in the vicinity of the pond. But the most important monument here is a beautiful arch on the upper end of the stairs leading to the pond. The position of the stones suggests that they were originally placed elsewhere and local traditions speak of the Gayākunda and the Vaidyanātha Mahādeva as the original site of the arch. The two side supports of this gateway are carved in three upright panels. The pillar on the right shows on the lowermost end, two male deities and a goddess. One of the two male gods shows the trident and the snake in the upper arms and another coiled Nāga in the lower left ; the lower right hand rests on the thigh. He wears an ornamental jatamukuta on the head. The other figure represents a two-armed male deity with a snake-canopy overhead, the right hand resting on the thigh and the left one mutilated. He wears an ekāvali and a sacred thread. The third figure is a goddess with a heavy coiffeur and ornaments. She carries a pitcher in her left hand while two other hands are folded in adoration. She wears a two-stringed girdle having a pendant bell. She wears armlets and bracelets. Her makara vehicle shows that she represents the river goddess Ganga.

Above one of these figures are different panels showing a mithuna, Sūrya with Sandhyā and Uṣā, the goddess Vyāghreśvarī, Vyaghrāmukhas and lions holding pearl toraṇas. Similarly, over the second male god are a group of fifteen Kinnaras out of whom eight are male and seven females, represented as flying. Over the figure of Ganga is seen a vertical decorative frieze of the pūrṇa-ghaṭa and foliage motif in association with floral arabesques and lozanges. The pillar on the west is similar in plan but with different motifs. The lower-most figures are two male deities and another figure of Ganga. The upper panels include a Mithuna, a four-armed god, a figure of Kārttikeya, Vyāghra-mukha and the lion with pearl-toraṇa. The Kinnara group on this side is

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composed of thirteen figures, carrying swords, shields, lyres, garlands etc., in their hands.

In the wall of the pond are a number of sculptures but the noteworthy amongst them a Chāmundā standing on a corpse, extremely emaciated and terrific in appearance with a garland of skulls adorning her person.

Amongst sculptures from the Nakuleśvara temple are noteworthy the figures of the god Kārttikeya, Sūrya and Balarām.

In the Sūrya image, the figure of the sun-god is mutilated and lost. His horses are very powerfully executed. By the side of Sūrya are the figures of Uṣā and Sandhyā with charged bows in their hands. This is a beautiful rare sculpture from Gujarat, assignable to the late Gupta age.

On the place known as the Falwā Tekari is a beautiful figure of Pārvatī in a standing attitude and carrying the rosary and the mace in the two upper arms, while the two lower ones are mutilated. She has a jaṭā-mukuṭa overhead and wears jewelled ornaments. On her sides is a symbolical representation possibly representing a fire-altar. The sculpture is one of the best preserved ones in Karavan. There is also a big Kīrttimukha and numerous other fragmentary stone slabs lying about this area. The site also marks a temple in ruins.

On a platform under a Banyan tree, on the road leading to the Karavan station is a group of sculptures including a Mahisa-marddinī, a Kubera and other architectural fragments.

A large number of minor sculptures have been recovered from Karavan, some of which can be seen in Śrī R. V. Desai's collections and in the collections of the M. S. University of Baroda.

The most important in these collections is a Cameo recently discovered by me, now lying in the University collections. It is a semi-rectangular piece with rounded corners, made of transparent chalcedony. The obverse shows traces of brown colour originally applied. The reverse is totally flat. The bust portrait on the obverse is a profile of some unidentified lady, executed very powerfully in minutest details. The straight nose, the well-set eye and the thin fleshy cheeks add considerably to the graceful appearance of the figure whose locks of hair are gathered in a rough knot on the back of the head, and having on the top of the head a loose plain lock of hair in imitation of the fillet. The Cameo suggests contacts of this site with Rome through Broach, Barigaza of the ancient authors of the West. A detailed study of the Cameo is being published in the forthcoming issue of our University Journal ; here it may be noted that it is assignable to the second century A.D.

It is not possible to describe here all the smaller pieces in the two collections noted above which include figures of Bhairava, Śiva, Visnu and other images. Of these is noteworthy a beautiful plaque of Mahiṣamarddinī artistically and iconographically affiliated to the beautiful Mahiṣamarddinī from Elephanta now preserved in the Prince of Wales' Museum, Bombay. A beautiful head of brownish shade, adorned with Karanda mukuta is another valuable specimen of art of the post-Gupta age.

A couple probably part of a large terracotta is an important find from

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Karavan. It shows a man and a woman with heavy schematic headdress, round ear-rings and the ekāvali ornament adorning their necks. The modelling is rather weak. The figures are represented as sitting in a Gavākṣa.

Karavan has shown a wide range of pottery, from extremely well burnt red-polished ware to the coarse fabric of the mediaeval and modern periods. The chief types identified hitherto include the red-polished ware of first two centuries available at sites like Amreli, Kolhapur, Arikamedu, Somnath etc. on the coasts of India, the Āndhra-Sātavāhana pointed base type, the Indo-Parthian Pottery showing stamped designs and comparable to such pottery from Haravan in Kashmir* and lastly the Muslim Glazed pottery.

Coins from Karavan are mainly collected by Śrī R. V. Desai, and a few are lying in the University. The University has recently acquired a copper coin of Wema Kadphises. Coins from this site can be broadly divided into five divisions: Punch marked cast or tribal coins known from Northern India, Kusana coins, Coins of the Valabhi and Gupta types and Muslim coins of the Sultans of Gujarat. The most important types occurring at this site are a few cast coins with the symbol of a bull on the obverse and a trident on the reverse. The bull on one of them resembles with those of the Audheyas while the other has close affinity with that on the Kausambi coins of 1st B.C. to 1st A.D.

This is in short a description of a very important early site in central Gujarat being the seat of the Lakuliśa sect and probably a station on the high road from Ujjain to the ancient Bhṛgukachha is an extensive site of archaeological importance which promises to reveal to us valuable evidence for the culture of Western India.

A NOTE ON THE COPPER COINS OF THE KARKOṬAKA KINGS OF KĀSMIRA

Dr. Sunil Chandra Ray

Did the Karkoṭaka Kings of Kāsmīra issue copper coins?

According to Cunningham they did not. The great archaeologist is of the opinion that the Karkoṭaka Kings of Kāśmīra struck only gold (*i.e.*, electrum) coins. Copper coins, with the names of Karkoṭa rulers written over them, are found in abundance in different parts of Kāśmīra. But Cunningham considers them to be simple forgeries that have been originally gilt for being passed as geniune gold coins.[1]

Aurel Stein thinks that the Karkoṭa Kings of Kāśmīra struck copper coins but those did not bear the names of their issuers, as the electrum coins did. According to him, the copper coins of the Karkoṭas were the same as the usual Toramāṇa coins which are found in plenty in every part of Kāśmīra. Of

*Similar pottery has been traced even in Baroda.

1. Cunningham—*Coins of Mediæval India*, p. 29.

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course, the Toramāṇa coins were circulated in Kāśmīra long before the advent of the Karkoṭas by a prince called Toramāṇa, but Stein thinks that their striking was continued for centuries by succeeding rulers.[2] Archaeological excavation as well as literary evidence prove that the Toramāṇa coins were in circulation in Kāśmīra up to the 15th century A.D.[3] This, according to Stein is a conclusive evidence that the Toramāṇas were not struck by a single individual but that they were struck by a number of rulers. In the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Kalhaṇa refers to the striking of copper coins by some Karkoṭa prince. Stein can not find any genuine copper coin which bears the name of any Karkoṭa monarch. He attributed some part of the abundant issue of Toramāṇa coins to the Karkoṭa Kings.[4]

But there is evidence to show that the Karkoṭa Kings struck copper coins in their own name. Vincent Smith, in his *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum* refers to the copper coins bearing the name of Karkoṭaka Kings Śrī Pratāpa and Vinayāditya.[5] He did not consider these to be forged coins. I had the privilege of examining these coins, but I could not find anything which can substantiate Cunningham's view that they were originally guilt. In fact they appear to be genuine copper coins, which were once issued by the Karkoṭa Kings of Kāśmīra. In type and execution these coins closely resemble the electrum coins of the same rulers and are unlike the copper Toramāṇas.

Excavations further have yielded from different parts of U.P. not only electrum coins of the usual Karkoṭa type,[6] but also a large number of similar copper coins.[7] It may be argued that these copper coins were issued by the Karkoṭaka monarchs in their conquered provinces, perhaps in keeping with the tradition of copper currency prevailing in those territories and that they were not in circulation in Kāśmīra proper. But copper coins bearing the name of Śrī Pratāpa abound in the valley. They are undoubtedly the counterparts of the copper Śrī Pratāpa coins found in the Madhyadeśa and therefore cannot be believed to be forged copper coins which were originally guilt.

2. Stein—*Rājataraṅginī* (Eng. tr.), Vol. II, pp. 320-21.

3. Śrīvara testifies to the circulation of the Toramāṇa coins in the 15th century A.D.—*Śrīvara's chronicle*—(Cal. ed.) Book III, verse 213. A hoard of 87 copper coins contained in an earthen vessel came to light 56 feet east of the peristyle of the Avantisvāmī temple and six feet below the surface. Eightyfive of them belonged to the coinages of Zainulabidin, Haider Shah, Hasan Shah, Muhammad Shah and the remaining two were of Toramāṇa. This shows that the coins of Toramāṇa were still in use in the end of the 15th century—*Annual Report, Archæological Survey of India*—1913-14, pp. 50-51.

4. Stein—*R.T.* (tr.), Vol. II—p. 321.

5. V. A. Smith—*Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. I, pp. 268-69.

6. Electrum coins with the name Śrī Pratāpa or Śrī Ja Pratāpa written over them have been recovered from the village of Bhitaware, Dt. Fyzabad, from Banda district, U.P., from Rajghat and Sarnath, in the confines of Banaras, and from the Monghyr district—*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*—1906, p. 843 ; *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Num. Supplement* 1928, pp. 6-9 ; *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*—Vol. X, part I—pp. 30-32. The Śrī Pratāpa type of coins, which are also found in abundance at Kāśmīra are generally considered to be the issues of Lalitāditya—Cunningham—*C.M.I.*—p. 40 ; Prayāgdayāl—*J.A.S.B. Num. Suppl.* 1928, pp. 6-9. The Śrī-Ja-Pratāpa type of coins do not come from Kāśmīra, they are found only in the Madhyadeśa. Some scholars suggest that the person responsible for coining them was Jayāpīḍa. *J.N.S.I.*—Vol. X—part I, p. 37.

7. *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. X—Part I, p. 30.

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That at least one of the Karkoṭa Kings Jayāpīḍa struck copper coins in his own name is conclusively proved by a passage of the Rājataraṅgiṇī. While speaking of the striking of coins by this monarch Kalhaṇa declared that from a mountain with a copper mine, he obtained sufficient copper to coin hundred crores less one dinnara which bore *his name*.[8] The very statement that Jayāpīḍa struck coins in his own name would set at rest all doubt regarding the question of coining of copper money in their own name by the Karkoṭa princes of Kāśmīra.

Stein's observation that the Karkoṭa Kings of Kāśmīra continued to strike Toramāṇa copper coins, has already been noted. But in view of the fact that the Kings of this dynasty struck copper coins in their own name, it is difficult to believe that they were also responsible for the striking of copper Toramāṇas. The survival of Toramāṇa coins in the Kāśmīrian currency upto the end of the Hindu rule does not necessarily prove that they were struck by the rulers of Kāśmīra up to that time. They might have been struck in a remote period, and still could be in circulation in succeeding ages. The abundance of these coins is considered by Stein as an evidence that they were circulated not by a particular monarch, but by a number of rulers. May be, that the Toramāṇa coins were struck not only by Toramāṇa, but also by some of his immediate successors. But there is nothing to prove that the Toramāṇa coins were struck by the Karkoṭa Kings of Kāśmīra.

A NOTE ON TWO ASHṬABHUJĪ IMAGES OF VISHṆU FROM MATHURĀ

K. D. Bajpai

Early images of Vishṇu exhibiting four or more hands are rarely known. This feature is met with in the images of this deity from the Gupta Period onwards. Some years ago one eight-handed Vishṇu image was obtained from the Mansāwālā well in the village Pālīkherā of Mathura district. This image, which is now preserved in the Mathura Museum (M. M. No. 1010), is made of the spotted red sandstone and measures 4″ in height. Artistically this image can be assigned to the late second or early third century A.D. Its lower portion and the hands on the left are broken. The right-side four arms are however, preserved. Three of them hold a stone (*giri*), a sword (*asi*) and arrows (*ishu*) respectively. The fourth hand, which is stretched across the breast, holds an indistinct object, probably a *Chakra*. There is a foliated *mukuṭa* over the head similar to one found in the Bodhisattva images of the Kushāṇa period from Mathura.

Another Ashtabhujī image of Vishṇu has recently been acquired by me for the Mathura Museum (No. 3550). It is also of the same red sandstone

8. *R.T.*—Book IV—cerse 617

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and is 1′ in height. The face is badly mutilated and the lower portion of the feet is also gone. But for one arm, the left arms are also unfortunately broken. The god is wearing a *dhoti, yajñopavīta, ekāvalī, graiveyaka, Karṇakuṇḍala, Keyūra, Kaṭaka* and a heavy vanamālā. He is standing in *Vīrabhāva*. In his hands on the right he is holding a stone (*giri*), a dagger (*asi*), arrows (*ishu*) and a round object (*chakra?*). The only extant hand to the left side holds a conch (*śaṅkha*). The image can be dated to late Kushāṇa period.

Reference to ashṭabhujī Vishṇu images is found in some Sanskrit texts. I give below the dhyāna of ashṭabhujī Vishṇu as found in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (6, 4, 36-38):—

कृतपादः सुपर्णांसे पुलम्बाष्टमहाभुजः ।
चक्रशंखासिचर्मेषु धनुःपाशगदाधरः ॥२६॥
पीतवासा घनश्यामः प्रसन्नवदनेक्षणः ।
वनमालानिवीताङ्गो लसच्छ्रीवत्सकौस्तुभः ॥३७॥
महाकिरीटकटकः स्फुरन्मकरकुंडलः ।
काञ्चयङ्गुलीयवलय नूपुराङ्गदभूषितः ॥३८॥

According to this dhyāna Vishṇu should hold in his eight hands **चक्र** (disc), **शंख** (conch), **असि** (sword), **चर्म** (skin), **इषु** (arrow), **धनु** (bow), **पाश** (noose) and **गदा** (mace). The two images described above are identical in so far as they carry similar āyudhas in the hands. Had the rest of the three hands in the newly discovered image been preserved it would have been easy to find out as to how far the Paurāṇic dhyāna corroborated the sculptural evidence.

The two images probably represent Vishṇu in his Virāṭa form. The iconography of this form, however, changes later on. In the late Gupta and Medieval periods we find images of Mahāvishṇu or of his Virāṭa form having the main Vishṇu head in the centre and those of the Varāha and Nriṣiṁha incarnations on the sides respectively. Over these heads on all sides various gods, semi-divine figures, planets etc. are shown as if emerging from the body of the Virāṭapurusha.

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THE MIGRATION OF JAINS TO TAMIL INDIA

PROFESSOR V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR

Notwithstanding a century and more of historical and critical research in the domain of ancient Indian history, we cannot yet decisively say when and from where the Jains came to Tamil India, made it their home and became proficient in Tamil literature so as to become noted authors of some of the literary works in Tamil. All that we know is the tradition embedded in a later Śravanabelgola inscription which says that due to a famine which continued for 12 years in the region of Magadha, Chandragupta led by one Bhadrabāhu came to the Mysore territory and spent the evening of his life there. The theory that Chandragupta Maurya embraced Jain faith is still open to question and the lines of evidence in my *Mauryan Polity* as early as 1932, show that the evidence is not quite decisive and the tradition cannot be accepted as a fact. The inscription under reference makes mentions of two persons, one Bhadrabāhuswāmin and another a Prabhāchandra. Though this Prabhāchandra is said to be the clerical name assumed by Chandragupta after he was converted to the Jain religion, still we find it difficult to accept this position as Prabhāchandra is called a Jain teacher of eminence as eminent as Śruta Kevalin Bhadrabāhu. The date of Bhadrabāhu itself is a bone of contention and a critical examination of the chronology of the Jain āchārya Bhadrabāhu does not fit in with the time of Chandragupta Maurya. Bhadrabāhu perhaps is later in time than Chandragupta Maurya. In fact the traditions and legends that have grown up between Bhadrabāhu and Chandragupta are so conflicting that we cannot come to any possible conclusion. But both the inscriptions at Śravanabelgola and the legends of the Jains are indeed valuable for the mention of a continued famine and the resultant migration of the Jain community as far as the Karnataka country.

Perhaps they settled there permanently and the movement was led by Bhadrabāhuswāmin and his disciple one Prabhāchandra. As for the Śramanas who are mentioned by the classical writers we have shown elsewhere that the Śramanas have nothing to do with Buddha or Jain mendicants but it is a reference made to the Brahmins of those days. The Brahmins of those days were divided into two classes, one the householder who followed the Śrauta sacrifices and the other given to a life of prayer and penance, probably members of the third and fourth āśrama. European scholars who have been at work on this subject have been inclined to take Śramanas to mean Brahmin sanyāsins and there is much truth in this. But what we wish to drive at is that there is no foundation for this theory, that Jainism had spread to such an extent as to make Chandragupta a convert to that faith. Be this as it may, that Bhadrabāhu came here to South India and that too to the Karnataka country in perhaps later times which may be about the first century B.C. may be accepted. But the problem which is yet to be solved is when did these Jains come to

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Tamil India and make it their home? Neither this inscription nor the legend helps us much in determining this question.

It has been ingeniously suggested that there was another famine, perhaps in the second century B.C. which resulted in the exodus of 8000 Bhikshus coming to this part of India and settling down in Madura. After this famine was over it would appear that they wanted to go back to their native home. But the Pāṇḍya king of the time refused permission to these monks to leave the Pāṇḍya country and its environs. Perhaps the teacher Kunda-kundāchārya was the celebrated Jain āchārya of these times and the patriotic motives of some South Indian Jains should have been responsible for making this Kunda-kundāchārya the author of the *Tirukkural*, the much celebrated classic of the Tamil land. The date of the composition of Tirukkural is according to us the first or second century B.C. and for Kundakunda to settle himself down in the Drāvida country, get proficient in the Tamil language and literature and become the author of the immortal *Tirukkural* is beyond our comprehension. This is based on the legendary and flimsy evidence that one Elāchar was a contemporary or identical with Tiruvaḷḷuvar. True there is a Tamil tradition that Tiruvaḷḷuvar flourished in the days of one Elālasingha, but the Jain tradition is quite different. Kundakunda was not Elāchārya. The Elāchārya referred to was a teacher of Virasena who must have flourished towards the end of the eighth century A.D. The reference in Śrutāvatara by Indranandi is undoubtedly to this Elāchārya. Therefore there is some confusion between the Jaina legends and it is not proved that Kundakunda had another name Elāchārya. Prof. A. N. Upadhye who has edited the *Pravachanasāra* of Kundakunda which is a procanonical Jain text has discussed Kundakunda's date in his able introduction and his main conclusions are that Kundakunda must have flourished after the division of the original Jaina church into two sects, Śvetambaras and Digambaras. We are certain from the work of Kundakunda, especially *Sutta-Pahuda*, that the Jain church had its schism by his time. Several researches have been made to arrive at a correct date of this famous āchārya of which two are noteworthy. One is 156 A.D. by Pandit Premi, and another, 528 A.D. according to Dr. Pathak. These researches have shown that Kundakunda could not be earlier than 156 A.D. We have no hesitation then to say that he could not be author of the *Tirukkural* as it is contended.

Another point to be considered in this connection is that Kundakunda, though a domicile of South India, was associated with Drāvida Sangha. This association of Drāvida Sangha must show that he was living in the days of Pallavas and his activities were centered round Conjeevaram, the capital of the Pallavas. Even now there is a separate portion of Conjeevaram called Jina Kānchi where Jainism was placed on a sound basis if we are to believe the traditional stories connected with this place. But this tradition must be much later than the establishment of the Drāvida Sangha. For the first time in the history of the Tamil country a Jaina Sangha was founded at Madura in 470 A.D. According to Digambara *Darśanasāra* lately discovered, one Devasena who gives his date as 853 A.D. informs us that one Vajranandi the disciple

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of Śri Pujyapāda founded a Drāvida Jaina Sangha at Madura in the year 525 after the death of Vikrama. It must be noted that it has nothing to do with Tamil śangham, but was an institution of the Jainas who were spread throughout the length and breadth of the Tamil Country with the express purpose of preaching Jaina Dharma to the lay disciples.

This is indeed a landmark of the activities of the Jains in the Tamil country. It shows that there was a gradual and peaceful infiltration of Jainas into the Tamil country from the Karnataka country in which they had settled from perhaps the 1st century B.C. One man here or one woman there might have been attracted to the ideals of this new faith and became a convert to the Jain faith. But from these stray instances it is difficult to conclude that there was a Jain movement in the Tamil land which attracted the intellectuals of the place to any extent. When once the Jain Sagha was established and it began to spread its ideals, there was a lurking suspicion in the minds of the Tamil intellectuals that Jainism would ultimately uproot the ideas and ideals of the established religions of the land, Vaishnavism and Śaivism, and it is no wonder that sectarian quarrels began in the Tamil country after 600 A.D. This was the active period of the Nāyanmars and Ālwars who preached through the Tamil districts and declared a crusade against Jainism and Buddhism which they considered to be heretical sects. What we wish to point out is that the activities of Jainism commenced only with the foundation of the Drāvida Sangha in 470 A.D. and there is not much truth in the tradition that the Jains either settled in Tamil land or spread their ideals to any great extent before this time.

As if to confirm our position, the *Manimekhalai* which is considered to be a twin epic to the Śilappadikāram furnishes little proof of the Jaina movement in the Tamil country. On the other hand the Buddhist philosophy and its principles are thoroughly discussed in the *Manimekhalai*. Aravaṇaḍigal is said to be a teacher of much celebrity who was an authority for the orthodox teaching of the Buddha. Chapter Twenty-seven of the *Manimekhalai* mentions ten systems of philosophy which ultimately resolve into five religious systems. The ten systems are the Pramāna-vāda or the Vaidika system, Śaiva-vāda, Brahma-vāda, Vaishnava-vāda, and Veda-vāda, all accepting the Veda. Then follow the five systems of the non-orthodox faith. The Ājivakas and the Niganka or Nirgrantha are mentioned, the Ājivaka differing as it does from Jainism. Says Dr. S. K. Ayyangar, "the confusion between Jainism and Ājivakas has been as old as the *Divyāvadāna* ascribable to the age of Aśoka in the 3rd century B.C." Then follows the system of Sānkhya which is dealt with in some detail. This discussion is followed by Vaiśeshika and Bhūtavāda, an atheistic system. Chapter 29 furnishes us with the Buddhist system of thought and states that the recognised teacher of Buddhism is Jinendra. Be it noted that the term Jinendra stands here for Buddha and it must not be confounded with Jina Vardhamāna or Mahāvira.

Examining the various systems with a critical spirit mentioned in the *Manimekhalai* we have to conclude that Jainism as such had not made much headway in the Tamil land, though the essentials of Jainism were prevalent

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in the Tamil country at that time. Only a later Tamil work like the *Nilakeśi* states that the two systems of Ājivaka and Nirgrantha were branches of the Jain faith. But a careful reading of what has been said of the principles underlying the system of philosophy under the heading Ājivakas in *Manimekhalai* does not throw any light on the accepted Jain principles or precepts of Jainism. But so far as the Nirgrantha is concerned there are of course teachings which can be explained away as the teachings particularly of the Digambara sect of the Jain religion. The paucity of discussion of different aspects of Jainism as compared to Buddhism which is treated fully shows beyond doubt that the Jain movement had not made much mark or spread itself out as a separate religion in the Tamil districts. True there might have been some Jaina teachers wandering here and there and endeavouring their best to preach their religion and their religious teachings which might have appealed to a few people who could have embraced the faith and yet lived as members of the Hindu fold. We see an instance of this in the Tamil Epic *Śilappadikāram* where in one and the same family some members are of Buddhist persuasion, some Jaina, some Hindu, while all of them resided under the same roof. In fact, not enough distinction was made between one sect and another and the religious persuasion of each member necessarily did not interfere with the family life which they carried on. So we have to take it that there was no movement or settled religious sect occupying the Tamil land in the second or third century A.D. The settlement of the Jains and the propaganda of their faith were yet to come. This explains the question why Jainism was not discussed in extenso in the *Manimekhalai*.

In this connection we may refer to one or two things which have been adduced by some scholars as a proof of the existence of the Jain religion in the Tamil land in the early centuries of the Christian era. One is the contemporaneity of a Pāṇḍya ruler and the king Kharaveda of Kalinga. It is said that king Kharavela was a Jain by faith and the Pāṇḍyan king of the time was in cordial relation with this Kharavela by sending tributes and things of value to him. From this it is surmised that the Pāṇḍyan king of this time must also have been a Jain. This belies all historical investigation. There was an embassy between Augustus and South Indian rulers, an embassy between China and South India, an embassy between Aśoka and different rulers of states outside India. In all these intercourses tributes and articles of value were sent on both sides and this exchange of courtesy does not mean the change of religion on the part of one ruler or the other. In this way we have to treat the Pāṇḍyan ruler in question and it is wrong to take the view that because one king chose to be friendly with another king it necessarily means that both kings were of one and the same persuasion. On this account we cannot say that the Pāṇḍyan ruler was a Jain.

Another thing noteworthy is the Vedic doctrine of Ahimsa. It should not be maintained for a moment that Ahimsa is exclusively a doctrine promulgated by the Jains and adopted by the majority of the people, in India or in South India. Ahimsa is a general doctrine which is as much Hindu as it is Jain. The only remarkable feature is that Jains carried the principle of Ahimsa

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to its extreme length and based their doctrine on it. But it is one of the fundamental precepts of Hindu Sanātana Dharma which means that this *dharma* is an eternal one. Under this category are included several other *dharmas* and Ahimsa is one of them. The Hindu texts say AHIMSA PARAMO DHARMA and surely this must have some meaning. Though orthodox Hindus believed in Vedic sacrifices where the *paśu* is given as offering still it is not obligatory on the part of the sacrificer. It was not a common practice and every Hindu home could not observe it. There were certain rules and regulations which must be gone through before a sacrifice is performed. From this we cannot conclude in any manner that the Hindus were non-vegetarians and that it is only the Jains that were vegetarians. Notwithstanding the influence of Buddhism and Jainism in the land the Vedic sacrifices were performed, not only by the people but also the rulers of the land, and even now it is practised by a few orthodox Brahmin families here and there in South India ; and this would not preclude any one from saying that the Brahmins of South India were and are non-vegetarians. What we wish to make out is that much should not be laid at the door of the doctrine of Ahimsa, for an orthodox Brahmin who has abundant faith in Vedic sacrifices may yet practise Ahimsa for other purposes and inculcate the *dharma* to masses. In this way we have to explain the term Ahimsa which frequently occurs in our texts and could not conclude that because a text advocates Ahimsa, it is particularly Jain. The work may not be Jain, the work may be Hindu and yet Ahimsa may find favour with the authors of these two books. What we wish to drive at is that the doctrine of Ahimsa is primarily the doctrine of the Hindus and later the Jains must have borrowed the doctrine when they seceded from the Hindu fold.

While we are talking about the migration and settlement of Jains in South India we have to say one or two words about two or three works of note which have been produced in the early centuries before and after Christian era. One of them is the famous *Tolkāppiyam* a work on Tamil grammar, the first of its kind accepted by all Tamils as an authoritative work. A set of scholars of South India give it as their opinion that the *Tolkāppiyam* contains Jain precepts and a scholar or two would go to the length of saying that it was written by a Jaina author. We place this work in the 3rd or 4th century B.C., and we have no hesitation in saying that it could not be a Jaina work or that the ideals inculcated in it are Jain. ' There is a tradition which is probably historical that the Tolkāppiyar the author of the famous *Tolkāppiyam* was indebted to the Aindra grammatical system of the Sanskritists. From this it has been made out that the work belongs to the Jaina school as if Indra is the presiding deity only of the Jains. Indra is as much a Vedic deity and Hindu deity as well. Then there is a curious interpretation that the *Tolkāppiyam* refers to one Paḍimayon and it is explained that Paḍimayon is one who is engaged in Yoga. Another thing is that the work refers to the classification of Jivas according to sense organs possessed by them. The Yoga referred to is even found in some of the statues of the Indus valley at Maohenjodaro and Harappa belonging to the fourth or fifth century B.C. In the same

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way we have to treat the classification of Jivas. The Upanishads like the Chandogya, Aitareya Āranyaka II, 3, 14, and the epics like Mahābhārata which are the treasure house of Hindu philosophy and religion, discuss this question of questions and also the relation between the Jiva and the Paramātman. Another convincing argument advanced is that it contains an extra chapter on *porul* which contains extra grammatical matter more useful for the historian of the Tamil land. This is in the fitness of things ; a Tamil author writing the Tamil grammar cannot imitate the matter contained in any Sanskrit grammar. To any grammar *eluttu* and *śol* are common whether that grammar is Sanskrit or not. Why Tolkāppiyanar included Poruladikāram is to depict the life of the early Tamilian in its true colours. If we consider all these points which are rather trivial in character we do not feel convinced that Tolkāppiyanar was ever at all a Jain.

The same is true of Tiruvaḷḷuvar the celebrated author of the undying *Tirukkural*. His early life is shrouded in mystery. There are many legends, one attributing his birth to a Chandala woman and another to a Vellala. But from what one could see from the text, he is a follower of the orthodox school and is primarily concerned with the citizen of the land, how he should ennoble his personal conduct, how he should place duty before right, how he should discharge his duty not only to himself but his family, his society and god. The whole treatise treats of the *purushārthas*, dharma, artha and kāma on which alone are laid the foundations of not only the Hindu society but also the state. Without detriment to another, the *Kural* says that one must discharge his responsibility to the State.

The *Tirukkural* is eminently a work dealing with the various duties of the citizen for the society and the state, but based upon ethical consideration. So it appeals to all climes and all ages. It is primarily a work on the established ethical principles of the land and as these principles are common to all religions, there is no doubt that the *Tirukkural* will appeal to every student of history. We have already shown that Kundakundāchārya has nothing to do with the *Tirukkural*. And in dealing with Dharma it is said that righteousness is even better than performing a thousand sacrifices. In another place it says that unless the king protects the land cows would not yield milk and the Brahmins will not read the Vedas. From this one can understand that there is no condemnation of Vedic sacrifices as such, but what is meant is that that person should be condemned who would not walk in the right path but still who would term himself as the author of a thousand sacrifices. Therefore we have to interpret his sayings broadly and not narrow them down to sectarian bounds. Thus it can be easily seen how slippery is the theory of the *Tirukkural* being a Jain work and its author a Jain scholar. Simply because this work is quoted by the later Jain writers it does not necessarily follow that it is a Jain work.

We would be failing in our duty if we do not consider the twin epics *Śilappadikāram* and *Manimekhalai* which should be dated in the second century A.D. From a word here or a word there, we cannot establish that the whole work is devoted to Jain precepts or that the author of this work or that work

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is a Jain. True that Kovalan is said to be a Śrāvaka Nonbigal meaning that he was a lay follower of Jainism and we have already examined the several systems as found in the *Manimekhalai*. If we consider critically both these epics we fail to see much in the way of Jainism or Jain influence. For the reasons given above we feel that the author of the *Śilappadikaram* could not have been a Jain in as much as his brother Ceran Śenguṭṭuvan was a follower of the orthodox faith as could be seen from the single instance to which we will presently refer. When he was about to take to the northern expedition in the right orthodox way and decorate himself with the offerings of not only Śiva but also Vishnu whose blessings he invoked towards the success of his campaigns. It is not easy to dub an author who is full of the significance of the two mantras 'Om Namah Śivāya and Om Namo Nārāyanaya,' a Jain by religious persuasion. Therefore we conclude that Jainism though it had peaceful penetrations into the Tamil land mostly from Kannada country during the early centuries of he Christian era, the Jains would not have settled in numbers and made the Tamil country their home before the founding of the Drāvida Sangha which was about 470 A.D. when the few Jains who lived in the Tamil land felt the necessity for a full-fledged movement.

THE HYMN OF ELECTION IN THE ATHARVAVEDA AND ITS POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS

DR. RAJ BALI PANDEY

The late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal, while dealing with 'Vedic King and His Election' in his Hindu Polity (Chap. XXIII), regarded hymns 87 and 88 of the Sixth Kāṇḍa of the Atharvaveda as 'a Complete Song of Election'. As a matter of fact these hymns emphasise only one aspect of election, *e.g.*, the consequence of election, kingship, should become stable: "Here be you firm like the mountain and may you not come down. Be you firm here like Indra ; remain you here and hold the state".[1] Other essential and important implications of election are not referred to in these hymns. There is, however, another hymn of the Atharvaveda (III. 4), which is richer in contents, brings out the essential features of election and, therefore, it has a better claim to be called 'the Song of Election'. Its text is given below:[2]

आ त्वा गन् राष्ट्रं सह वर्चसोदिहि प्राङ् विशां पतिरेकराट् त्वं विराज ।

सर्वास्त्वा राजन् प्रदिशो हृयन्तूपसद्यो नमस्यो भवेह ॥१॥

1. इहैवैधि मापचोष्टा पर्वत इवाविचाचलत् ।
इन्द्रे हैव ध्रुवस्तिष्ठेह राष्ट्र मु धारया ॥ *Atharvaveda*, VI, 97. 3.

2. *Atharvaveda Saṁhitā with the Commentary of Sāyaṇāchārya* edited by Shankar Pandurang Pandit, M.A., Government Central Book Depot., Bombay, 1895.

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त्वां विशो वृणतां राज्याय त्वामिमाः प्रदिशः पञ्चदेवीः ।
वर्ष्मन् राष्ट्रस्य ककुदि श्रयस्व ततो न उग्रो विभजा वसूनि ॥२॥
अच्छ त्वा यन्तु हविनः सजाता अग्निर्दूतो अजिरः संचरातै ।
जायाः पुत्राः सुमनसो भवन्तु बहुं वलिं प्रति पश्यासा उग्रः ॥३॥
अश्विना त्वाग्रे मित्रावरुणोभा विश्वेदेवा मरुतस्त्वा हयन्तु ।
अधामनो वसुदेयाय कृणुष्व ततो न उग्रो विभजा वसूनी ॥४॥
आ प्र द्रव परमस्याः परावतः शिवे ते छायापृथिवी उभेस्ताम् ।
तदयं राजा वरुणस्तथाह स त्वायमहृत् स उपदमेहि ॥५॥
इन्द्रेन्द्र मनुष्याः इ परेहि सं ह्यज्ञास्था वरुणैः संविदानः ।
स त्वायमहृत् स्वे सधस्थे स देवान् यक्षत् स उ कल्पयाद्विशः ॥६॥
पथ्या रेवतीर्बहुधा विरूपाः सर्वा संगत्य वरीयसे अक्तून् ।
तास्त्वा सर्वा संविदाना हयन्तु दशमीमुग्रः सुमना वशेह ॥७॥

The authentic English translation of this hymn by Whitney (Atharvaveda-Samhita) is:

1. Unto thee hath come the kingdom ;[3] with splendour rise forward ; (as) lord of the people (viśas), sole king, bear thou rule (vi-rāj) ; let all the directions call thee, O King ; become thou here one for waiting on, for homage.

2. Thee let the people (viśas) choose unto kingship (rājya), thee these five divine directions ; rest (śri) at the summit of royalty, at the pinacle (kakud) ; from thence, formidable, share out good things to us.

3. Unto thee let thy fellows come, calling (thee) ; Agni shall go along as speedy messenger ; let the wives, the sons, be well-willing ; thou formidable, shalt see arrive (prati paś) much tribute.

4. Let the (two) Asvins thee first,—let Mitra and Varuna both, let all the gods, the Maruts, call thee ; then put (kr) thy mind unto the giving of good things ; from thence, formidable, share out good things to us.

5. Run forth hither from the furthest distance ; propitious to thee be heaven—and earth both ; king Varuṇa, here saith this thus ; he here hath called thee ; (therefore) do thou come to this place.

6. Like a human Indra, go thou away ; for thou hast concurred (sam-jñā) in concord with the castes (?) ;[4] he here hath called thee in his own station ;[5] he shall sacrifice to the gods, and he shall arrange the people.

3. The word used here is **'राष्ट्रं'** the apt translation of which will be 'the State' and not 'the kingdom'.

4. Whitney accepts the reading **'वर्णैः'**, which is not correct ; it should be **'वरुणैः'**. Plural is used in the sense of honour (पूजायां वहुवचनम् । सायण). Varuṇa is the god of morality and knowledge.

5. Sāyaṇa comments, **'प्रविश्य च इवे स्वकीये सधस्थे सदस्थाने स्वराष्ट्रे'** ।

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7. The wealthy roads, of manifoldly various forms, all assembling, have made wide room for thee ; let them all in concord call thee ; to the tenth (decade of life)[6] abide here formidable, well-willing.

The Main Features of the Hymn :

1. Kingship as an Elective Institution.

The hymn, in general, deals with the invitation[7] and election of a person to the office of kingship. There is absolutely no indication that the king elect had put up an application for his candidature and that he was anxious to be elected to the post, much less eager to stick to the post against the wishes of the people. He could not inherit the state through his parents or own the state as a matter of right. The question of conquering the State did not arise at all, as the State was owned by the people jointly.

2. The Right of the People to Elect the King.

It was the right and the privilege of the people to elect their own ruler. It is evident from the following statements in the hymn:

(1) 'Unto thee hath come the State.'[8]
(2) 'Let all the directions call thee.'[9]
(3) 'Thee let the people choose unto kingship.'[10]
(4) 'Let Aśvins, Mitrāvaruṇa, Viśvedavā and Maruts call thee.'[11]
(5) 'Let them all in concord call thee.'[12]
(6) 'He (Indra) here hath called thee to his station (assembly-house).'[13]

3. The Tenure of the Office of Kingship.

In the verse no. 7 of this hymn there is a phrase 'daśāmiṁ vaśeha', which is supposed to throw light on the tenure of the office of kingship. Sāyana interprets this phrase as 'the highest limit of the age, consisting of ten years surpassing ninety years.'[14] Taking the clue from this interpretation, Whitney translated it as 'to the tenth decade of life abide here.'[15] Relying, perhaps, upon the commentary of Sāyaṇa on the Atharvavedic hymn and the translation thereof by Whitney, K. P. Jayaswal inferred, "The king thus accepted his royal authority from the whole folk . . . The king was elected for his whole life ; "Rule here a mighty benevolent (king) upon the tenth decade of your life."[16] The commentary, the translation and the inference do not fit in either with the religious, the political or the physical context. Under religious injunc-

6. This translation is forced. *'Daśami'* means 'pariṣat' or assembly (-hall) where the king was expected to be supreme and well-willing.

7. The specific word frequently used is **'ह्वयन्तु'** (may invite you).

8. आत्वा गन् राष्ट्रं.....III. 4. 1.

9. सर्वासत्वा राजन् प्रदिशो ह्वयन्तु । III. 4. 1.

10. त्वां विशो वृणतां राज्याय । III. 4. 2.

11. अश्विना त्वाग्रे मित्रावरुणोभा विश्वेदेवा मरुतस्त्वा ह्वयन्तु । III. 4. 4.

12. तास्त्वा सर्वाः सविदाना ह्वयन्तु । III. 4. 7.

13. सत्वायमद्गत् स्वे स्वधस्थे । III. 4. 6.

14. दशमीं नवति संवत्सरोध्वभाविनो वर्ष दश मात्मिकां चरमावस्थाम् ।

15. *Atharvaveda-Samhitā*, Translation and Notes, III. 4. 7.

16. *Hindu Polity* (second ed.), p. 196.

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tion, according to the āśrama-system, the king had to retire in the fourth quarter of his life, *e.g.*, at the latest after 75 ; elective kingship and dotage go ill together ; requisite physical strength for discharging the functions of a king would be wanting in the nineties. To expect the king to function efficiently during his closing years would have been too much. There are some determinative words in the verse which fix the meaning of the term 'daśāmiṁ' :

(1) 'Let them all in concord call thee.'[17]

(2) 'Abide here formidable, well-willing.'[18]

From the above determinative phrases it is clear that the people were inviting the king-elect to some immediate action, that the king had to enter the place meant for popular assembly and that he had to act firmly (ugra) and well-willing (sumanā). Under the circumstances the word 'daśami' suggests some meaning other than 'nineties'. In the opinion of the present writer it corresponds with the prototype of the 'daśāvara pariṣat' of Manu,[19] which was closely concerned with the election of the king, though later on it was converted into an advisory and legislative body. The word 'daśami', therefore, does not indicate a 'life-time kingship'. In the present state of our knowledge we have no evidence to determine the exact tenure of election. Perhaps the king functioned as long as he was physically fit and did not come into conflict with the popular will ; in case he tried to be absolute, he was deposed.[20]

4. The Obligations of the People to the King.

With the right of election went the obligations of people to the king in order to make his rule possible and effective. The obligations can be tabled as follows:

(1) Rallying round the king.[21]

(2) Obedience to the king.[22]

(3) Payment of taxes.[23]

(4) Protection of the king.[24]

(5) Observance of law.[25]

(6) Economic efforts.[26]

(7) Doing good to the king.[27]

5. The Qualifications of the king.

17. *Atharvaveda*, III. 4. 7.

18. *Ibid.*

19. त्रैविद्यो हैतुकस्तर्की नैरुक्तो धर्मपाठकः ।
त्रयश्चाश्रमिणः पूर्वे परिषत् स्याद्दशावरा ॥ XII. III.

20. *Atharvaveda*, III. 3.

21. उपसद्य । *Atharvaveda*, III. 4. 1.

22. नमस्य । *Ibid.*, III. 4. 1.

23. बलिं प्रति पश्यासा । *Ibid.*, III. 4. 3.

24. शिवे ते छाया पृथिवी उभेखाम् । *Ibid.*, III. 4. 5.

25. पथ्या । *Ibid.*, III. 4. 7.

26. रेवती । *Ibid.*

27. सर्वा संगत्य वरीयस्ते अक्रन् । *Ibid.*

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The principle of election involved that the person to be elected as a king should have possessed certain qualifications. As suggested in the hymn under consideration they are:

(1) Energy and enthusiasm.[28]
(2) Attraction.[29]
(3) Worthy of salutation.[30]
(4) Lordship.[31]
(5) Superiority.[32]
(6) Excelling power.[33]
(7) Discerning.[34]
(8) Knowing or well-informed.[35]
(9) Formidable but well-willing.[36]

6. The Functions of the king.

The office of kingship required that the king should perform the following functions:

(1) Military and Police Duties as suggested by the word 'ugra'.[37]
(2) Movement and Contact with the people.[38]
(3) Collection of Taxes.[39]
(4) Administration of Law and Justice as suggested in his comparison with Varuṇa.[40]
(5) Distribution of Wealth.[41]
(6) Keeping the people engaged in proper action.[42]

7. Undertaking by the king.

As the hymn in question was meant to be recited by a priest, there is no part assigned to the king in it. But it seems that, before he was elected, he had to undertake certain responsibilities. As implied in his military, police, legal and economic duties, the king had to give undertaking for the protection

28. वर्च सोदिहि। *Ibid.*, III. 4. 1.
29. उपसद्य। *Ibid.*
30. नमस्य। *Ibid.*
31. विशां पति। *Ibid.*
32. राष्ट्रस्य ककुदि श्रयस्व। *Ibid.*, III. 4. 2.
33. मनुष्याः परेहि। *Ibid.*, III. 4. 6.
34. सं अज्ञस्था। *Ibid.*
35. संविदानः। *Ibid.*
36. उग्रः सुमना। *Ibid.*, III. 4. 7.
37. उग्र.....वशेह। *Ibid.*
38. आ प्र द्रव परमस्या परावतः। *Ibid.*, III. 4. 5.
39. बहुं वलिं प्रति पश्यासा। *Ibid.*, III. 4. 3.
40. तदर्यं राजा वरुणः। *Ibid.*, III. 4. 5.
41. विभज वसूनि। *Ibid.*, III. 4. 2.
मनः वसुदेयाय कृणुष्व। *Ibid.*, III. 4. 4.
42. स उ कल्पपाद् विशः। *Ibid.*, III. 4. 6.

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and maintenance of the State, which later on developed into a full-fledged Governmental Compact envisaged in the Epics, the Purānas and the Dharmaśāstras.

8. Royal Titles.

The political titles used for the king in this hymn are *rājan, ekarāt* and *virāja*. The first of these appears to be a well established title for a king. The next two are still in a fluid form, though indicative of the future paramount status of an ambitious king implying his superiority over various neighbouring kings.

THE ĀBHĪRAS AND THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE INDIAN CULTURE

SHRIMATI DEBALA MITRA

The origin of this nomadic tribe and the stages in their migration towards India are shrouded in obscurity. Their pastoral pursuits as well as ethnic features preclude the possibility of their Indian origin and suggest that they might have originally belonged to Central Asia, the great home of the migratory tribes, many of whom being either actuated by necessity or out of sheer greed for the rich and fertile lands of India, poured into this country. Dr. D. C. Sircar connects the Ābhīras with the locality called Abiravān lying midway between Herat and Kāndāhār.[1] The name of the place has apparently close similarity with the name of the tribe and it is not unreasonable to assume that the tribe in their course of southward march towards India, might have settled for some time in that region which afterwards came to be named after them. The Śakas also similarly in their migratory advances towards India, settled for centuries in parts of Eastern Irān, which came to be known after them (Sakastāna, Seistan, Śakadvīpa etc.). Excavations in Central Asia and adjoining regions may, we hope, shed fresh light on the obscure period of their history. Most probably they came to India along with the Scythians and at first settled in the Punjab.

D. R. Bhandarkar's theory that the Ābhīras were living in India long before the beginning of the Christian era and that Puṇika, the father of Prodyota of Avanti was the leader of an Ābhīra contingent in the employ of the Vītihotra dynasty of Ujjain does not bear scrutiny.[2] The earliest clear

1. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, Bombay, 1951, p. 221 (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan).
2. *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, pp. 15-16. His main arguments are as follows: First, the *Mṛcchakaṭika* mentions one Āryaka, son of Gopāla as hiding in a *ghosa* in order to escape the wrath of Pālaka. Gopāla & Pālaka were two sons of Pradyota. Now, acc. to the *Amarakoṣa ghosa* signifies *Ābhīra-pallī i.e.*, Ābhīra hamlet. Thus when Āryaka, the grandson of Pradyota was hiding in an Ābhīra-settlement, he must belong to the same tribe. Further, in the *Pratijñā-Yaugandharāyaṇa*, the Chamberlain sends a message of the king to the keeper of the gate through a sentinel called Ābhīraka. If an Ābhīra is appointed to guard the innermost parts of a palace where the king stayed, the presumption is that the king also belonged to the Ābhīra tribe,

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literary mention of them occurs in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali of about the 2nd century B.C. Patañjali in his gloss on the *Vārtika-sūtra 'Sāmānyaviśeṣa-vācinośca dvandvā bhāvāt siddham'* informs us that the *dvanda*-compound *Śudrābhīram* is allowed as the two represent two different tribes (*jātis*).[3] From this it is clear that the Ābhīras had already settled in India in the 2nd century B.C. and that they came to be associated with the Śūdras who are usually identified with the Sodrai, a tribe living in the Punjab below the confluence of the five rivers in the time of Alexander's invasion. In the *Purāṇas* and *Mahābhārata,* these two tribes are often mentioned together.[4] Their settlement in the Punjab is also attested by *Mahābhārata* and the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa.*[5] Gradually they advanced towards the south and gained a foothold near Vinaśana (where the Sarasvatī disappears in the Rajputana Desert).[6] Next they moved towards the Lower Indus Valley where they went in considerable numbers, as, soon after their settlement there, a region was called after them. The author of the *Periplus* mentions Abiria with the coast district Syrastrene (Kathiawad). Ptolemy also designates the region above the Indus Delta (Patalene) as Abiria included in Indo-Scythia. The same locality is referred to in the indigenous texts when they are mentioned along with other tribes living in the western part of India. Thus the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* locates them in the extreme west along with the Saurāṣṭras, Śūras (Śūdras ?) Arbudas etc.[7] The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* also associates them with the Saurāṣṭras, Avantis, Śūras, Arbudas and Mālavas.[8] The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* and the *Vāyu Purāṇa* conjoin them with the Vālhikas, Vāṭadhānas, Kālatoyakas, Śūdras etc.[9] The *Brahma Purāṇa* places them in the west in association with the Saurāṣṭras, Arbudas, Mālavas etc.[10] The Ābhīras next settled in Aparānta. One of the slokas of the Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa mentions them as living on the Benvā river.[11] They penetrated further and further and gradually spread in different parts of India. Their advance in the south is proved by the testimony of the *Purāṇas*

as it is natural to expect tribesmen to protect the tribal ruler.' But the employment of guards and officials from different nationalities is too common an incident to draw any conclusion on the nationality of the king. Further, it is not unusual for an Indian ruler to engage foreign guards, as they had lesser chance of participation in the palace intrigues than the guards taken from their own tribe. Again *ghoṣa,* in earlier times, has not acquired the sense of 'Ābhīra-settlement' as is apparent from Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya,* II. 4. 10 where *ghoṣa* is a unit of Aryan settlement. The same general sense is attached to it in other earlier works—*Rāmāyana,* Ayodhyā Kāṇda, Ch. 83, V. 15 ; *Vāyu-Purāṇa,* II (Pub. by Asiatic Society of Bengal), Ch. 33. V. 10.

3. Kielhorn, *Mahābhāṣya,* Vol. I, 1892, p. 252.

4. *Mahābhārata* (A.S.B. ed.), Sabhāparvan. V. 1192 ; *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (Wilson), Bk. IV, Ch. XXIV, p. 222 ; *Brahma Purāṇa* (Baṅgavāsi ed.), 19. 17. In some passages we have Śūra in place of Śūdra.

5. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa,* Bk. V, Ch. XXXVIII ; *Mbh.* Muṣala Parvan, Ch. 7.

6. *Mbh.* Salya Parvan, V. 2119.

"Tato vināṣanaṁ rājan jagāmatha holāyudhaḥ
Śudrābhirān prati dveṣāt yatra naṣṭā Sarasvatī."

also, Sabhāparvan, V. 1192 mentions Śūdras and Ābhīras living on the Sarasvatī.

7. ed. by Wilson, Bk. II, Ch. III, p. 133 ; also Bk. IV. XXIV, p. 222.

8. XII. I. 36.

9. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (Baṅgavāsi ed.), Ch. 57, verses 35-36. *Vāyu Purāṇa* (Baṅgavāsi ed.), Ch. 45. V. 115. The Ābhīras are placed by the *Matsya Purāṇa* (Baṅgavāsi ed., p. 337) in the Northern division.

10. 19. 17.

11. 58. 22.

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where they are grouped along with the southern tribes.[12] Varāhamihira in one passage places the Ābhīra country in the south along with Konkan, Ākara, Venāvarta etc.[13] while in another place he mentions them as living in the south-west.[14]

Before their settlement in the country they led a nomadic life, making plundering raids upon the more civilised citizens. A glimpse of their turbulent, unruly and predatory character is clearly reflected in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa.[15] When most of the Yādava male members perished in the fratricidal strife and Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma too abandoned their mortal bodies, Arjuna came to escort the surviving inhabitants to safety from the advancing tides of the Ocean about to submerge Dwārakā. In course of their journey they halted in the Pañcanada country where the Ābhīras at the sight of so many widows and such great riches under the care of a single man, attacked Arjuna and carried away the beautiful women. The same account of the fate of the women of the Yādava clan is preserved in the 7th chap. of the Mauṣalaparvan of the *Mahābhārata* and also in the *Brahma Purāṇa*.[16]

Even long after their settlement some members of the tribe did not give up their original habits. From the Ghatiyala inscription of Kakkuka, dated Samvat 918, we gather that the place Rohinsakūpa (Ghatiyala) had become deserted on account of the inroads of the Ābhīras and that Kakkuka had re-peopled it.[17]

But they gradually gave up their nomadic character and settled in the country. Many of them took to different professions, though the majority were still engaged in their original profession *i.e.* tending of cows. They began to take active interest in politics, seeking employment in the state office. The Guṇḍā (Hālār dist., Kathiawad) inscription of the time of Rudrasiṁha, dated 181 A.D., records the pious benefaction—such as the digging of a tank and its embankment for all beings, by an Ābhīra general, Rudrabhūti, son of the general, Bāpaka.[18] Once they held the responsible post they could not remain satisfied with their subordinate position and began to aspire after the supreme power. One Īśvaradatta who, for a short time, eclipsed the fortune of the western Kṣatrapas by assuming the title of Mahākṣatrapa is known from his coins. His true relation with the Śaka rulers is still veiled in darkness. He issued coins of the same style and type as those of the Western Kṣatrapas, but his name and foreign method of dating his coins in regnal years exclude the possibility of his belonging to that dynasty. Scholars are almost unanimous in taking him for an Ābhīra connected with the Ābhīra dynasty[19] who

12. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (Bang. Ed.), Ch. 57, Vs. 45-48. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, Ch. 45, 126.
13. *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, ed. by Kern, 1865, p. 89, Ch. 14, V. 12.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 90, Ch. 14, V. 18.
15. *Viṣnu Purāṇa* (Wilson), Bk. V, Ch. XXXVIII.
16. *Brahma Purāṇa* (Baṅgavāsi ed.), Ch. 212, pp. 810 ff.
17. *E.I.*, Vol. IX, pp. 278 ff.
18. Luders' List No. 963, *E.I.*, Vol. XVI, p. 235 ; *Ind. Ant.*, X, p. 157 ff. The name Bāpaka reminds us of the name Pāpak common among the Persians and Sasanians.
19. Rapson, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Ksatrapas* etc., P. CXXXIV. Dr. Sircar, however, does not hold this view.

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most probably taking advantage of the declining Sātavāhana power carved out a principality in North-Western Mahārāṣṭra. A record of the ninth year of the reign of the Ābhīra king Īśvarasena, son of Śivadatta, is engraved on a Buddhist cave at Nasik.[20] In this inscription, Śivadatta was not given kingly title, so it is natural to suppose that Īśvarasena himself became the founder of the royal line. Bhandarkar tries to identify Īśvarasena with Īśvaradatta whose coins are found in Malwa, Gujarat and Kathiawad, assigning him to the years 110-12 (A.D. 188-90), the period of Rudrasiṁha's degradation to the subordinate position of the Kṣatrapa. The slight difference between the two names is due to oversight and the names of the father and son in the Nasik inscription were, he thinks, Īśvaradatta and Śivasena and not Īśvarasena and Śivadatta.[21] Rapson however, is of opinion that Īśvarasena ruled before Īśvaradatta whom he placęs sometime between A.D. 236 and 239.[22] Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji's suggestion that Īśvaradatta was the founder of the Traikuṭaka era beginning in A.D. 248-49[23] is shown unfounded by Rapson.[24] Some scholars are inclined to identify the dynasty of Īśvarasena with the Traikuṭaka dynasty. Though these two families ruled in contiguous territories in Aparānta and had similarity in name endings, we are not yet on solid ground to connect the two families as belonging to the same dynasty or race. Further the Chandravalli inscription of Mayūraśarman mentions Trikuṭa and Ābhīra separately. Towards the end of the 3rd century A.D. the Ābhīras yielded considerable power and, along with other Śaka rulers of India, an Ābhīra king (*Ābīrān Śāh*) sent an embassy to congratulate the Sasanian king Naresh (293-302) on his victory against Varhran III.[25] The Purāṇas also recognise the rule of 10 Ābhīra princes after the Andhrabhṛtyas.[26] According to the *Matsya Purāṇa*, the Ābhīras ruled for 67 years.[27] After the rise of the Imperial Guptas, their power naturally weakened and the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta mentions the Ābhīras as paying homage to the Emperor.[28] In the south the Kadamba king Mayūraśarman (c.330-60 A.D.) claims to have defeated the Ābhīras.[29]

Though the power of the Ābhīras declined with the rise of the Guptas, they were not at all crushed ; they maintained their independence in different

20. *E.I.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 88 f.
21. *Arch. Aurv. Ind.*, A.R. 1913-14, p. 228 ff ; *Ind. Ant.*, XLVII, 1918, p. 156. We cannot reconcile the two statements. From the Nasik inscription we know that Īśvarasena at least ruled for 9 yrs., yet Bhandarkar assigns Īśvaradatta-Īśvarasena to A.D., 188-90, the period of Rudrasiṁha's degradation from Mahā-Kṣatrapa to the subordinate position of Kṣatrapa. There are instances of Royal charters being carelessly engraved, but mistakes in writing the name of such important personages as kings rarely occur and it is hard to accept Bhandarkar's suggestion unless supported by other evidence.
22. Rapson, *op. cit.*, p. Cxxx VI.
23. *J.R.A.S.* 1890, p. 657.
24. Rapson, *op. cit.*, p. CLXII.
25. E. Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, Vol. I, pp. 43, 119. *Vāyu-Purāṇa*, Ch. 37, V. 353 ; *Matsya-Purāṇa* (Baṅgavāsi ed.), Ch. 273, V. 18.
26. The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (Wilson, Vol. IV, pp. 201-202) and *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (Ed. by Puridasa, XII, I, 27) mention seven Ābhīra kings.
27. Baṅgavāsi ed. 1316, P. 436, Ch. 273, V. 24.
28. *C.I.I.*, III. p. 6 ff.
29. *Mys. Arch. Surv. A. R.*, 1929, p. 50 ff.

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parts of India. They made their power felt in South Indian political life, as, most of the powerful dynasties of South India boasted, in their inscriptions, of having defeated the Ābhīras. The Gāṅga King Keśari (first quarter of the 8th century A.D.) 'bore in battle the blows struck by the enemies of the king of Ābhīras'.[30] In the Nagai Inscription of the later Western Cālukya ruler Trailokyamalla-Āhavamalla, dated A.D. 1058, we are told that his general Madhusūdana, disgraced the Ābhīra king (*dūṣit-Ābhīran*).[31] Another record of this ruler dated A.D. 1068 states that he massacred the Ābhīras and other tribes to such an extent that a stench arose.[32] One of the inscriptions of Vikramāditya VI, dated A.D. 1084 informs us that his general, Śrīvallabha, vanquished the Ābhīras.[33] In an epigraph of 1114 A.D., Vikramāṅka claims to have subdued this tribe.[34] The relation of this tribe with the Caulukyas of Aṇahila-pāṭaka was far from friendly. The *Dvyāśraya* of Hemacandra gives an account of a successful struggle of Mūlarāja (c.961-96 A.D.) with Grāharipu, the powerful Ābhīra ruler of Surāṣṭra who lived at Vāmanasthalī (Mod. Vanthali) and Durgapālī.[35] Grāharipu was taken prisoner. The hostility, however, did not end there. We are told by Merutuṅga that in the reign of Jayasiṁha (c. 1094-1144 A.D.), Navaghana *alias* Khengāra, the Ābhīra king of Surāṣṭra defeated the Caulukya forces eleven times and that Jayasiṁha was obliged to have personally marched against him. He killed the Ābhīra King and placed Sajjana in charge of Surāṣṭra.[36] According to the Kumarapālacarita of Jayasiṁha (A.D. 1365), Kumārapāla (c. 1144-73 A.D.), being converted to Jainism, prohibited the slaughter of animals and enforced this order in Surāṣṭra, Lāṭa, Mālava, Ābhīra, Medapāṭa, Maru and Sapādalakṣa-deśa.[37] The location of this Ābhīra country is to be sought in Aparānta,, as is supported by a passage of the Kumārapālacarita describing the *'digvijaya'* of the ruler. We are told that in course of his victorious march Kumārapāla crossed the Narmadā and entering the Ābhīra-*viṣaya* subdued the lord of Prakāśa-nagarī ; as the Vindhyas stood in the way of his southern march he turned towards the west and defeated the ruler of Lāṭa.[38] We thus find the Ābhīra-*viṣaya* as situated on the south of the Narmadā and to the east of Lāṭa. The relation of the Ābhīras with the Hoysalas was also hostile which is apparent from an inscription, dated A.D. 1190, where Baḷḷāla-Deva is described as 'a thunderbolt to the rock, the Āhira king.'[39]

In the kingdom of the Yādavas some of the Ābhīras held high posts of trust and responsibility. From an inscription of Siṁhaṇa, dated A.D. 1215, we learn that the Āhīra Jaitugi-Deva was Governor of Jiḍḍḷige and other southern districts and that he gave his own village Chikka Sakuna for the

30. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, 1884, p. 188.
31. *Hyderabad Arch. Series* No. 8, pp. 7, 13, 21.
32. E.P. Car, VII. Part I, p. 101, text 181.
33. *E.I., XV*, p. 104.
34. *E.P. Car*, VII, Part I, p. 104.
35. H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II, Cal. 1936, p. 941. This Ābhīra family is identified by some scholars with the Cūḍāsamā tribe.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 969.
37. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 993.
38. *Op. Cit.*, p. 986.
39. *E.P. Car.*, Vol. V, Part I, p. 202 ; tevt p. 463.

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god, Koṭināṭha.[40] In the Ambā inscription of Siṁhaṇa dated A.D. 1240, however, his general, Kholeśvara, is credited with the destruction of 'the remnants of the race of the heroic Ābhīra kings.'[41] Lakṣmīdeva, the Ābhīra king of Bhambhāgiri was also overthrown by Siṁhaṇa with the help of his general, Kholeśvara.[42] Again the Yādava king Kāṇha-Deva is called 'a wild fire to the forest, the Ābhīra-Kula'.[43] In an incomplete inscription of 1276 A.D., the Yādava ruler (apparently, Rāmacandra) also claims to have crushed the Ābhīra-king.[44]

The *Vaṁśāvalis* of Nepal affirm that an Ābhīra dynasty consisting of three kings ruled that country before the Kirāta dynasty, though most scholars would not believe in the tradition.[45]

The Ābhīras were at first regarded as barbarians and were despised by the Hindus.[46] They are called in the Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata as *Mlecchas* and *Dasyus*.[47] From the passage of the *Mahābhāṣya* referred to above it appears that the Ābhīras were included in the Śūdra caste.[48] According to the *Amarakoṣa*. *Mahāśūdrī* means *Ābhīrī*, while the Kāśikā identifies *Mahāśūdra* with a man of the Ābhīra descent. From a passage[49] of the *Kāmasūtra*, some scholars are led to think that the Ābhīras, even in the time of *Vātsyāyana*, had not obtained the status of Kṣatriyas.[50] Chapter 29 of the Aśvamedhika Parva of the Mahābhārata states that when Paraśurāma killed Kārtavīrya together with the Kṣatriyas who came to help the latter, those Kṣatriyas who were living in villages and cities, being afraid of Paraśurāma, were unable to perform their caste functions. Thus they were degraded to the position of Śūdras (*Vṛṣalatvaṁ*) due to their non-performance of Kṣatriya duties and became the Drāviḍas, Ābhīras, Puṇḍras and Sabaras.[51] The position of the Ābhīras was much improved in the estimation of Manu who says that an Ābhīra is the son of a Brāhman by an Ambaṣṭha woman.[52]

The exact process by which the Ābhīras were brought into the fourfold

40. *EP. Car.* Vol. VIII, Part 11, p. 48, text, p. 99.
41. *A.S.W.I.*, III, p. 90.
42. *E.I.*, Vol. XXV, p. 203.
43. *EP. Car.*, VIII, Part 18, text p. 39.
44. *Mys. Arch. Surv. A.R.* 1929, p. 143.
45. *Ind. Ant.* 1884, pp. 411, 417.
46. In the legend of Aśoka, as contained in the *Divyāvadāna*, two Ābhīra commoners are mentioned—one who suffered the same disease as Aśoka and who was killed by Tiṣyarakṣitā in order to ascertain the cause of the disease and to find out the remedy ; and the other who mistook Vītaśoka for the heretical follower of Nirgrantha school (upon whose head a dinara was proclaimed) and killed him.
47. *Viṣnu Purāṇa*, Bk. V, Ch. XXXVIII ; *Mbh. Muṣalparvan*, Ch. VI ; *Vāyu Purāṇa* (*Bibl. Ind.*), Vol. II, Ch. 37, V. 263 ; also *Rāmāyaṇa*, VI. 22. 30.
Ugradarśana Karmāno bahavastatra dasyavaḥ.
Ābhīrapramukhāḥ pāpāḥ pibanti salilaṁ mama.
48. Śūdra denotes both a caste and a tribe.
49. Kṣatriya saṁjñakairantaḥpurarakṣibhirevātha sādhayantyābhīrakānam *i.e.*, the royal household of the Ābhira rulers were guarded by a class of officials called *Kṣatriya*.
50. H. C. Chakladar, *Social Life in Ancient India*, Calcutta 1929, pp. 86, 102-103. In this collection it is of interest to note that the Ābhīras and the love intrigues in the seraglio of the Ābhīra-rulers are often referred to in the *Kāmasūtra*. As an example of dangers to king entering the houses of others on love affair is cited the case of an Ābhīra Koṭṭarāja.
51. V, 832.
52. X, 15.

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division of the Hindus and merged in the general body of Indian population is difficult to determine. When a foreign tribe comes to settle in a new land, it is hard for them to maintain their individuality for a long time (unless they come in overwhelming numbers, backed by a strong culture, to sweep over the whole native population). After an initial period of clashes of interests resulting in hostilities in some cases, they are bound to be fused with the mass. Hinduisation of a nomadic people is still easier to be accomplished, as the nomads when they became settlers, found their nomadic culture inconsistent with their present condition. So they must be inclined to accept the institutions, beliefs, ritual practices of the indigenous people. From what has been stated above it is clear that the Ābhīras proceeded to be Indianised by accepting Hindu names. The names of Īśvarasena, Īśvaradatta, Śivadatta, Rudrabhūti etc. are thoroughly Indian. The true spirit of a pious Hindu is also exhibited by Rudrabhūti in digging wells for the welfare of all beings. Marriage also played a very important role in bringing the foreigners in Hindu society. Though the ancient law-givers did not prescribe any special purificatory rites for outsiders for bringing them in the pale of Hinduism, yet, religion which is in India a powerful leveller of men broke the barrier between the two peoples. In the following śloka, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* explicitly states that the foreign tribes like the Yavanas, Kirātas, Huṇas, Ābhīras etc. became purified by taking resort to Viṣṇu.

Kirāta-Huṇāndhra-Pulinda-Pukvasā
Abhīra-Suhmā-Yavanāḥ Khaśādayaḥ
Ye'nye ca pāpā yad-upaśrayāśrayaḥ
Śudhyanti tasmai prabhaviṣṇave namaḥ.[53]

The ancient Indians also had the generosity to accept them if they conformed to the Hindu social customs, rites and ceremonies. But it is unreasonable to think that the Indians had only to give and nothing to take. The numerous foreign peoples who came to India brought something to enrich our composite culture. They went very deep into the social structure of India leaving their stamp on the civilisation. Nomadic pastoral culture also made itself felt in Indian culture. The Ābhīras made a strong impression upon the Indians. Their speech obtained a footing in Indian drama and critics on poetics like Dandin recognise it under Apabhraṁśa dialect.[54] The Ābhīras also contributed to the development of Indian music. In almost all the works on music from the time of Mataṅga (c. 5th to 7th Cent. A.D.), we find Ābhīri or Āhīrī as the name of a *rāginī*. Mataṅga also gives the component notes of the 'Ābhīrī-gīti'.[55]

The Ābhīras played a great part in the development of Vaiṣṇavism. Scholars have long proved that the cult of child Kṛṣṇa is indigenous to India and was not imported from outside. The seed of some of the legends regard-

53. II, 4, 18.
54. *Ābhīrādi-giraḥ Kāvyeṣvapabhraṁśa iti smṛtāh.*
55. *Bṛhaddeśi* (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No. XCIV) 1928, p. 116. According to Mataṅga, 'Ābhīrī-gīti' is one of the minor melodies (*bhāṣāgīti*) under the major melody of *Pañcama rāga.*

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ing this pastoral child-god were already in the Vedic texts. "The epithets *Gopa* and *Yuvā akumāraḥ'* of the Vedic Vishṇu might have been suggestive of the Purāṇic tale of the youthful herdsman of Vṛindavana, just as the three strides of the same god suggested the legend of the Dwarf-*Avatāra.*"[56] Still we cannot doubt that the Ābhīras brought about great changes in Vaisṇavism by directing its course into a new channel by introducing some pastoral legends and, above all, Kṛṣṇa's relation with he Gopīs. The introduction of the love-affair of Kṛṣṇa which was destined to bring about a new out-look among the Vaiṣṇavas in their devotion and adoration of their personal god, created a new philosophy. Scholars have for a long time detected an exotic element in the nomadic life led by Kṛṣṇa among the cow-herds. A glimpse of the life led by the nomads of Bṛndāvana is available from portions of the Purāṇas,[57] dealing with the early life of Kṛṣṇa. They led a pastoral nomadic life, moving from place to place. When the pasture for their cattle was exhausted, they, exactly like the nomads of Central Asia—who go by the general appellation of Scythians, placed their women and belongings in their wagons and went in search of new lands. They were sharply differentiated from the settled citizens of Mathurā. The following arguments of Kṛṣṇa in connection with his advice for the abolition of the festival in honour of Indra are worth quoting. "We are not shut in with doors, nor confined within walls: we have neither fields nor houses; we wander about happily where-ever we list, travelling in our wagons."[58] Again, "we, who tend our herds in forests and mountains, should worship them and our kine."[59]

Such a life is quite inconsistent with the Indian people who are essentially of settled habits. The Ābhīras when they came to India probably found in Kṛṣṇa some attributes akin to their character. They at once became attracted and being converted they imposed upon the god many of their pastoral legends. Kṛṣṇa's adventures with cowherds' wives which were specially stressed and celebrated at a later period, do not occur in the earlier works, even in the *Mahābhārata.* It may be asked why the Ābhīras among many other nomadic tribes who migrated to India are specially responsible for the introduction of these elements? The Gurjaras might have equally brought these new features. But a close study of the Purāṇas leaves no room for doubt that the Ābhīras are meant. *Gopa* (Cowherd), gopi (Milkmaid) are often identified with Āhīra and Āhīranī or Āhīrī. In some Bengali recensions of the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa, 'Āhīrānī' is often used in place of 'Gopi'. Again, Ghoṣa among which Kṛṣṇa moved is called *Ābhīra-Pallī.* Further, among a pastoral tribe called Abeirai (apparently Ābhīra) who had settlements near

56. Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, *The Early History of the Vaishṇava Sect,* Calcutta 1936, p. 148.

57. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (Wilson), Bk. V; *Bhāgavata Purāṇa,* 10th, Skaṇda, also Harivaṁsa, *Agni-Purāṇa* (Bangavāsi ed.) p. 23 ff; *Padma-Purāṇa* Uttarakhaṇḍa (Bangavāsi ed.) p. 976 ff.; *Brahma Purāṇa* (Bangavāsi ed.) p. 722 ff. In the *Brahma Vaivarta Purāṇa, Kṛṣṇa's* sports with Rādhā and other Gopīs are often mentioned.

58. Wilson, *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa,* Vol. IV, London 1868, p. 311. Wagons (Śakata) formed a very indispensable adjunct in nomadic life. In the legend of the boy Kṛṣṇa, *Śakata* is too often introduced.

59. *Ibid.,* p. 312..

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Azerbaijan there was current a series of pastoral songs depicting the amorous dalliance of cowherds with milkmaids.[60]

Today we find the Āhirs (Ābhīras) scattered over the greater part of India from Gujrat to the confines of Bengal and from the Punjab to the Deccan. The Ayars of the Tamil land are regarded by some scholars as Ābhīra immigrants from the north, bringing with them the worship of Kṛṣṇa.[61] But the Ayars, now-a-days, call themselves 'Smārtas', though most of them have a strong predilection towards Śiva, while the Vaiṣṇavas of the southern India bitterly hate the Śaivas. Under these circumstances, it is difficult to derive "Ayar" from "Ābhīra". Most of the South Indian Scholars think that 'Ayar' is derived from *Ārya* meaning not 'Aryan' but 'man of noble disposition' (as in Indian dramas the husbands are addressed by their wives as "Ārya-Putra"). When the Kattis first arrived at Gujrat in the 8th Cent. A.D. they found the greater part of the land under the Āhirs. They gave their names to many places. The Gurgi (Rewa State) inscription of Prabodhaśiva of about 8th Cent. A.D. mentions a village called Ābhira-Palli.[62] The fort of Asirgarh in Khandesh is believed to have been built by Asā Ahīr, a rich herdsman whose forefathers enjoyed large estates for several hundred years. The Parganah of Ahrora in Mirzapur is called in old records as Ahirwara. There is a place in Madhya Pradesh, Ahiri by name (19830N, 80,3E). Another place between Bhilsa and Jhansi is caled Ahirwara. The district of Bareilly is called Tappa-Ahiran.[63]

In some provinces the Āhirs are a quiet agricultural people, while in others they are still a race of shepherds and keepers of cattle. Some of them living in the wooded and hilly parts are still of unsettled habits. They have also taken to different crafts and industries. The Āhiras are regarded as Brāhmans in Mahārāṣṭra. They are also included among the Brāhmanical tribes of Gujarat. They perform the priestly functions among the Āhirs. The Āhirs are broadly divided into three great divisions, namely, Nandavaṁśi (Offspring of Nanda), Jaduvaṁśi (Descendants of the Yādavas) and Gualvaṁśi (claiming descent from the Guālās or Herdsmen and the Gopīs of Kṛṣṇa). All the three sub-castes are endogamous. Their birth, death and marriage ceremonies are similar to those of the Gujars and Jats. Though the principal object of their worship is Kṛṣṇa, they worship other deities as well. They trace their origin to Mathurā or places near it. The Āhirs, converted to Muslim faith, are called 'Ghosi'.[64] The Āhirs have given their name to

60. Dr. Niharranjan Ray, Bagiswari Lectures for 1951 ; Unfortunately I can not consult the Russian Journal in which this important piece of information appears.

61. Raychaudhuri, *Early History of the Vaisnava Sect*, p. 152 ; Rapson, *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 596.

62. *E.I.*, XXII, p. 127 ff.

63. Also Aheripura and Airwā in Itawah Dist. U.P. ; Also Ahirpur, in (Bulandshahr Dist.) *Arch. Surv. Ind., North-Western Provinces & Oudh*, Vol. II, pp. 6. 89.

64. Beames, *Races of the North-Western Provinces of India*, Vol. I, London, 1869, pp. 2 ff, 93-94. Sherring, *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, Vol. I (1872) pp. 81, 332 ff ; Vol. II (1879) pp. 80, III, 112, 174, 215, 263. Rose, *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-West-Frontier Province*, Vol. II, (Lahore, 1911,) pp. 4 ff.

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Ahīrwāṭi (also called Hirwāṭī and Ahīrwāl), dialect current round Gurgaon. Again, several dialects in Western India are named after the Ābhīras. "In parts of Gujrat itself there are at the present day people speaking an Ahir dialect. The dialect of Rājasthānī spoken in Malwa is usually called Mālvī, but is also caled Āhīrī, and that curious form of Gujrāṭī, which is half a Bhil dialect, and which is generally known as Khandeśi also bears the name of Ahīrānī."[65]

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65. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. IX, Part II, (Calcutta, 1908) pp. 49-50.

SECTION II

ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY

711—1206 A.D.

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

DR. T. V. MAHALINGAM

Brothers Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am deeply sensible of the high honour that the Indian History Congress has done me by inviting me to be the President of this section this year. Please do not deem me conventional when I say that I am conscious of my limitations. I have however accepted the honour as I take the invitation as a gesture of encouragement on the part of the authorities of the Congress to one who is just one of your followers. I am particularly happy to preside over this section at this historic city of Jaipur.

As all of us know, this section deals with the years between 711 and 1206 A.D., the first marking the commencement of Muslim aggressions in India, and the second the date of the establishment of Muslim rule in Delhi. It is rather surprising to note that the Muslims, who in the course of about eighty years from the date of the Prophet's death, became the masters of Arabia, Persia, Syria, Western Turkestan, Sind, Egypt and Southern Spain, took nearly five centuries to establish their power in North India and found a kingdom there. It is not that the Muslims did not make vigorous attempts to bring India under their sway. But their conquest of India was slow, partial and difficult because of the determined resistance of the Hindu rulers in North-west India. Nāgabhaṭa I, the founder of the Pratihāra dynasty at Bhinmel is said to have defeated the Valacha Mlechchas (the Baluchas). The attempt of the Arabs to conquer the Navasārika country (Southern Guzarat) was checked by Avanijanāśraya Pulakesi for which he received the title of *Dakshiṇāpatha-svādhāraṇa* (solid pillar of the Dakshiṇāpatha) and *Anivartaka nivartayitṛ* (repeller of the unrepellable). Sulaiman the Muslim merchant remarks that the Gūrjāra ruler was an enemy of Islam and Masūdi says that the then king of Kanauj had with him four armies for the four quarters and that the army of the north was fighting against the prince of Multan and the Muslims on the frontier. Thus for more than two centuries the Muslim invasions were held in check by the Panchālas and the Pratihāras. But with the decline of the Gūrjāra empire by the middle of the tenth century, the political condition of North India offered opportunity for the renewal of Muslim invasions. The problem of arresting them became however difficult on account of the determined raids of Sabaktagin followed by those of his son Mahmud of Ghazni whose fighting qualities were of a superior order, and later by those of Muhammad of Ghor. The brunt of the fight had to be borne by the Chāhamānas whose territories were the most exposed to those raids. Next to them the Gahadavālas resisted the Muslim inroads to meet the expenses of which they collected a special tax called the *Turushkadaṇḍa*. Later the rivalry between the Chāhamānas and the Tomaras, their failure to join together against the determined foreign invaders, their differing foreign policies, and their in-

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difference to pursuing a victory to its conclusion resulted ultimately in the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate in 1206. This was not therefore wholly due to the superiority of the invaders in fighting power, their coming from a cooler climate, their sturdier physique, their flesh-eating habits, their strong cavalry and their fanatical zeal. Really this long period of five centuries when the Hindu rulers of North India successfully held out against the invaders was a glorious period in the history of our country.

In spite of India's resistance to aggressive Islam the Hindus and Muslims found mutual accommodation possible and during our period the influence of Indian culture was felt in the court of Baghdad. The Khalifas of Baghdad invited Indian scholars to their country, appointed them chief physicians in their government hospitals and got them to translate from Sanskrit into Arabic, books on medicine, pharmacology, toxicology, philosophy, astrology and other subjects. An Arab astronomier is said to have been studying Indian science at Banaras for ten years. The Sufis were influenced by Indian monasticism. Alberuni who followed Mahmud to India, was an admirer of Hindu intellectual achievements ; and he translated many Sanskrit astronomical and philosophical works into Arabic. In the Deccan and South India the Muslims found conditions congenial to them. Friendly intercourse existed between the Deccan and the Muslim states of South-West Asia. Hindu kings who wanted Arab horses gave encouragement to Muslim traders. Rāshtrakuṭa Amoghavarsha I ordered that the Muslims within his kingdom should not be molested. They were allowed to construct mosques in the country. Muslim saints like Nathad Wali preached Islam in South India.

I may repeat here a suggestion that has been made by some of the learned Presidents of this section in previous years. The dates 711 and 1206, the initial and closing years of this period, have been apparently fixed from the point of view of the commencement of the Muslim invasions of India and the establishment of the Sultanate of Delhi, though they do not serve as landmarks in the internal history of our country. In fact after the decline of the Gupta empire there flourished in India a number of powerful kingdoms in each of which there were rulers of conspicuous ability. This period commenced about 550 and ended about 1300, and may be divided into three sub-periods, (1) from 557-750, (2) from 750 to 950 and (3) from 950 to 1206 in North India and 950 to 1300 in South India. Among the kingdoms in North India during the period were those of the Gūrjāra Pratihāras of Bhinmal and Kanauj, the Turki Shāhis and Brahmana Shāhis of Kabul and Ohind, the Kārkoṭakas and Utpalas of Kashmir, the Solankis of Anhilvad, the Paramāras of Ujjain and Dhar, the Kalachuris of Tripuri, the Chandellas of Bundelkhand, the Chāhamānas of Sambhar and Ajmer, the Gahadavālas of Banares and Kanauj, the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar, and the Senas of Bengal. Among the kingdoms in the Deccan and South India were those of the Western Chāḷukyas of Vātāpi, the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mālkhed, the Western Chāḷukyas of Kalyāṇi, the Eastern Gangas of Kalinganagara, the Eastern Chāḷukyas of Vengi, the Western Gangas of Talakāḍ, the Pallavas of Kāñchī, the Chōḷas of Tanjore and the Pāṇḍyas of Madurai. Since the history of these kingdoms was not seriously affected

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by the Arab invasion of Sind, and the history of the Deccan and South Indian kingdoms was not affected by the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate it is desirable to widen this period so as to cover the years between A.D. 550 and 1300. We have authentic accounts of the history of many of the dynasties of this period written by competent scholars in the shape of monographs and articles. But since fresh materials for a study of the history of the period are becoming available year after year some of the works may require revision. For instance a fresh examination of the chronology of the later Pallavas of Kāñchī has been rendered necessary by the find of an inscription of the Western Chāḷukyas king Vijayāditya (730-31) in the Kurnool district which refers to the Pallava king Parameśvaravarman II as the ruler of Kāñchī. We have been all along thinking that his reign came to an end by 710 A.D. itself. Further the histories of the less known dynasties that ruled over different parts of the country during the period require to be worked upon. They served not only to fill up the gaps between the periods of rule by the major dynasties but also as links between them.

Our period saw the transition from the ancient to mediaeval India, and bears some resemblance to Europe of the same period. The existence in India of many independent kingdoms then reminds us of the division of Europe into a number of kingdoms in the period of the Holy Roman Empire. As in Europe the foundation of political organisation in India was influenced by the feudal principles of service and protection. But while admitting "the curious coincidence between the habits, notions and government of Europe in the middle ages and those of Rajasthan, it is not absolutely necessary that we should conclude that one system was borrowed from the other." The fact, however, that the clan system under the Rajputs bears close similarity to the feudal institutions of Europe cannot be denied. The social virtues cultivated both in India and in Europe during this age were also almost similar. Among them may be mentioned the virtues of courage, loyalty and politeness. Like the knights of mediaeval Europe, the military classes in India who shunned battle, or were disloyal to their over-lord or failed to keep their word or were rude to women were considered less than chivalrous.

H. G. Wells once imagined a "time machine" by which one can travel into the future or the past. If we had one such now I think we should like to go to our period which is the most interesting and attractive of the different periods in Indian history. It is usually said that the country can be happy only under a strong and big empire. But in spite of the wars and campaigns, revolutions and changes of kingdoms, that marked the period, there was enough peace in the country for saints and philosophers to make deeper and richer the spiritual life of the world, for scholars to write books and promote learning, for businessmen to trade and prosper and for architecture, sculpture and painting to develop.

A very significant feature of the religious life in India during this period is the growing influence of the *Āgamas* in temple rituals and worship. The *Āgamas* or *tantras* are books that deal with the worship of Gods like Śiva, Vishṇu and Śakti. The names of 108 Vaishṇava (or Bhāgavata or Pañcharātra

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or Sātvata) *Āgamas* and 28 Śaiva (or Pāśupata or Māheśvara) Āgamas besides many others are known. Though the earliest extant text of the *Āgamas* may not be older than the 6th century when the *Āgama* teachings became popular in the Tamil country the *Āgama* doctrines must be assigned to the period before the commencement of the Christian era. But *Āgamic* ideas gained popularity during this period with the gradual decline of the Vedic rites like the *Yajña*. The Vaishṇava *Āgama* doctrines recognise the supreme God in four forms (*vyūhas*). Vishṇu became Vāsudeva, Sankarshaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha. Of his 39 *avatāras* ten came to be recognised by the *Āgamas*. Śiva successively became the three *tattvas*, Sadāśiva, Īśvara and Vidya. Lakshmī, the Śakti or Vishṇu gradually lost her ground but Śiva-Śakti usually called Ambā or Kālī gained the upper hand. Seventy-seven *Āgamas* are devoted to her.

Though temples were not unknown in ancient India a good number of them came into existence during our period in various parts of the country, particularly in South India and the Deccan. In the construction of the temples, consecration of images and the organisation of worship in them the *Āgamas* have served as the authority. With the elaboration of temple rituals and worship in South India priests were brought from the north for the organisation of such worship.

Again the advent of the new schools of Śaivism and Śāktism in South India resulted in the consecration of Dēvī or Pārvati in the 10th and 11th centuries in separate shrines constructed for her usually in the north-western part of the temples dedicated to Śiva. It is worthy of note that while in the temples of the 8th and 9th centuries in South India there were shrines dedicated to the Saptamātrikas and Jyeshṭhā there was no separate shrine for Devī. It is believed that the city of Kāñchī was conceived as Śrī-chakra in which the Devī was consecrated in a separate temple constructed in the form of Śrīchakra according to the Śākta Āgamas. Probably following this a separate shrine for the Devī was consecrated in every Śiva temple. The Saptamātrikas and Jyeshṭhā lost their place in Śiva temples. But Durgā as an individual deity continued to be worshipped in separate temples or was given a place in a niche in the northern wall of the Śiva temples.

This period not only saw the elaboration of the temple rituals and organisation but also the growth of a vigorous theistic devotional movement of the emotional type as also of philosophical speculation. It was then that many of the great devotees like the Nāyanmārs and the Āḷvārs and philosophers like Kumārila, Śankara and Rāmānuja lived. The devotional or *bhakti* movement was characterised by the self-surrendering devotion to a personal God and transcended all reason and understanding. *Bhakti* was considered enough to get the Lord's grace and attain salvation. Though the *bhakti* cult might have originated in North India in very early times, it seems certain it was elaborated more fully in South India. In this connection it is of interest to note that the *Bhāgavata Māhātmya* contains a parable which says that *bhakti* which is described as a woman was born in the Dravida country, attained her womanhood in the Karṇāṭaka and Mahārāshṭra and reached Brindāvan with great

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misery through Guzarat along with her two sons *Jñana* (knowledge) and *Vairāgya* (freedom from desire) and that the sons died there. This shows that Southern India was a stronghold of the *bhakti* cult.

The *bhakti* movement in South India progressed along the parallel streams of Śaivism and Vaishṇavism. The Śaiva and Vaishṇava saints were drawn from different communities in South India. Among the 63 Śaiva Nāyanmārs were a few Brahmanas, a pariah, a woman and a general of the Pallava army, and among the twelve Āḷvārs were a few Brahmans and Kshatriyas besides Śūdras and low caste men known as the Pānar. Most important among the former were Appar, Tirujñānasambandar, Sundaramūrti and Māṇikkavāchakar. The outpourings in hymns of the first three among them are collected in the *Devāram* and those of the last among them are collected in the *Tiruvāchakam*. Most of the saints lived in the Pallava period. Except three, the other Āḷvārs also appear to have lived in the Pallava period, and were the authors of the Parabandha literature. The devotion of all of them threw them very often into ecstatic moods.

On the philosophical side of the Hindu revivalist movement, Kumārila led a crusade against Buddhism and succeeded in reviving respect for the authority of the Vedas. Śankarāchārya, a Nambūdri Brahman from Kāladi and a clear metaphysical thinker and logician propagated his philosophy of monism. He blended the āgamic rites of worship, the Vaidik rites, the Śākṭa rites of the Buddhists and the paths of devotion to God and knowledge of the Upanishads. Borrowing the organisational methods of the Buddhists, he stimulated desire for *sannyāsa* and founded at Śringeri, Dvāraka, Bhadrināth, Puri and Kāñchī *maṭhas* to propagate his teachings. On the Vaishṇava side, Nāthamuni systematised the Vaishṇava canon, and Yāmunāchārya tried to differentiate the Supreme from the Individual soul. But the idea was perfected by Rāmānujāchārya who built up the Viśishṭādvaita system according to which "the soul though of the same substance as God emitted from him rather than created can obtain bliss not in absorption but in existence near him." His broad outlook and deep sympathies made him undertake reforms in the temple rituals. Nimbārka, a younger contemporary of Rāmānuja, founded a new school of Vaishṇavism almost in the same period.

Among the Śaivas there developed schools in South India, the Pāśupatas, Kāpālikas and the Kālamukhas with their shocking and repulsive practices like human sacrifices and the wearing of garlands of skulls became popular in certain parts of the country. From the twelfth century onwards the philosophical system of Śaiva Siddhānta based largely on the Āgamas and the *Tirumandiram* of Tirumūlar spread in South India and served to create a large volume of religious literature explanatory and controversial. Almost simultaneously the Vīra Śaiva or Lingāyat cult founded by Ekāntaḍa Rāmayya spread in the Karṇāṭaka country. Mallikārjuna Paṇḍitārādhya of the Telugu country founded another Śaiva sect, the Ārādhya sect, which differed from the earlier one in some respects. Both of them served to resist the spread of aggressive Islam in South India.

Buddhism was definitely on the decline during the period except under

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the Pālas of Bengal, who were patrons of the religion. In other parts of the country it lingered on only in a few places like Kanheri in the Deccan, and Nāgapaṭṭiṇam, Śrīmūlayāsam and Kāñchī in South India. It was not able to resist the force of the reviving Hnduism, and with the adoption of the Tantric forms Buddhism lost its individuality and strength. But Jainism continued to maintain its influence particularly in the Karṇāṭaka and Tamil country during the period. The Rāshṭrakūtas were great patrons of the religion.

It has been remarked that this period was poor in literary activity. But the change is not wholly true. Though the country did not produce great literary celebrities of the type of Kālidāsa, there lived during the period a number of litterateurs in different parts of the country whose works covered a variety of fields like poetry, poetics, drama, grammar, lexicography, philosophy, astronomy, astrology, mathematics, low, politics, medicine, music etc. It may however be said that the number of original works produced during this period were few when compared with the larger number of commentaries and digests. It is perhaps needless to mention now the names of all the scholars of the period known to us through their works ; but it is difficult not to take at least a passing notice of the authors like Bhavabhūti, Bhaṭṭa, Venkaṭa Mādhava, Somadeva Sūri, Krishna Miśra, Pāramāra Ghoja, Kshemendra; Somadeva, Bilhaṇa, Abhinavagupta, Vijñāneśvara, Vatsarāja, Dhañañjaya, Kalhaṇa, Hemachandra, Lakshmīdhara and Bhāskarāchārya among a large number of others.

This period also saw the development of vernacular literature in the country particularly in South India. The Hindu religious revival brought into existence a large volume of devotional literature. In Tamil the Śaiva canon (*tirumurai*) containing the *Devāram* was systematised by Nambi ñṇḍār Nambi in the 10th century. Śēkkilār write the *Periyapurānam*. Nāthamuni arranged the Vaishṇava canon, the *Nālāyiraprabandham*. Among the works of a non-devotional character may be mentioned the *Nandikkalambakam*, the Tamil *Bhāratam* of Perundēvanār, the *Jīvakachintāmaṇi* of Tiruttakkadevār, the Rāmāyanaṃ of Kamban, the *Śūlāmaṇī* of Tōlāmoḷi, the *Kalingattupparaṇi* of Jayangoṇḍār, the *Yāpparungalam* of Amitasāgara besides a number of others. After Tamil, Kannaḍa possesses the oldest literature in South India. Among the Kannaḍa works of the period may be mentioned the *Kavirājamārga* of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarsha I, the *Ādipurāṇa* and the *Vikramārjunavijaya* of Pampa, the *Śāntipurāṇa* and the *Jīnāksharamālā* of Ponna, the *Ajitapurāṇa* and the *Sahasabhīmavijaya* of Ranna, the *Mallināthapurāṇa* of Nāgachandra, the *Neminātthapurāṇa* of Karṇaparya, and the *Kāvyāvalokana* and the *Karṇāṭakabhāshābhūṣhana* of Nāgavarma II. Telugu literature as such began later than Kannada. Among the important Telugu works of the period are the *Āndhraśabda chitāmani* and a translation of a part of the *Bhārata* by Nannaya and the *Kavijanāśraya* and the *Bhimeśvara Purāṇa* by Vemula Vāda Bhīma Kavi of Kalinga.

There were a number of organised educational institutions in the country serving as centres of higher education and attracting students from far and

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near. The old Nālanda University was patronised by Yaśovarman in the 8th century and the Pāla kings in the subsequent period besides the Śailendra emperor Balaputradeva. Among its teachers in the eighth century were Śāntideva a Mahāyāna Śāntarakshita writer, besides Padmasambhava, Kamalaśīla and Chandragomin, all authorities in Tantric Buddhism. Vīradeva and Buddhakīrti belonged to still later periods. But this popular institution which attracted students even from foreign countries like Indonesia, China, Tibet, Korea and Japan was destroyed towards the end of our period by Muhammad bin Gakhtyar in the course of his conquest of Bihar. The Vikramaśīla University also in Bihar was another important one comparable only to Nālanda. It was patronised by Nayapāla, during whose time the head of the institution was one Dipānkara Srijñana alias Atiśa, a master of Buddhist learning. There were six colleges attached to it, each under a *dvārapaṇḍita* and 108 professors. The affairs of the University were managed by the President (Vice-Chancellor) who was assisted by a Board of six members. This institution which specialised in Tantric Buddhism met with the same fate as the Nālanda University by the end of our period. There were two other Universities in Bihar, the Odandapura University founded by Gopāla in the eighth century and the Jaggaddala University founded by Rāmapāla in the eleventh century. The latter specialised in Tantrism. Kāñchī in the South with its *ghaṭika* was a centre of higher Brahmanical learning. Besides there were *ghaṭikas* and *Brahmapuris* in other places also like Nirantanur Cuddapah Dist.), Ummachige (Dharwar Dist.), and Belgaum in each of which hundreds and thousands of scholars were studying. Besides, there colleges in different places in South India such as those at *Eṇṇāyiram* and Tribhuvani devoting themselves to higher learning. Thus our period was also one of intense educational activity.

It is needless to say much about the progress of the allied arts of architecture, sculpture and painting In fact this period was the golden age of structural temples in north as also in the south, particularly so in the latter. South India became studded with Hindu temples and Jain monuments. The evolution and development of the styles of architectutre of this period is an interesting and fruitful study by itself.

The history of Greater India constitutes a very brilliant and important chapter in the history of India. Starting with peaceful commercial intercourse with the countries of the Far East India was able in the period covered by this section to establish her cultural imperialism over them. Really "India under the influence of the Cholas and the Pālas, who ruled contemporaneously over southern and northern India became the school of Asia by supplying faith, literature, arts and material necessities to Nepal, Tibet, China, Japan, Java, Burma, and other lands beyond the seas." A general study of the history of South East Asia between the 8th and the 13th centuries shows that the Indian language (Sanskrit), script, faiths, beliefs, arts, customs and manners were transported there. Thanks to Dutch and French archaeological work during the last half a century and more we have now a large

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volume of material throwing light on the Hindu achievement in the Far East. The subject requires greater attention at our hands.

Though many savants have worked in the last century on the inscriptions of this age their published works are not easily available to us. For instance the pioneer works of Dr. Fleet vz., the volumes of the Bombay Gazetteer and the inscriptions of the Kanarese districts are not available to many of us. A fresh edition of them is a hard felt need and steps should be taken to republish them. In this connection it is gratifying to note that the Government oriental Manuscripts Library at Madras has taken on hand the publication of the inscriptions in the Mackenzie collection. The Epigraphy department of the Southern Circle has been bringing to light on an average about 500 to 600 inscriptions every year from different parts of the area and noticing them in their Annual Reports. The Annual Reports of the Department since 1939 are anxiously awaited. The texts of the inscriptions collected by it are being published in the volumes of the South Indian Inscriptions but a good number still await publication. The inscriptions with the Department may come to about 40,000 besides others collected by the Hyderabad, Mysore and Travancore-Cochin Archaeological Departments. Some 30 years ago a list of the inscriptions collected by the Madras Epigraphy Department up to 1915 were arranged according to Districts by Prof. Rangacharya and the work was published under the authority of the Government of Madras in 1919. I think it is highly necessary that all the South Indian Inscriptions collected so far and published in various reports and periodicals should be similarly arranged according to districts and in chronological order and published for the use of students of South Indian History.

Of late we see much stress being laid on the history of India being written by Indian scholars. The revaluation of the history and culture of our country by Indian scholars who are naturally suffused with Indian thought and feeling and therefore are better equipped to write Indian history with greater understanding is now increasingly necessary. To my mind the ideal history writer is one who is always fair minded in his treatment and conclusions. If we are able to attain this ideal that would be the greatest service that we can render to our country and to Indian history.

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THE EFFECT OF CHANDELLA INVASIONS OF BENGAL

SISIR KUMAR MITRA

Two Khajurāho Epigraphs, viz., No. 2 dated V.S. 1011[1] and No. 4 dated V.S. 1050[2], refer to invasions of several states in Eastern India by Chandella kings, Yaśovarman and his son, Dhaṅgadeva, in course of outlining their military expeditions. The possible effect of their expeditions, particularly in Bengal and Bihar, presuming that they actually took place as claimed by the abovementioned records, is the subject-matter of discussion in this paper.

The Chandellas appear to have been very alert and watchful in their relations towards the Eastern States apprehending that if any opportunity was given to their rulers to consolidate their power, they might jeopardise the security of the Chandella State. It was for this reason that Yaśovarman and subsequently his son and successor, Dhaṅga are found to have regularly followed a policy of crippling the resources of the East Indian rulers, in which respect they seem to have been the real successors of the Gurjara Pratihāras, whose military activities were carried on similar lines in this direction.[3]

V. 23 of the Khajurāho Inscription of V.S. 1011 reads as follows:—

"Gauḍa kṛīḍālatāsi-stulita Khaṣavalaḥ Kośalaḥ Kośalānāṁ
Naśyāt Kāśmīra-vīraḥ sithilita Mithilaḥ kālavan Mālavānāṁ
Sīdat sābadya Cediḥ Kurutarusu marut saṁjvaro Gurjjarānāṁ"

Translation—

"Who was a sword to (cut down) the Gauḍas, as if they were mere pleasure-creepers ; equalled the forces of the Khaṣas, and carried off the treasures of the Kośalas ; before whom perished the Kāshmīri warriors ; who weakened the Mithilas, and was as it were a God of death to the Mālavas ; who brought distress to the shameful Cedis ; who was to the Kurus what a storm is to the trees, and a scorching fire to the Gurjaras."[4]

This verse thus claims that Yaśovarman undertook a number of campaigns over a vast area in Northern India, from the Himālayas to Mālava, and from Kāshmir to Bengal.[5] There must be an element of exaggeration in this account, but the consensus of opinion among scholars is that Yaśovarman must be credited with military successes in some regions at least, including Bihar and Bengal.

It is to be particularly noted that the military power of the Gauḍas in the opinion of the Praśastikāra was so insignificant that they could be subdued

1. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, p. 122 ff.
2. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, p. 137 ff.
3. The Sāgartāl (Gwālior) Inscription of Bhoja (*A.S.I.*, 1903-04, pp. 277-82 ; *Epi. Ind.*, XVIII, pp. 99-114) bears testimony to his achievements in Bengal region as well as those of his predecessors, Vatsarāja and Nāgabhaṭa II. A number of inscriptions of Mahendrapāla, son of Bhoja, found in Bihar, also prove his authority in Eastern India. (*Hist. of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 175).
4. *Epi. Ind.*, I, pp. 126, 132.
5. H. C. Ray. *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 675 ; R. C. Maj. *HB*, Vol. I, p. 132.

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as easily as a pleasure-creeper can be cut down with the help of a sword. If this statement is to be believed, the military weakness of the Gauḍa rulers must have been one of the main factors responsible for their defeat. The decline of the Pāla power at this stage is a wellknown fact borne out by independent data.[6]

The Khajurāho Inscription, by referring to the Gauḍas, undoubtedly meant the Pālas. The Chandella invasion took place before 954 A.D. This was the time when Rājyapāla (c. 908-40 A.D.) and after him Gopāla II (c. 940-60 A.D.)[7] occupied the Pāla throne. They were admittedly weak rulers and were unable to retrieve the lost fortunes of their family whose decline started shortly after Devapāla's reign.

As the history of the Pālas show there were different successful attempts made by these rulers to recover their lost power in the 10th and 11th centuries. The recuperative power of the Pālas could not be overlooked by the Chandellas, who regarded them as their potential enemy. This explains the reason why Yaśovarman led his expedition against Gauḍa. In fact he was only following a line of action which is demanded by the recognition of a danger inherent in a political situation which did not lack menacing potentialities. The Pālas were the 'prakṛityamitra' of the Chandellas as described in the *Artha-Śāstra* of Kauṭilya.[8]

The reference in the Khajurāho Inscription to Yaśovarman's attack on Gauḍa does not imply that any attempt was made by him to incorporate the dominion of the defeated Gauḍa king in his realm.[9] But it may be assumed that his expedition made the Pāla power still weaker and less able to resist such attempts as might be made by ambitious persons to take advantage of their helplessness. The confusion which the invasion created gave an opportunity to the Kāmbojas to capture North and West Bengal and to found a separate kingdom.[10]

The Dināj pur Rāj Palace Pillar Inscription[11] refers to a Gauḍa King of Kāmboja lineage (*Kāmbojānvayaja-Gauḍapati*), and the Irdā Copper Plate Grant[12] mentions a line of Kāmboja rulers (*Kāmbojavaṁśatilakāh*) dominating considerable portions of West Bengal. The scholars are generally of the opinion that the Kāmboja rule began from about the middle of the 10th century A.D. The establishment of the Kāmboja power seems to have been preceded by the invasion of Gauḍa by Yaśovarman. One of the immediate effects of the Chandella invasion was the foundation of the Gauḍa kingdom by the Kāmbojas. Thus it appears that although the Chandellas did not

6. *DHNI*, (I), pp. 303-4 ; *HB* (I), pp. 125-30 ; B. C. Sen. *Some Historical Aspects of Bengal Inscriptions*, pp. 360-61.
7. The Chronology of the Pāla Kings. *HB* (I), App. II, pp.166-7.
8. Chap. II, in Book VI, 260, R. Shāmashāstry's Trans., p. 290.
9. The actual extent of the Chandella dominions, as it stood during the reign of Dhaṅga, had been outlined in V. 45 of the Khajurāho Inscription No. 2 (*E.I.*, Vol. I, pp. 122-34). It extended from the river Yamunā in the north to the frontier of the Cedi country in the south, and from Kālañjara in the north or north-east to Gopādri (mod. Gwālior) in the north-west.
10. There is a sharp difference of opinion among scholars regarding the origin and identity of the Kāmboja rulers. Vide *H.B.* (I) App. V, pp. 190-91 ; *Some Historical aspects*, pp. 376-378.
11. *J.A.S.B.*, (N.S.), Vol. VII, p. 619.
12. *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 150-59 ; Vol. XXIV, p. 43.

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occupy Gauḍa, their invasion created a situation in which it was possible for another family to occupy the territory.

The Bāngaḍ Grant of Mahīpāla I,[13] who re-occupied Gauḍa, says that those under whose possession this territory had remained had no real title to it, and were merely usurpers. The expression 'vilupta' used in this connection clearly shows the complete loss of power of the Pālas in this area. There is no indication in this passage to show that this loss was the culmination of any serious fight put up by the Pālas against their enemy. The enemies' victory seems to have been merely a case of usurpation (*anadhikṛita viluptaṁ*). The Pālas evidently had been so much overpowered by the Chandellas, with their army already greatly impaired (as shown by the Khajurāho Record),[14] that they had no means of efficiently resisting this usurpation.

The attention of the Chandellas towards Bengal affairs was not withdrawn after the conclusion of Yaśovarman's successful military operations. While the Pālas had been humiliated, the Kāmbojas, who replaced their rule in substantial parts of Bengal, were growing in power. The Kāmboja rulers assumed all the imperial titles, viz., *Parameśvara, Parama-bhaṭṭāraka,* and *Mahārājādhirāja.*[15] It was therefore necessary for the Chandellas to watch the rising power with due alertness so that it might not be a source of danger to them in future.

The next stage was reached when Dhaṅga led his expedition against West Bengal, as implied in V. 46 of the Khajurāho Inscription No. 4, dated in V.S. 1059, corresponding to 1002 A.D. It reads as under:—

"Kā tvaṁ Kañcī-nṛipati vanitā/Kā tvaṁ Aṅgdhrādhīpa-strī/
Kā tvaṁ Rāḍhā-parivṛiṭa vadhūḥ/Kā tvaṁ Aṅgendra patnī/
Ityālāpaḥ samara-jayinī yasya vairi priyānāṁ/
Kārāgāre sajala-nayanendīvarānāṁ babhūvuḥ//"

Translation—

"Who are you? I am the wife of the King of Kāñchī. And you? I am the wife of the lord of the Andhras. You? The wife of the Chief of Rāḍhā. And you? The wife of the King of Aṅga. Such were the conversations within the prison of the victor in battles amongst the wives of the enemies of him, their lotus-like eyes having been full of tears."[16]

The expedition indicated in the verse against Rāḍhā must have taken place before 1000 A.D. or rather sometime between 954 and 1002 A.D. The Kāmbojas were ruling in West Bengal (Varddhamānabhukti and Daṇḍabhukti)[17] during this time. Hence if the Chandellas actually invaded Rāḍhā under Dhaṅga, they must have come into contact with the Kāmbojas. It is noteworthy however that this inscription does not refer to Gauḍa. The Kāmbojas on the other hand actually ruled in Gauḍa, as the Dināǰpur Inscription read with the Bāngaḍ Grant of Mahīpāla would definitely show. But the Chandellas might have been

13. *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. LXI, p. 77 ; *Epi. Ind.*, XIV, p. 324 ; *Gauḍalekhamālā*, p. 91.
14. No. 2 dated V.S. 1011.
15. Ll. 18-20. Irdā Copper Plate. *E.I.*, Vol. XXII, p. 150 ff.
16. *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 137-47.
17. Ll. 20-21. Irdā C.P.

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contented merely with an invasion of Rāḍhā, which must have been an important centre of their power.

Dhaṅga, like his predecessor Yaśovarman, did not take any step to annex Rāḍhā to his dominion. The object of these foreign invasions seems to have been merely to weaken the ruling power, so that no attempt could be made by it to extend itself beyond certain limits. With the weakening of the Kāmbojas as a result of Dhaṅga's invasion, the Pālas found an opportunity to re-assert themselves and to re-conquer their lost territory.

The Bāṅgaḍ Inscription shows that the recovery of North Bengal by Mahīpāla I must have been completed by the 9th year of his reign, corresponding to about 998 A.D. When Rājendra Chola's army invaded Bengal in about 1023 A.D.,[18] Uttara-Rāḍhā appears to have been included in his (Mahīpāla's) dominion. It is quite possible that this part of West Bengal came into the possession of Mahīpāla after the Chandella raid on West Bengal by Dhaṅga. Another part of West Bengal, Dakṣhiṇa-Rāḍhā (south-western part of Bengal), according to the Tirumalai Inscription,[19] was at this time under the rule of a Śūra king, Raṇaśūra. Thus the Kāmboja authority collapsed in Varendrī[20] and Rāḍhā, with the probable exception of Daṇḍabhukti, where a prince called Dharmapāla was ruling contemporaneously with those kings mentioned above, presuming that he represented the family of the Pāla-Kāmboja rulers whose names are given in the Irdā Copper Plate Grants.

STATUS OF THE EARLY CHANDELLA KINGS

Dr. R. K. Dikshit

It has been generally assumed that the early rulers of the Chandella dynasty were feudatories of the Gurjara-Pratihāras and the following arguments have been advanced in support of this contention: (*i*) the founder of the dynasty and his immediate successors have been styled 'Kings' and not '*Mahārājādhirājas*', (*ii*) their dominion has been designated as '*Bhukti*', and (*iii*) Kālañjara, their most famous stronghold, is known to have been included in the empire of the Gurjara-Pratihāras, at least upto 938 A.D. It has been also asserted that the Chandellas actually acknowledged their sovereignty even in their official records as far late as 954 A.D.[1]

A critical analysis of the available evidence, however, shows that none of these arguments can be sustained. Nannuka, the founder of the Chandella

18. *The Coḷas* (K. A. Nilkaṇṭha Śāstri), pp. 247 ff.

19. Tirumalai Rock Inscription of Rājendra Choḷa I. Edited by Hultzsch. *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 229.

20. North Bengal; Kavi Praśasti of the Rāmacharita of Sandhyākara Nandī mentions "Varendrī" as the Janaka-bhūḥ of the Pālas, which appears to be identical with the 'pitryaṁ' (paternal kingdom) of the Bāṅgaḍ Grant of Mahīpāla. (L. 24).

1. Cf. Ray, *D.H.N.I.*, II, p. 668; Smith, *E.H.I.* (4th Ed.), p. 406; Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, p. 256; Vaidya, *H.M.H.I.*, II, p. 126; Munshi, *Glory that was Gurjaradeśa*, p. 81, etc.

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dynasty, and his immediate successors have been mentioned only in the two Khajurāho inscriptions dated, respectively, V.S. 1011 and 1059. It is true that in these records they have been only styled as 'Kings'. But this fact should be considered in its proper context, for these epigraphs so style not only the early rulers of the dynasty, but also Harṣa, Yaśovarman and Dhaṅga, who are known from other records to have borne the titles of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja* and *Parameśvara.*[2]

It is interesting to note in this connection that while the copper-plates of the Chandella rulers mention their full titles, the stone inscriptions usually designate them as 'kings'—expressed by several synonymous terms.[3] The very first ruler of the dynasty mentioned in the extant copper-plates has been given the usual imperial titles. He is Harṣa. His name occurs in the genealogical portion of the Nanyaura copper-plate issued by his famous grandson Dhaṅga.[4] It may only be a coincidence that we have not been able to discover the copper-plates issued by his predecessors, but we can safely presume that had they been forthcoming even earlier rulers of the dynasty would be found to have been styled as *mahārājādhirājas.* Therefore, the mere fact that Nannuka or his successors have been styled as 'kings' in the two Khajurāho inscriptions is not sufficient to warrant their feudatory status. In these records, even Herambapāla and Devapāla, usually identified with the homonymous Gurjara-Pratihāra rulers, have not been given any imperial titles.

There is not much substance in the second contention too, for the term *bhukti,* in Jejākabhukti, does not signify its status. It is merely a component part of the name of territory, as evidenced by the Madanapura inscriptions of Pṛthvīrāja III Chāhamāna,[5] which also describe Jejākabhukti as a *deśa* or a *maṇḍala.* Moreover, do we not find Kānyakubja itself described as a *bhukti* in a record of the Gurjara-Pratihāras?[6]

The Barah copper plates of Bhoja[7] and the Karhad[8] and Deoli[9] plates of the Rāshṭrakūṭas show that Kālañjara was in the possession of the rulers of Kanauj at least up to 938 A.D., but the third objection would have had some force behind it, if it could be shown that the celebrated fort had been included in the Chandella dominions from the very outset. The available evidence shows that it was conquered by the Chandellas only during the reign of their seventh king Yaśovarman.[10]

2. The two Khajurāho records mention the names of the first eight rulers of Chandella dynasty, viz. Nannuka, Vākpati, Jayaśakti, Vijayaśakti, Rāhila, Harṣa, Yaśovarman and Dhaṅga. They have been given such titles as *nṛpa, nṛpati, bhūpa, bhūpāla, bhūpati, Kṣitipa, mahīpati* and *pṛthvīpati.* Sometimes their names have been mentioned without any regal title being attached to them—of course due to poetic exegiencies, *E.I.,* I, pp. 122-35, and 137-47.

3. Even in the copper plates these titles are mentioned only in the genealogical portion, the rulers signing themselves simply as *'Rāja' . . . "* Cf. *Ib.,* XVI, pp. 14, 275, 276, etc.

4. *I.A.,* XVI, p. 203.

5. Cunningham, *A.S.R., XXI,* p. 174.

6. *E.I.,* XIX, p. 15 ff.

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Ibid.,* IV, p. 284, V. 30.

9. *J.B.B.R.A.S.,* XVIII, p. 247.

10. *E.I.,* I, p. 133, V. 31.

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Much has been made of the presence of the name of Vināyakapāla at the close of the Khajurāho inscription of Dhaṅga[11] It reads: "While Śrī Vināyakapāladeva is protecting the earth, the earth is not taken possession of by the enemies . . . ." It has been presumed that this Vināyakapāla was a Gurjara-Pratihāra king and that he was a suzerain of Dhaṅga. But what is the evidence? The record indicates neither his family nor his status. The known records of the Gurjara-Pratihāras[12] do not reveal the existence of any Vināyakapāla ruling in A.D. 954. The only king of that name was dead before V.S. 1003 (A.D. 946), when his son Mahendrapāla II was on the throne. There was no sense in inserting the name of a dead king and describing him as 'protecting the earth', when his son was the ruler.[13] Moreover, the way in which the name of Vināyakapāla has been inserted at the end of the record would be a quaint way of mentioning the name of a suzerain. Apart from this extremely doubtful reference, in no other record of the Chandellas, do we find a king of Kanauj having been described as "protecting the earth", and consequently the assertion that "they retained in their public documents . . . recognition of the imperial line at Kanauj" up to 954, is hardly justified.

There is absolutely no indication in the Chandella records that they had ever owed allegiance to the Gurjara-Pratihāras. On the other hand, they boast of several victories against the latter. Harṣa claims to have instated or reinstated Kshitipāla on the throne of Kanauj,[14] Yaśovarman was "a scorching fever to the Gurjaras". He not only wrested Kālañjara and the Gaṅgā-Yamunā doab from them, but also successfully raided Kośala, Kuru, Mithilā and Mālava which, at that time, formed parts of their empire. He even forced Devapāla to part with a valued image of Vaikuṇṭha which he enshrined in a temple at his own capital.[15] Lastly, his son Dhaṅga is expressly stated to have obtained "exalted sovereignty" (*sāmrājyamuchchaiḥ*) by defeating the *Kānyakubja-narendra* on the battlefield.[16] The records of the Gurjara-Pratihāras too do not mention the Chandellas among their vassals. It is also significant that no inscription of the former has been found anywhere within the dominions of the latter.

Thus we see that the evidence in our possession is hardly sufficient to justify the assumption that the Chandellas were a feudatory power.[17] Their Kingdom might have had an humble beginning, but it was independent. Subsequently, the conquests of Yaśovarman and Dhaṅga raised it to the status of a *'Sāmrājya'*.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 129, 135.
12. *Cf.* however, Majumdar, *J.L.*, X, p. 60 ff.
13. *E.I.*, XIV, pp. 176-188.
14. *Ibid.*, I, p. 122.
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 126-28, 132-34, VV. 23, 31, 39, 43, etc. The identification of *Hayapati* Devapāla with the homonymous king of Kanauj, however, is not certain.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 197, V. 3.
17. Their records, however, frequently allude to their own feudatories.

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THE KHAYARAVĀLA DYNASTY

Dr. Rama Niyogi

The Khayaravāla dynasty, ruling over Rohtasgadh and adjoining areas including Jāpila, is one of the numerous minor ruling families of North-eastern India, which ultimately succumbed to the conquering Muslim arms in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.D. At present only six inscriptions constitute the reliable source for the history of this dynasty ; these are,

the Phulwaria undated rock-inscription of Pratāpadhavala[1],
the Tutrahi Falls rock-inscription of Pratāpadhavala of V.S. 1214[2],
the Phulwaria inscription of Pratāpadhavala of V.S. 1225[3],
the Tārācaṇḍī rock-inscription of Pratāpadhavala of V.S. 1225[4],
the Son-East-Bank copper-plate of Udayarāja and Indradhavala of V.S. 1254[5], and
the Rohtasgadh inscription of Śrī-Pratāpa of V.S. 1279.[6]

The area in which the Khayaravāla dynasty flourished is indicated by the findspots of their inscriptions. The five rock-inscriptions, ascribed to this dynasty, have been located in Rohtasgadh area and on the rock near the Tutrahi Falls, to the west of Tilohu or Tiolthu in the Shahabad district in Bihar. The only copper-plate inscription which refers to this dynasty, comes from a contiguous area across the Son,—Son-East-Bank. Nāyaka or Mahānāyaka Pratāpadhavala, the first important member of the family, is described as the overlord of Jāpila, which is identified with modern Japla in the Palamau district. The Tārācaṇḍī inscription mention two villages under his sway but unfortunately they have not yet been identified. The Son-East-Bank inscription was issued from Navīnara- or Navanerā-pattalā to be identified with modern Nabinagar in the Gaya district ; Gambhārī, the village donated, is however still unidentified. The existence of a locality, known as Khārgaḍh or Khayargaḍh in the Shahabad district indicates that the dynasty may have been connected with that place. An interesting local tradition, recorded by Buchanan, asserts that Khārgaḍh or Khayaragaḍh (the fortress of Khayara) is the original seat of the Kharwars, who, according to Kielhorn, are probably the descendants of the Khayaravālas.[7] For the lack of reliable information regarding the origin and early history of the Kharwar tribe, the veracity of the tradition mentioned

1. Noticed by Kielhorn (*EI*, IV, p. 311) and Bloch (*PRAS*, EC. 1902-03, p. 20 f) No. 1759 in Bhandarkar's List.
2. Noticed by Kielhorn (*EI*, IV, p. 311). No. 299 in Bhandarkar's List.
3. Noticed by Kielhorn (*Ibid.*). No. 338 in Bhandarkar's List.
4. Noticed by Colebrooke (*Misc. Essays*, III, p. 256) and edited by Hall (*JAOS*, VI, pp. 547-49). No. 340 in Bhandarkar's List.
5. Edited by H. K. Deb (*EI*, XXIII, pp. 222-31).
6. Edited by Kielhorn (*EI*, IV, p. 310 ff.). No. 479 in Bhandarkar's List.
7. Buchanan's Shahabad Report, p. 201 & *EI*, IV, p. 310 ff.

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above cannot be tested. The name of the locality however indicates that Khārgaḍh once may have formed a part of the territory ruled over by the Khayaravāla dynasty. The available geographical references thus show that the Khayaravāla authority once extended over a region embracing Rohtasgadh and Khārgaḍh in Shahabad, the north-eastern portion of Husainabad in Palamau and a section of Nabinagar along the east bank of the Son in the Gaya district.

In the slightly damaged undated Phulwaria inscription of Pratāpadhavala, which records the pilgrimage of the chief accompanied by his household, the name of the dynasty is given as the 'Khayaravālavaṃśa', which according to the Son-East-Bank inscription the founder of the family was 'Khadirapāla', in whose lineage was born the ruler Sādhava (*cf.* "Khadirapālasyānvaye durnivāra-prasaradasama-sainyaḥ Sādhavaḥ ksmādharo 'bhūt").[8] His son Raṇadhavala was the father of Pratāpadhavala, who appears to be the first important member of the dynasty. The earliest inscription, which refers to him, is dated in the fourth day of the dark fortnight of Jyaiṣṭhya of V.S. 1214 (the 19th April, 1158 A.D.) and is found on the rock near the Tutrahi Falls, five miles to the west of Tilothu.[9] Two other inscriptions of the chief are dated in the Vikrama year 1225 (1169 A.D.). The first one records the construction of a road by Pratāpadhavala at Phulwaria, a part of Rohtasgadh and describes him as a 'nāyaka' ;[10] this subordinate title signifies that he was not an independent ruler. The identity of his overlord is disclosed by the Tārācaṇḍī rock-inscription, issued about a month later. This one is not only an historically important inscription but also an interesting document from administrative point of view. Herein Mahānāyaka Pratāpadhavala addresses his progeny and denounces the forgery of a donative document relating to the villages of Kalahaṇḍī and Vaḍapilā, secured by an interested party of Brāhmaṇas by bribing Deū, an officer of Vijayacandra of Kānyakubja (*cf.* "ātma-vaṃśodbhavānām putra-pautrādīnām svarūpam kathayanti . . . Kānyakubjādhipati-Śrī-Vijayacandra-bhūpa-dāsa-Deū-pārśvād-utkocaṃ datvā Kalahaṇḍī-Vaḍapilā-grāmayoḥ kutāmrakam-ānītam . . . etc.").[11] This Vijayacandra is identified with the king Vijayacandra, the son of the famous Gāhaḍavāla emperor Govindacandra ; the presence of an officer of his, with the power to execute grants within the dominion of Māhānāyaka Pratāpadhavala, proves beyond doubt, that he was under the suzerainty of the Gāhaḍavāla monarch. That this Mahānāyaka was not an officer of the Gāhaḍavāla king, is evident from his address to his progeny, who were expected to succeed him, and from his rather contemptuous reference to the 'rājapuruṣa' as a 'bhūpadāsa'. The use of a comparatively exalted title in this inscription may indicate his rapidly growing power. According to Colebrooke's reading this inscription ends with the name of 'Mahārājaputra

8. *PRAS*, EC, 1902-03 p. 20 ff ; *EI*, IV, p. 311 & *EI*, XXIII, p. 227.
9. *EI*, IV, p. 311 & no. 299 in Bhandarkar's List (a short commemorative inscription).
10. *EI*, IV, p. 311.
11. *JAOS*, VI, p. 584 ff. (edited by Hall).

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Śatrughna'.[12] This reading, though abandoned in an improved edition subsequently published by Hall, is supported by an undated inscription of Pratāpadhavala, found at Phulwaria ; it records the pilgrimage of the chief to the Tutrahi Falls, accompanied by his household and refers in this connection to certain Tribhuvanadhavala, probably his brother, and also to his own sons, Śatrughna, Vīradhana (or Vīradhavala) and Sāhasadhavala.

According to the available inscription dates, Pratapādhavala ruled at least from V.S. 1214/1158 A.D. to V.S. 1225/1169 A.D.

The Son-East-Bank copper-plate of Udayarāja and Indradhavala states that Pratāpadhavala was succeeded by his son Śrī-Sāhasa, whose sons were Vikrama and Indradeva or Indradhavaladeva.[13] The object of this inscription, which refers to Indradhavala of Jāpila as a 'mahānṛpati', is to record the gift of a village named Gambhārī, by Mahāmāndalika Udayarāja of the Kadamba dynasty (apparently a feudatory), whose father Praharāja was the Chief Minister of a king of the Khadirapāla dynasty (*cf.* "Khadirapāla-kula-pradīpa-kṣmāpa-pradhāna-saciva-Praharāja-nāmā").[14] The inscription opens with an invocation to Śiva and records that the grant was made from Navīnara or Navanera pattalā on the full-moon-day of Kārtika in V.S. 1254 (=Oct. 27, 1197 A.D.). This inscription appears to indicate that the great king Indradhavala, a scion of the Khadirapāla lineage, ruling over Jāpila, had attained an independent status by the year 1197 A.D. which is not at all improbable in view of the collapse of the Gāhadavāla imperial authority at the battle-field of Candwar in c. 1193/4 A.D. Though almost immediately after the battles of Tirawari and Candwar, the Muslims reduced all the important cities and strongholds of the northern India, they failed to penetrate into the hilly areas ; consequently not only the Khayaravāla dynasty of Rohtasgadh, but also many other minor dynasties grasped the opportunity to establish small and short-lived independent kingdoms all over the country.

Northing further is known about the ultimate fate of the Khayaravāla or Khadirapāla dynasty, but if Kielhorn's suggestion is accepted, Śrī-Pratāpa of the Rohtasgadh inscription of V.S. 1279/1223 A.D. also belonged to this dynasty. This inscription records the consecration of a tank or well by a certain Mādhava during the reign of Śrī-Pratāpa, who "was whitening the earth with the great fame of having in mere sport cut up the Yavanas" (*cf.* "Yavana-dalana-līlā-māṃsalaiḥ svairyaśobhir dhavalayati dharitrīm Śrī-Pratāpa-kṣitīndre").[15] Unfortunately the details regarding the struggle between the chief and the Yavanas are not available, but it is evident that the rulers of Rohtasgadh defied the Muslim army, even when Iltutmish sat on the throne of Delhi.

12. Colebrooke, *Misc. Essays*, III, p. 256.
13. *EI*, XXIII, pp. 222-31.
14. *EI*, XXIII, pp. 228-29.
15. EI, IV, p. 310 ff. According to Kielhorn, the editor of the inscription, the significant phrase 'dhavalayati dharitrīm' may connect Śrī-Pratāpa with the Khayaravālas, most of whom had the 'dhavala' name-ending.

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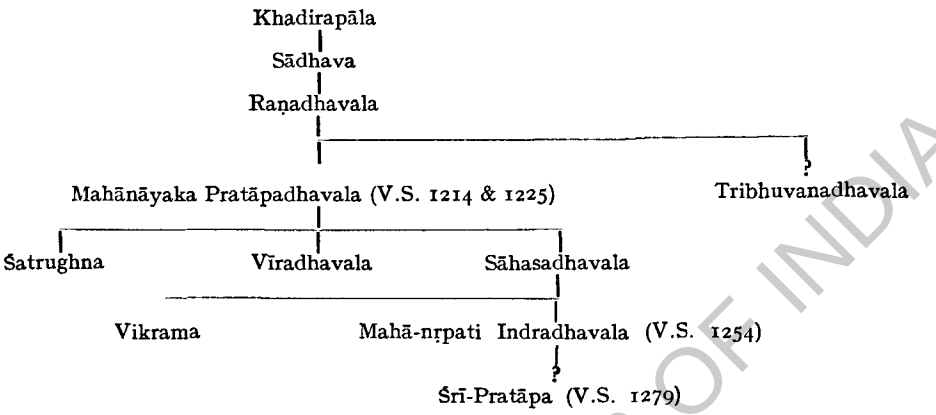
From the information supplied by the above inscriptions, the genealogy of the Khayaravāla or Khadirapāla dynasty may be tabulated as follows* :



It has already been noticed that in the opinion of Kielhorn, the dynastic name Khayaravāla survives in that of the tribe of Kharwar, who still occupy the tableland on which Rohtasgadh is situated. O'mally and James have observed that the Kharwars are practically the only inhabitants of the Kaimur plateau and that they also form a considerable portion of the bulk of the population of Palamau.[16] Local traditions claim that the Kharwars in olden days were the rulers of Rohtasgadh and that they migrated thence to Palamau.[17] The Kharwars of Rohtasgadh region describe themselves to be Rajputs of Solar origin ; when Buchanan wrote his Report in the early part of the nineteenth century, the Ramgadh Kundu and Tori Rājas, belonging to that tribe,

*Buchanan's Shahabad Report (pp. 46-47) refers to another inscription found on a rock in the Son-at-Bandhu ghāt opposite to Jāpila and in the country it is usually alleged that, when any governor of Rohtasgadh died his name spontaneously appeared on the rock. At the top of the inscription are the names of "Mahārāj Singjanata Raj and Mahārāj Pratāp Raj" (died in V.S. 1646/1589 A.D.) and Prataparudra (died in V.S. 1626/1569 A.D.). The original inscription, according to Buchanan, commences with the names of Udayadhavala, Pratapadhavala, Vikramadhavala, Sahasadhavala, Golharam, Meran, Subhasen, Budhan Rai, Chima Rai, Sravanacandra, Udayacandra,—all of whom bear the title "Mahā-nṛpati". A short list of officials is then followed by the names of the second group of rulers, Kangsa Rai, Pratāpadhavala Nṛpati, (V.S. 1624/1567 A.D.), Madana Siṅgha Mahā-pratāpa (V.S. 1653/1596 A.D.), all of whom are styled "Mahārājādhirāja". The inscription then refers to the mild government of Man Singha in V.S. 1652/1595 A.D. Thus from Buchanan's account of the inscription, another king, bearing the name 'Pratāpadhavala', appears to have ruled in the Rohtasgadh region from c.1567 to c.1589 A.D. The inscription also mentions the names of some of the early Khayaravāla chiefs, though not in correct genealogical order ; curiously enough, Indradhavala, whose existence is testified by an inscription, does not figure in the list.

Apart from the unsatisfactory notice by Buchanan, I have so far failed to find any reference to this inscription anywhere. Incidentally it may be noted here that a Rohtasgadh inscription, recording the completion of repairs of the Rohtasgadh palace during the rule of Manasiṁha, is dated in V.S. 1654/1597 A.D. This inscription, first noticed by R. L. Mitra (*PASB*, 1876, p. 110), has been entered twice in the List of Northern Inscriptions, as no. 939 (*EI*, XX, Appendix, p. 127) and no. 1945 (*EI*, XXI, Appendix, p. 269).

16. *Shahabad Dist. Gaz.*, p. 49.
17. *Palamau Dist. Gaz.*, p. 19.

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claimed descent from the Solar Rajput dynasty.[18] The Rāja of Belaunja, another Kharwar chief, claimed that his ancestors formerly ruled over the fort of Rohtas for many years. The veracity of these local traditions however cannot be determined at the present state of our knowledge. From the manners and customs followed by the Kharwars, as described in the Report, they appear to be more akin to the aborigins and have been classed among the Sudras by Buchanan. According to O'mally and James the Kharwars belonged to the Kolarian race. Hutton also classifies the present Kharwars as a cultivating caste of tribal origin and of Kolarian affinities.

In conclusion the possibility of connecting these Khayaravāla chiefs with some of the ruling families should not be overlooked.

In the Cuttack Session of the Indian History Congress, Dr. D. C. Sarkar pointed out the existence of more than one ruling family in Orissa, whose members bear names ending with the word 'dhavala'. One of these families was ruling near the Keonjhar state as early as the second quarter of the tenth century A.D. He also drew our attention to the interesting fact that the names of the ruling chiefs of Dhalbhum or Dhavalabhūmi are known to have ended with the word Dhavala.[19] There is of course nothing to establish definitely connection between the Khayaravāla Dhavala chiefs of Rohtasgadh and the Dhavalas of Orissa. However, in addition to the information supplied by Dr. Sarkar another interesting point may be noted here ; an extensive territory in Orissa goes under the designation 'Kalahandi', which is also the name of the unidentified village mentioned in the Tārācaṇḍī rock-inscription of Pratāpadhavala. Were the Dhavalas of Rohtasgadh emigrants from Orissa? Further, the rather striking title 'Samara-niḥśanka-malla' assumed by the Khayaravāla Mahā-nṛpati Indradhavala, reminds us of the favourite titles of the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇa, for example, Āhava-malla, Jagadeka-malla, Tribhuvana-malla. This may be significant in view of the fact that the Kadambas of Goa (with whom, according to the suggestion of the editor of the Son-East-Bank inscription, the Kadamba feudatories of the Khayaravāla dynasty may have been related) entered into matrimonial alliance with the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi by the beginning of the twelfth century.[20]

In the Sundarban (Rāksaskhāli) grant of S.S. 1118/1196 A.D. Śrī-Madommanapāla, the ruler of Pūrva-khāṭikā, is styled 'dhavala-sāmanta-rāja' and Dr. B. C. Sen has hinted at the possibility of his connection with the dynasty of Pratāpadhavala. The first one of the two difficulties involved in this theory, pointed out by the scholar himself, cannot be surmounted ; while the inscriptions of the Rohtasgadh chiefs are dated in the Vikrama Era, the copper-plate grant of Madommanapāla is dated in the Śaka Era. The second difficulty, however, no longer exists in view of the fact that the dynasty of Pratāpadhavala was founded, according to the Son-East-Bank inscription, by

18. *Shahabad Report*, p. 200 ; also *cf.* "These highlanders call themselves Surya-bangsis . . . and as their hills would at one time appear to have been the residence of Rohitaswa, a prince descended of Surya, their claim has some shadow of support."

19. *Proc. Indian History Congress* (12th Session—1949), pp. 126-27.

20. Jayakesin II of the Kadambas of Goa married Maimāla-devī, the daughter of Vikramāditya VI, Tribhuvana-malla, who ruled from 1076 A.D. to 1127 A.D.

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a person bearing a name, which ends with the word 'pāla'.[21] Another point may be brought forward in favour of the theory mentioned above ; while Śrī-Madommana-pāla's dynasty came from Ayodhyā (*cf.* "Ayodhyā-viniḥsṛta"), one of the Kharwar chiefs of the early nineteenth century claimed that his ancestors, who held Rohtasgadh for a long time, originally came from the vicinity of Ayodhyā fifty-two generations ago.[22]

TRADE GUILDS UNDER THE CHĀLUKYAS OF KALYANI

G. S. Dikshit

Their Part in the Economic Life of the Country

From very early times down to our own times, guilds have played a very important part in the promotion of trade in our country. Just as the village panchāyats preserved self-government in the villages, the guilds preserved self-government in trade. Their long life and vitality are amazing. On account of the paucity of records it is very difficult to write a continuous history of the guilds in India. A comparative account of ancient and modern guilds we have in Hopkins *'India Old and New'*. About their achievement he says "If we review their history we must, I think, see in them an important factor in the development of mercantile interests at a time when such a combination as they represented was indispensable to the advancement of the middle classes in their struggle for recognition at the hands both of despotic kings and of an organised priesthood that was bent on suppressing the elevation of the third estate. With the growth of the guilds the new axiom of later law was evolved, whereby the king was advised not to oppress the guilds and not to tax too heavily. So commerce in the modern sense became possible." But the commerce which the guilds promoted was not confined only to India. Fragmentary references enable us to assume that their part in foreign trade and colonisation especially of South East Asia was not inconsiderable. The activities of the South Indian guilds are referred to in the inscriptions of Ceylon, Burma and Sumatra. (CLAI p. 90 ; R. C. Majumdar, *Suvarnadwipa II*, Part I, p. 188).

It is proposed to illustrate the work of the guilds by taking the example of a federation of guilds which flourished in the Deccan and South India in mediaeval times, roughly from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries by studying inscriptions mostly of the Chāḷukyas of Kalyāṇi and also of their neighbours and contemporaries namely the Hoysalas.

21. *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, X, pp. 326-27 and fn. 15 on p. 327.

22. Buchanan's *Shahabad Report*, p. 201. Recently in a revised edition of the Rāksaskhāli grant, Mr. R. K. Ghoshal has noted the existence of two localities called Ayodhyā-nagarī in the Diamond Harbour sub-division of the district of 24-Parganas in West Bengal and has suggested that one of these may have been the early seat of Śrī Madommanapāla's dynasty ; further the whole phrase "Bhagavān-Nārāyaṇa-nirdroha-dhavala" (sāmanta-rāja), has been translated as 'looks resplendent by reason cf his friendship with Lord Nārāyaṇa' (*EI*, XXVII, pp. 119-124).

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Their Federal Organisation

This federation, the most important component of which consisted of the *Nānādeśis* (a very significant name for merchants who visited many countries) was made up of all the traders in a place, such as the grain merchants, gold merchants, cloth dealers and oil merchants. The merchants dealing in various articles had their own organisation, but they combined with the other merchants of the place (SK, 118). We also find merchants dealing in one article combining occasionally with similar merchants in other neighbouring places (EC II, 334) and we also find meeting of all the merchants or their representatives in a district or a region. The different kinds of meetings had different names and probably they had their own particular procedure of work when they met. (S.I.I. IX, P 1, 391, DG, 59).

Their International Organisation

In a particular place local merchants dealing in one commodity sometimes had their own organisation as distinct from outside merchants dealing in the same commodity (SK, 118). The *Nānādeśis* and the *Mummuri-daṇḍas* were divided on a linguistic basis also. Thus Nānādeśis were divided into Chola, Malaya and Kannada. The latter had an officer who was the leader of 4000 Kannada *mummuri-daṇḍas*. (S.I.I. IX, P. I., 297 & DCG, 3).

The relation between caste and guild has been best explained by a contemporary writer namely Vijnaneswara. He defines *Sreniyah* as guilds of persons earning their livelihood by the same kind of labour though belonging to different castes or the same caste. The best example for this definition is that of the Banajigas or *Nānādeśis*. In the beginning they were Jain and later on they became converts to Vīrasaivism and the Malayāḷa Nānādeśis, who had their stronghold in Arasikere in central Karnāṭaka claim to be ornaments of Vaiśyakula. In the same place we find reference to some great merchants of Brāhmin descent (AK, 22) ; whether they were Jain, Vaiśya, Brāhmin or Vīraśaiva, all of them claim to support the Vīra Baṇanju Dharma.

Their Strongholds

Their strongholds were in northern and central Karṇāṭaka. Here they concentrated their activities in capitals of either kingdoms or provinces or in religious centres like Sravaṇa-Belgōla, Belgamve, Belūr, Arasikere and Uchchangi.

Their Functions

Their most important function was to carry on trade. The way in which they carried on their trade is described in many inscriptions. One (SK, 118) of them describes them as a class of wandering merchants visiting all countries, *grāmas, nagaras, kheḍas, paṭṭaṇas* and *droṇamukhas* with valuable articles in their bags. They used asses, buffaloes and carts for transporting goods. They sold wholesale or by hawking about with articles on their shoulders. The chief

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articles in which they traded were precious stones, spices, perfumes, drugs, elephants and horses and grains.

Their headquarters were at Ayyavole or Aihole near Bādāmi ; they established branches in different parts of the Deccan and South India. They established fairs in towns and villages and appointed officers to be in their charge.

They took part in local administration, by administering certain towns. They were consulted by the central authorities in matters of local administration such as levying of taxes. They were well-known for philanthropic activities—such as the construction of tanks, temples, and making provision for worship in temples. They were also entrusted with the task of supervising the charities of others. They received deposits and paid interest on them for the ear-marked beneficent purpose.

Their Officers

They had two important officers. One was known as *Vadda Vyavahāri* or senior merchant. He was the head of the merchants in a place. The second was known as *Paṭṭaṇaswāmi*. The first corresponded to *Sārthavāha* of the Gupta inscriptions and the second corresponded to Nagara-Śreṣhthin of the same times. The senior merchant is usually referred to as the head of the *Nānādeśis* and as their benefactor (S.I.I. IX, p. 1, No. 353 and AK, 82). He led the merchants in making grants to temples (25 of 1939-40). His rank in society was high. In inscriptions he is mentioned soon after the provincial governor (SK, 242). He was of course wealthy. One of them is described as the lord of all wealth (SK, 247). He also had a big establishment. Another is described as master over 72 officials (SK, 247). Some of them were noted for their bravery (AK, 108). One of them is described as a mine of courage and a source of bravery (AK, 108). He was also very efficient in business. One Dāmodara Seṭṭi was an expert in the examination of goods and animals. Like the senior merchant, the *Paṭṭana-Swāmi* was also present on important occasions, with the government officers and the elite of the town. He was most probably a municipal officer. In Vijaynagar the various suburbs had one *paṭṭaṇaswāmi*. In our period Belagamve had two or three *Paṭṭaṇaswāmins*, probably to look after the different suburbs. In Vijayanagara times *Paṭṭaṇaswāmins* were also appointed wherever a new fair was established. It was his business to manage the fair. And for this purpose he was given grants of land. It is very likely that he performed a similar function in our period. The relation between the senior merchants and the *Paṭṭaṇaswāmi* is not clear. Probably the former was the head of the guild and the latter represented the guild in town administration.

Other officers below the rank of the two mentioned above are an officer known as the governor of the ware-houses (HK, 124) and another was in charge of the pass-port department (Ec II—159). Some other officers are mentioned, but their exact duties are not specified ; they are *Maṇigāra, Nāḍ-heggaḍe,* (HK, 134) *Nāḍ-Swāmi* (SK, 94) and *Nāḍ-Prabhu* (SK, 242).

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Strength of the Bond Among the Guildsmen

A few instances will illustrate the closeness of the bond among the guildsmen and their devotion to their faith. According to one inscription (SK, 119) all the property of the guildsmen dying without sons was to be used for the festivals and sacred rites of their patron god.

Another strictly forbids disunity among the merchants as follows: "If without the consent of the merchants, one or two leaders enter into the house of the ācārya (the head of Gummattapura or the famous Śravana-Belgola) they are traitors to the creed."

A third inscription says, "if any merchant denies or conceals his income (from the guild) his race shall be childless. He shall be a traitor to God, King and Creed." (Ec II, 336).

The State and the Guild

It was their devotion to "God, King and Creed" which was the cause of their phenomenal success. Wherever they went, they co-operated with the ruling dynasties, in the task of administration. As soon as Tailapa of the later Chālukya dynasty came to power he had to fix local cesses. "At the request of the fifty Mahājanas and the five hundred (merchants) the king confirmed the toll contribution of betel leaves formerly fixed by Kannaradeva" of the Rāshtrakūṭā dynasty—S.I.I. IX, Part I, Inser 76. The relations of the five-hundred (another name for the Banajigas or Nānādeśis) with the Hoysalas and the Colas were equally cordial. The Mitakṣara of Vijnanesvara enjoins on the king the important duty of preserving their peculiar rules of conduct (ii, 192). Thus unity among the guildsmen and harmonious relations between the state and the guilds were responsible for their long life and prosperity.

Abbreviations

CLAI	...	Corporate Life in Ancient India by R. C. Majumdar.
SK	...	Epigraphia Carnatica VII Shikarpur.
Ec	...	Epigraphia Carnatica.
S.I.I.	...	South Indian Inscriptions.
DG	...	Epigraphia Carnatica XI Davangue.
AK	...	Epigraphia Carnatica V Aragikere.
HK	...	Epigraphia Carnatica XI Holalakere.

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THE GĀṄGĒYARĀYAS OF THE SOUTH

K. R. VENKATA RAMAN

There are frequent references in the Tamil inscriptions of the 12th and 13th centuries to Gāṅgēyarāyas who, as vassals of the Pāṇḍya kings of the 'Second Empire', were in administrative charge of districts. They were probably of Gaṅga origin, and in that case their presence in the Tamil country during this period can be easily explained. With the capture of Talakāḍ by the Chōḷa army in the reign of Rāja Rāja I, the Gaṅga kingdom was extinguished, though Gaṅga princes continued to exercise some sort of authority in some districts as Chōḷa or Chāḷukya vassals, and later as Hoysaḷa vassals. One such Hoysaḷa vassal was Gaṅga Rāja, who recovered Talakāḍ from the Chōḷas for his master Vishṇuvardhana. The active interference of the Hoysaḷas in the politics of the Tamil kingdoms, their acquisition of territory in the Chōḷa empire followed by the founding of a capital at Kaṇṇanūr may account for the emigration of Gāṅgēyarāyas (=chiefs of Gaṅga origin) to the south, who, in course of time, attached themselves to the service of the Pāṇḍyas, who in the 13th century, won the hegemony of the south. In the inscriptions the Gāṅgēyarāyas are seldom mentioned under their proper names, and the few names that occur are of considerable importance to our appreciation of the greatness of this period of Pāṇḍyan history.

Uyyavandān Kaṇḍan Gāṅgēya, also called Tyāgamīkāman must have been, as his name and surname suggest, a Chōḷa vassal. *Kaṇḍan* was one of the titles of Rāja Rāja II (1146-73), and *Tyāga* was part of the surnames of Chōḷa nobles, since Vikrama Chōḷa (1118-35) first assumed the surname *Tyāgasamudra*. His two records in the Rāmanāthapuram district are naturally dated in the regnal years of the contemporary Pāṇḍya rulers, who were at that time vassals of the Chōḷa empire. One of them is dated in the 6th year of Vikrama Pāṇḍya,[1] and the other in the twelfth year of Māṟavarman Parākrama Pāṇḍya.[2] Parākrama was the rival of Kulaśēkhara Pāṇḍya in the Pāṇḍyan Civil War of the reign of Rājādhirāja II (1163-78), while Vikrama Pāṇḍya was the son and successor of Kulaśēkhara and was placed on the throne of Madurai by Kulōttuṅga III (1178-1218).

Another Tirupattūr record[3] mentions gifts to a Vishṇu temple by a Gāṅgēyarāya, without giving his name and is dated in the 21st year of a Sundara Pāṇḍya. It is very probable that this Gāṅgēya was one of the two chiefs under Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I, whom we shall mention presently.

Āṟṟūr Uḍaiyān Nambi Ponnambala Kūttan Gāṅgēya[4] ('the exalted

1. *A.R.E.* 26 of 09 from Kunnakkuḍi.
2. 131 of 08 from Tirupattūr.
3. 140 of 08.
4. Ponna Gāṅgēya for short.

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Ponnambala Kūttan, Chief of Āṟṟūr)[5] is the donor in three inscriptions,[6] all from the former Pudukkōṭṭai State, dated in the 3rd or 4th regnal year of Māṛavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I.

Sixteen inscriptions[7] in Pudukkōṭṭai mentions Kaṇḍan Uyyavandān Udayañcheydān, Chief of Niyamam on the Tēnār.[8] All these inscriptions except two are dated in the reign of Māṛavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I ranging from the 4th to the 27th year. The high regnal year, 27, in one of them[9] deserves attention. Another record from Koḍumbāḷūr[10] (which by the way has no reference to the Gāṅgēyarāyas) gives the year 28, the astronomical data[11] in which correspond to Sunday, June 21, A.D. 1243. The *praśasti* 'who took Śōnāḍu and was pleased to celebrate the *Vīrābhishēka* and *Vijayābhishēka* etc.', and 'who was pleased to restore Śōnāḍu' unmistakably refers to Māṛavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I and it is therefore quite clear that Sundara reigned in A.D. 1243.[12] The other two records,[13] which are dated in the 2nd year (A.D. 1239-40) of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara II, who was sub-king under Māṛavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I, confirm Prof. Nilakanta Sastri's observation[14] that 'so far no records that could be positively ascribed to him are known to mention a regnal year later than the second'. These epigraphs show that the reign of Māṛavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I did not terminate before 1243, that Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara II was sub-king from 1238 to 1240, and died during he life time of Sundara Pāṇḍya I and tha Māṛavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II, who daed his regnal years from the second half 1238,[15] shared the throne as heir apparent during the last five years of Sundara Pāṇḍya I.

A Gāṅgēyarāya, Chief of Tuñjalūr[16] figures in two records[17] from Kīlachevval dated in the 8th and 9th years respectively (A.D. 1246 and 1247) of the reign of Māṛavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II.

Tirukānapēruḍaiyān Ēlakaperumāḷ Gāṅgēyarāya's records[18] are dated in the 12th and 13th years of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II (acc. A.D. 1277).

5. Āṟṟūr (Āttūr) now the headquarters of a revenue firka in Pūdukkōṭṭai, a few miles to the south of Kuḍumiyāmalai should not be confounded with the Āttūr of the Salem district or that of the Tanjore district.

6. *P.S.I.* 249 (3rd year), 255 (4th year) and 506 (4th year) from Kuḍumiyāmalai.

7. *P.S.I.* 251, 253, 254, 257, 277, 292, 293, 305, 311, 316 to 318, 321, 328 and 329 from Neyvāsal and 496 from Pēraiyūr. *P.S.I.* 251 from Neyvāsal and 468 from Tiruvaraṅgulam may also be attributed to him.

8. Tēnār is a stream near the northern boundary of the Rāmanāthapuram district.

9. *P.S.I.* 321.

10. *P.S.I.* 322.

11. *Mithuna, Su 2, Pushya* etc.

12. It was generally believed that the close of his reign was sometime in A.D. 1238-9. See *Pandyan Kingdom*, p. 155.

13. *P.S.I.* 328 and 329.

14. *Pandyan Kingdom*, p. 155.

15. *ib.*, p. 156.

16. Tuñjalur in the middle *Kūṟṟu* (district) of Milalaikūṟṟam (which comprised the south-eastern parts of Tanjore and Pudukkōṭṭai—see 425 of 11 and 592 of 07).

17. 526 and 527 of 11.

18. *P.S.I.* 354 to 356 from Ādanūr and 424 from Neyvāsal. Kānapēr is the modern village of Kaḷayārkōvil near Sivagaṅga.

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These records mention the king's surname *Rāja Rājan*. Two Chidambaram inscriptions,[19] one dated in the 12th year 175th day of the same king and the other in the 5th year 270th day of the king's younger brother Māṛavarman Vikrama Pāṇḍya with the surname Rājākkalnāyan (acc. 1283) obviously refer to this Ēlakaperumāḷ.

The Ādanūr inscriptions[20] of the reign of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II refer to him as *ivvūr Rāja Rājan Sundara Pāṇḍya Dēva* ('Sundara Pāṇḍya Dēva of or residing in this town'). Does this indicate that the joint and sub-kings did not all live in Madurai, but had their separate headquarters? The point deserves further investigation and will throw welcome light on the political relation between the principal kings and their sub-kings of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom.

The Muslim invasion of the south and the establishment of the Sultanate of Madurai did not completely wipe out the Pāṇḍyan ruling dynasty, members of which continued to rule in parts of all the eastern districts from Tirunelvēli to South Arcot. One of them was Māṛavarman Vīra Pāṇḍya (acc. 1334), a record of whose reign[21] in his 8th year mentions an order issued by a Vikrama Pāṇḍya Gāṅgēyarāya.

In the 15th century, the Gāṅgēyarāyas, who had lost their position as vassals of an empire, continued however to command some local influence. The headmen of Kāraiyūr (Puḍukkōṭṭai) invested Gāṅgēyarāya Piravikkunallār also called Araśuvaḷikaṇḍadēva of Vayalūr with *pāḍikkāval* rights over Kāraiyūr and the neighbouring villages.[22]

These chiefs appear to have ruled over small tracts in the Pāṇḍinād ; no two of them ruled in the same place,—obviously a precaution which the shrewd Pāṇḍya kings took to prevent the growth of a powerful hereditary family of vassals in any one area, who could prove a menace to internal security. The Gāṅgēyarāyas, were, however, in command of military cantonments ; their headquarter stations were either cantonments or were located near them. Ādanūr and Kānapēr were cantonment stations ; Niyamam, Āttūr and Tuñjalūr were in close proximity to military camps. Uyyavandān Kaṇḍan must have also served in the royal fleet as the suffix *mīkāman* (=sailor) to his surname will testify. The chiefs were often in attendance on the kings during the royal tours and functioned as *ajñāptis*[23] recommending grants and remission of taxes. They enjoyed some personal privileges appropriate to the princes of the blood-royal. They were addressed as *Uḍaiyār* or *Perumāḷ*, had their own *ahambaḍis* ('servants of the inner apartments') and secretaries and sword-bearers in their personal entourage. They issued *Olais* (orders), remitted taxes and declared lands tax-free.[24] They instituted new *sandis* (divine services) in temples and made additional grants to old ones. They sold or gifted lands to individuals and corporations and made them tax-free often with the

19. 6 of 36 and 270 of 13.
20. *P.S.I.* 354 and 355.
21. 269 of 13 from Chidambaram.
22. *P.S.I.* 715.
23. Cf. 527 of 11 and 306 of 13.
24. Cf. *P.S.I.* 247, 251, 253.

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proviso that a fixed contribution in kind or money[25] should be paid to temples. Such benefactions were in addition to direct grants to temples and to temple servants including priests, artisans[25] and weavers. One of these chiefs built a new street in Chidambaram[27] with free quarters for the weavers who supplied clothes to the temple deities. They emulated their royal masters in adding new structures to the already elaborate temple complexes. They provided the temple in Tiruvaraṅgulam[28] with new compound walls and a *gōpuram,* the Tiruvakkarai temple[29] with *maṇṭapams* and a *gōpuram* and extended the gateways and repaired the *maṇṭapams* of the Kuḍumiyāmalai temple.[30] Vīraśiṅga Panman (Varman), an officer of a Gāṅgēyarāya chief, rebuilt the central shrine of Madattukōvil[31] (Pudukkōṭṭai State), a temple which was originally built in the early Chōḷa period 'Very characteristic (of this renovated structure) are the *kumbha-pañcharams* with bulging *kumbhams* with beaded ornamentation,[32] the festoons on each side of the shafts above them and the brackets of the *kapodam* on top, and the *upapīṭham* or plinth with the grooved *kumudam* and *kūḍus* with the central rosette and the flowing foliage on each side. . . The petals of the *idal,* the cornice aud the decoraeed panels exhibit consummate artistic skill and delicacy'.[33] The sculptured panels are full of charm and grace. It is no wonder that local artistic tradition has long averred that the architectural features of this temple and of Āvaḍaiyārkōvil have not been rivalled—much less surpassed anywhere in the Tamil Nad. This temple which was much dilapidated when the State Government conserved it, is now under the control of the Archaeological Department of the Central Government, and deserves to be brought to the notice of scholars and art lovers.

The Gāṅgēyarāya to whom *pāḍikkāval* rights were sold by the elders of Kāraiyur in A.D. 1477 (reign of the Vijayanagar emperor Virūpāksha II) at a time when this part of the country was in the grip of anarchy, had the obligation to afford protection of life and property of the good citizens of Kāraiyūr in return for certain perquisites and privileges such as a share in the produce of the land, special rights over temples and tanks, gifts of fowl, milk, ghee, etc., the right to have torches and banners borne before him even in daytime and conchs blown as he mounted or dismounted. He also appended a long-winded *praśasti* to his name.

While carrying out repairs and improvements to the Kuḍumiyāmalai

25. Cf. *P.S.I.* 257, 277, 305, 311, 317, 318, 321, 328 and 424. The cash payment was either in current gold coin or *intiramam* (*dramma*) which approximated to the weight of their Sassanian originals, which in turn were derived from the Attic drachma of 67·5 grains.
26. Cf. *P.S.I.* 424.
27. 269 of 13.
28. 310 and 316 of 14.
29. 196 of 04.
30. *P.S.I.* 255 and 506.
31. *P.S.I.* 1107.
32. *Kumbhapañcharams* came into vogue in Tamil Temple architecture in the 13th century. See Venkata Raman K. R.: *Hoysalas in the Tamil Country,* pp. 82-3).
33. See Venkata Raman K. R.: *A Manual of the Pudukkottai State,* Vol. II, Part II, *Gazetteer,* pp. 1057-8.

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temple, the Gāṅgēyarāyas took the wise step of recopying some of the old inscriptions that would have otherwise been lost. One of them relates to a gift of Parāntaka Kuñjaramallan Vīraśolan Iḷaṅgōveḷār (crown prince of Koḍumbāḷūr) on the eve of his expedition to Ceylon to punish the Ceylonese for helping Rājasimha Pāṇḍya against Parakēsari Parāntaka I, and another to a gift dated in the reign of a Kulōttuṅga. Such instances are by no means rare ; there are scores of them in the South India inscriptions so far copied. Would that this spirit of reverence for the past and example of civic consciousness animated all those who are now in charge of temples and other monuments and are called upon to renovate them!

NĀNYADEVA AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES

RADHA KRISHNA CHOUDHURY

Nānyadeva played an important part in North Indian politics and founded an important ruling dynasty in Mithilā. From 1097-1326, Nānyadeva and his successors claimed sovereignty over Tirhut and Mithilā. Before passing on to the historicity of this fact it is better to discuss the origin of the Karṇāṭs of Mithilā. Due to the absence of the connected historical writings, incriptions and coins etc., it is very difficult to form a correct estimate of the Karṇāṭas of Mithilā. But the contemporary literature and history give us a clue to the understanding of the whole problem, though in an isolated way. That Nānyadeva belonged to the Karṇāṭa country is evident from the Nepalese Chronicles and from the title *Karṇāṭakulabhushaṇa* occurring in his commentary on Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*. The Karṇāṭas had gained a prominent place in the history of North East India towards the close of the 11th century.

The emergence of the Karṇāṭas in the political arena of North East India has been a long-standing problem in history. Mr. Jayaswāl thinks that the Karṇāṭa settlers under Nānyadeva were the remnants of Rājendra Chōḷa's army.[1] Late Mr. R. D. Banerjee thinks that they were the Karṇāṭ allies of the Chedi King, son of Gāngeyadeva and sovereign of Mithilā who overran Tirhut[2] (1040-1060). But one should remember that Karṇa's expedition took place about forty years before the accession of Nānya in Mithilā and Vijayasena in Bengal. Jayaswāl's conception of the origin of the Karṇāṭas as allies of the Chedi King does not stand in the face of modern researches. The very title *Mahāsāmantādhipati* indicates that Nānya was not the leader of the Karṇāṭa. Besides the long reign assigned to Nānyadeva also renders the view untenable.

The rise of the Karṇāṭas in Mithilā may be connected with the Chāḷukya's invasion of Northern India during the rule of Someśvara I and Vikramāditya VI in the second half of the 11th century. During the rule of the Chāḷukya

1. Jayaswāl, *J.B.R.O.S.*, Vol. IX, Pts. 3 and 4, p. 306.
2. R. D. Banerjee, *Pālas of Bengal*, p. 99.

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Emperor Someśvara I (1042-1068), his son Vikramāditya (1076-1126) led an expedition in N.E. India and a number of military adventurers accompanied them.

Adventurers from the Karṇāṭa came and carved out small principalities in Bengal and North Bihār. In Gaudrājmālā, the Senas declare themselves to be Southerners.[3] In an inscription of Someśvara III, the son and successor of Vikramāditya VI (dated 1121 and 1124 A.D.) the king is said to have placed his feet upon the heads of the kings of Āndhra, Drāviḍa, Magadha and Nēpal.[4] The Chālukyas also destroyed the Parmāras of Malwā and destroyed the power of the Chedi King Karṇa and thus the fall of these two important powers in the North-West must have paved the way for the Karṇāṭ domination in North-East India. The Basāhi plate[5] of Govindchandra Gāhadwāl, King of Kanauj, asserts that Chandradeva established the kingdom of Kanauj "when King Bhoja and King Karṇa had passed away". Chandradeva, founder of the Gāhadwāla kingdom of Kanauj, flourished about 1090 A.D., as with the two Karṇāṭa Chiefs, Vijayasena and Nānyadeva within the same decade. It is quite likely that the dynasties of Kanauj, Mithilā and Bengal were the results of the Chāḷukya's invasion of North India. Dr. R. C. Mazumdār does not preclude the possibility of the Gāhadwāla being of Karṇāṭic origin.[6] Another theory about the Karṇāṭas of Bengal and Mithilā is that they were merely the result of the revival of the eclipsed Karṇāṭa power of Magadh.[7] The feasibility of this conclusion needs further corroboration. Another version in Mithilā is that Nānyadeva was already ruling in South near Nilgiri.[8] So long as any new facts do not come to light, it may be accepted that Nānya came to Mithilā in the wake of Chālukya invasion. The title assumed by Nānyadeva, Mahā-sāmantādhipati was used by the Viceroys of Vikramāditya VI and it is quite likely that Nānya might have for some time acknowledged the sway of his master.[9]

Nānyadeva became the king of Mithilā in 1097.[10] From the Nepālese traditions we have conflicting versions about Nānyadeva and Levi fixed him at 1097 A.D.[11] This is confirmed by a verse in Vidyapati's *Purush Pariksā*. Mr. Manmohan Chakravarty places Nānyadeva in the middle of the 12th century. The date is based on the synchronism of Malladeva (son of Nānyadeva), and the Gāhadwāl king Jaychandra (1170-1193). Malladeva is said to have served under Jayachandra. Mr. Chakravarti seems to have placed Nānyadeva in the 12th century A.D., simply to prove the contention of Vidyāpati in his *Purush Pariksā*.[12] Jayaswāl also places much stress on this point.

3. Buhler's introduction to *Vikramankdeva Charita*.
4. *Epi. Carna*, Vol IX and *J. Bom. B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XI, p. 268.
5. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 103.
6. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VII, Pt. 4, p. 684.
7. C. S. Srinivaschari—in the proceedings of iii *A.I.O.C.* (Madras), p. 398.
8. Rashbehari Das, *M.D.P.*, p. 60.
9. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Pt. 2, p. 450.
10. *Katalogder Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gessellschaft*, Leipzig, 1881, Vol. II, p. 8.
11. Levi, *Nepal*, Vol. II, p. 97 f.n. 3.
12. Vidyāpati, *Purush Pariksā*, i. 3. and *J.A.S.B.* of 1915, p. 408.

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Malladeva is said to be only sixteen years old when he was in the court of Jaychandra. Jaychandra ascended the throne between 1170-73 and therefore Malladeva could not have been born before 1154 if Vidyāpati's stories were true. But this seems to be untenable. The contention held by Mr. Chakravarti that Malladeva died at the age of sixteen and accepted by Dr. Mazumdār[13] does not hold good as the tale in *Purush Pariksā* does not indicate Malladeva's death.[14] On the basis of the Nepāl Chronicles and Inscriptions the following date is given to the Karṇāṭa Kings of Mithilā:[15]

	Nepal	*Mithilā Tradition*	
Nānyadeva	... 50 years	36 years	In Mithilā tradition, between Rāmsingh and Harisingh there is one king Saktasinghdeva who is said to have ruled for 12 years.[17]
Gangeyadeva	... 41 ,,	41 ,,	
Narsinghdeva	... 39 ,,	52 ,,	
Rāmsinghadeva	... 58 ,,	62 ,,	
Harisingh	... 28 ,,	28 ,,	

Between Rāmsingh and Harisingh Mr. Chakravarti[16] mentions two kings *viz.* Shaktisingh and Bhupalsingh but he does not specify any date. The list of Chakravarti is still controversial.

I have followed the data supplied by the Nepal Chronicles and Inscriptions, and so I believe that Nānyadeva ruled from 1097-1147 A.D.

I shall now proceed with the achievements of Nānyadeva:—

Nānya's contemporaries were: (*i*) Rāmpāla (1084-1120) and his successors up to Madampāla (1140-54), (*ii*) Vijaysena, (*iii*), Govindachandra Gāhadwāl and (*iv*) Rāghava of Kalinga. Nānyadeva distinguished himself in war and peace. He wrote a commentary on Bharata's *Nātyaśāstra* and some passages of the commentary throw interesting light on Nānyadeva. Mr. M. Rām Krishna Kavi has published an account of this commentary.[18] The commentary gives the following information about Nānyadeva: (*a*) Mahāsāmantādhipati-Dharmāmāvaloka-Śrimān-Nānyapati. Nānya is described as Śrimān by Minister Śridhardās in his Andhrāthārhi Inscription, (*b*) Mithileśwara, Karṇāṭkulabhūshaṇa, Dharmadharbhūpati, Rājnārāyan, Nṛpamalla etc. and (*c*) is said to have broken the name and fame of Mālwā, defeated the heroes of Śauvīra and broken the powers of Vaṅga and Gauḍa. It is quite likely that Nānyadeva might have defeated the kings of Mālwā and Śauvira in his earlier life, as a part and parcel of Chālukya's army and therefore he should have boasted about it in his commentary. About Vaṅga and Gauḍa we have some evidences at our disposal. Bengal was fishing in troubled waters when Nānya became the king of Mithilā. The suppression of the Kaivartas in Bengal by Rāmpala had not brought peace. East Bengal was under the

13. Mazumdar, *Op. cit.*, p. 688.
14. Vidyāpati, *Op. cit.* and My paper on "Malladeva". (13th session of I.H.C., Nagpur 1950).
15. *Ind. Ant.*, 1884, p. 414.
16. Chakravarti, *J.A.S.B.*, XI.
17. Miśra, *History of Maithili Literature*, Vol. I, Appendix I, p. 464.
18. *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. I, p. 55.

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Varmans. The Senas were establishing their power in Rāḍha. The whole country was just in a process of political disintegration. Nānyadeva, after having settled in Mithilā, turned his attention towards Gauḍa and Vaṅga (N. & E. Bengal). The Senas in Bengal also coveted the same portions. It seems likely that the two Karṇāṭa chiefs fell out over the spoils and ultimately Nānya fell. From the Deopāra Inscription[19] we learn Vijayasena defeated Nānyadeva. The contention of Mr. Jayaswāl that Nānyadeva was friendly to the Gāhadwāl does not stand in view of Nānya's assertion in his commentary that he defeated the power of the Gauḍa and Vaṅga. Jayaswāl held this view because Gāhadwāl connexion with the Pālas made them the enemy of the Senas. He also holds that the Senas went against the Karṇāṭas of Mithilā who were friendly to the Gāhadwālas.[20] He has also tried to show that the Karṇāṭas of Mithilā came under the influence of Gāhadwālas. According to Jayaswāl, this is indicated by the following two facts: (*i*) that the law book *Kalpataru* prepared by the foreign minister of Govindachandra at his command became the ruling authority in Mithilā. (*ii*) The service of Malladeva in the army of Jaychandra Gāhadwāl.[21] The following points show that Jayaswāl's contention now does not hold good: (*i*) Dr. Tripāthi does not mention the move of any Gāhadwāl king towards Mithilā nor does he mention the name of any Karṇāṭak king of Mithilā as an ally of Gāhadwāl king of Kanauj.[22] (*ii*) Nānya's assertion in his commentary shows that he defeated the kings of Gauḍa and Vaṅga. As I have shown above, Nānya must have defeated the weak Pāla kings in alliance with the Senas who were also seeking their fortunes in Bengal. (*iii*) The question of Malladeva serving under Jaychandra does not stand historically correct.[22a] (*iv*) Mithilā tradition does not show any sign of Nānya's contact with the Gāhadwāl king. (*v*) had Nānyadeva maintained the balance between the Senas and Gāhadwāls, he could have also embarked on an aggressive policy, which seems to have been checked after he was defeated by Vijaysena. He sought compensation in Nepāl.

Mithilā tradition asserts that Vallālsena at the instance of his father invaded Mithilā and imprisoned Nānyadeva and in recognition of his services Vallālsena got the title of Nishankshanker. Vallālsena established Nishankpur Parganā in Mithilā[23] and this was the Sena administrative centre but Gāngeyadeva is said to have regained the lost territory of his father. About the imprisonment of Nānya there is some reference in poet Umāpatidhar's work. The disturbances that took place between the Thakuris of Nayakot and Pātan gave an opportunity to Nānya. He launched on a campaign for the conquest of the neighbouring country. According to Nepālese tradition he captured the whole of Nepāl and after dethroning the ruling princes established his court at Bhatgāon. The Mallas of Nepāl traced their descent from Nānya.[24] This goes

19. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol I, pp. 305-15.
20. Jayaswāl, *Op. cit.*, Vol. X, Pts. 1-2, pp. 44-45.
21. Jayaswāl, *Op. cit.*, Vol. IX, p. 309.
22. R. S. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, pp. 299-322.
22a. My paper on *Malladeva*.
23. Mm. Parmeshwar Jha, *M.T.V.*, pp. 98, 99.
24. Discussed by me in detail in my paper *Malladeva*.

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to show that Nānya established a well-established Karṇāṭa kingdom of Mithilā on a sound basis and with an efficient administrative system. As a great diplomat he did not interfere much in the then politics of North East India and simply confined his aggressive ambition up to Nepāl. At the time of the establishment of the Karṇāṭ kingdom, Mithilā was surrounded on all sides by small independent States and Nānya successfully maintained the individuality of Mithilā and his position through his skill and far-sightedness. His kingdom existed for more than two hundred years independent of all external control and that was the last and the only independent Hindu kingdom of North East India.

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SECTION III

EARLY MEDIEVAL PERIOD

1206—1526 A. D.

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

G. H. KHARE

Sisters and Brothers,

I am extremely thankful to the executive of the Indian History Congress for electing me the President of the 3rd section, viz. Early Medieval Period (1206 to 1526 A.D.), of this session of the Indian History Congress this year. I was certainly embarrassed when I first heard the good news of the honour bestowed upon me. I feel the embarrassment today the more, when I recall to my mind the poor schooling which I had been able to have and which also I left unfinished through my own folly, the consequent disabilities and inconveniences which I am subjected to ever since, the very insignificant output of work, of any outstanding and everlasting merit in the field of Indian History and Culture, which I have somehow or other been able to make by now and the very little work which I can expect and hope to do in future. I really feel that the executive of the Indian History Congress have shown me far more honour than what I and some of my friends expected and what I really deserve when I recall to my mind the wonderful work done and the glowing addresses delivered by my predecessors who were called to this chair before me and the comparatively trifling quality and quantity of the work done by me. You will, therefore, excuse me if, after hearing the address of this worthless worker, you feel that I fell short of your high expectations with which you must have come to hear the address of the president of this section. Though I cannot boast of having done any monumental work in the field of historical and cultural research concerning India uptil now in my life, I have all along tried to give my best to the cause of that research and naturally hold certain views regarding the research already done on this period and its progress in future. I humbly place them here before you for your kind and sympathetic consideration and needful action if you at all feel that they are worth the same.

As a predecessor of mine has already referred to in his presidential address, both the limits of the early medieval period, viz. 1206 A.D. and 1526 A.D. are rather meaningless to Southerners. The year 1206 is in no way eventful to them. Nothing of ever-lasting effect happened in this year in the South. About this year the Yādavas of Devagiri, the Kākatīyas of Warangal, the Hoyasaḷas of Dvārasamudra or Halebid, the Choḷas of Tanjore and the Pāṇḍyas of Madura with their vassals were all ruling in the South in full splendour, each one of them trying to extend one's own kingdom as chance permitted by seizing and snatching away a part of the neighbour's territory. Siṅghaṇa, the mightiest ruler of Yādava dynasty, probably at this time launched his aggressive policy of extending the limits of his kingdom in all the directions with the help of two of his valiant generals, Kholeśvara and Bīchaṇa. The Southerners had indeed known Muslims before this time ; but they knew them as foreign settlers on the West coast and peaceful traders.

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Nay, in the kingdom of the Kadambas of Goa, some Muslims occupied very important key-posts such as those of ministers, about a hundred and fifty years even before this time. In an inscription of Siṅghaṇa, Turuṣkas have been mentioned as driven off to the ends of the quarters. But not a single ruler of the South of this period even dreamed that after about a century the co-religionists of the Muslims whom they did know would overrun the whole of the South and within fifty years after, crush almost all the sovereign powers there, firmly establish themselves in a part of it and rival for power with an offshoot of one of the powers, which they had crushed, continuously for over 200 years. For Southerners the year 1347 seems to be as eventful as 1206 for Northerners ; for in that year while on the one hand after the preliminary inroads and onslaughts of the Muslim invaders and subsequent *chaos* and unstable rule of some years 'Ala-ud-Dīn Ḥaṣan Bahmanī overthrew the yoke of the Tughluqs and firmly established himself in the Deccan, on the other hand at least in the opinion of a section of historians, through the *chaos* and void created by the invasions, onslaughts and unstable rule of the Muslim invaders emerged out, as shown by its crest of a boar, the Vijayanagara kingdom which soon developed into an empire and checked the spread of the Muslim power to the further South for over 200 years. Thus for Southerners the year 1347 seems to be the most befitting and natural earlier limit of the early medieval period.

Same is the case, I believe, with the later limit also. The year 1526 A.D. is equally uneventful and, therefore, meaningless to Southerners ; for while on the one hand, long before that year the Bahmanī kingdom was apparently eclipsed by the five offshoots sprung from it, and that kingdom was practically split up into five separate Sultanates, on the other hand Kṛishṇadevarāya, the ablest emperor among the Vijayanagara rulers and a terror to the foreign Muslim and refractory Hindu powers, was still alive. The Portuguese had, a few years before 1526 A.D., firmly footed themselves in Goa ; but their sway did not extend over beyond a few villages and they had not as yet introduced their oppressive and persecuting rules among their subjects. Even in Gujarat and Khandesh where two different *sultans* were ruling, nothing of any primary importance happened in this year so that the early medieval period should terminate in this year. For Southerners the year 1565 A.D. seems to be an epoch-making one ; for in that year was fought the fateful battle of Rakkasagī-Taṅgaḍagī or Rākshasatāgaḍī or better known as of Talikote, which shattered the Vijayanagara empire to pieces and smoothed the way of the Muslim powers to spread themselves to the further South. Only 7 years after this eventful battle Gujarat was annexed by the emperor Akbar to the Mughal empire and the *sultanate* there became extinct. Thus for Southerners the year 1565 seems to be the most natural later limit.

Whether specially mentioned or not in my address I have always before my mind this very period, with some modifications in its limits, and though I have stressed on records more in my address, I by no means wish to underrate other material useful for the knowledge of this period. With these two hints I proceed further.

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Most of my predecessors who were called to this chair, have paid more attention to the history of Northern India in general and Delhi Sultans in particular, while dilating upon this period. Writers on the ancient period of Indian history have done the same I believe. For example, in the *Early History of India* by V. A. Smith, a majority of pages are devoted to the history of the North. In the well-known work of Dr. Ishwari Prasad on this period, which has gone through several editions and impressions, the history of the South occupies only the fourth part of the book. We also do find almost the same proportion of pages in the works of other authors of Northern India. It is indeed true that there is some difference between the sources of the history of Northern India and of Southern India. Practically no contemporary official or non-official correspondence has come to light as yet in both the parts. The number of the collection of letters is very small and contain several drawbacks from the point of evidence as the letters have not come down to us in their original forms. Contemporary Muslim inscriptions and coins there are ; but the data supplied by them are of a limited type, I believe. They will at the best supply us the details of the names of rulers, the periods of their regimes, their pedigrees, their religion and its sub-sects, the dates of the erection of some structures, names of some artists, poets, authors, architects, etc. Still much remains to be gathered, that is desirable, for which we are compelled to rely on contemporary and later historical compilations and poetical compositions. A number of such works is in Persian and Arabic, and as these two languages are studied on a far more larger scale in the North than in the South, a good number of these works relating to the history of the North of this period have been published either in original or in translations and summaries. The eight volumes of Elliot and Dowson and the publications of The Asiatic Society of Bengal amply substantiate the statement. These works have been and are still being studied and restudied by scholars and the results are being published in several works dealing with this period either wholly or partly.

As compared with the North, the South is smaller in extent, poorer in fertility, and thinner in population. There never had been many very extensive and mighty empires from very ancient times. The few empires that flourished lasted for very short periods. In this period, *i.e.* between 1347 and 1565 A.D. nine sultanates and one kingdom flourished in the South, some of which died also and thirteen dynasties ruled. During this very period or a little longer one, only nine sultanates flourished in the North. Consequently there must have been more movements, more stir and more commotion in the South than in the North as a result of which more correspondence must have taken place and perhaps more narratives and poetical works as well, might have been composed in the South. We find from the *Sources* and *Further Sources of Vijayanagara History* published by the Madras University that in this period a number of authors lived and wrote quite a very large number of works on almost all the branches of learning in Sanskrit and Drāviḍian languages. Besides these works, there are thousands of inscriptions published by the Archaeological Department of India and that of Mysore Government which throw a flood of light on all the aspects of life and history of this period.

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Vijayanagara coins supply comparatively less information than the Muslim ones ; but that deficiency is far more compensated by its inscriptions. They are veritable mines of information. The works of Doctors: Saletore, Appadurai, Mahalingam, and Venkataramanayya show to what advantge these sources, together with the accounts of India by foreign travellers, can be used for reconstructing the history of the southern half of the South.

But what about the northern half of the South, especially the Deccan? So far as I know only a few compilations have come down to us that deal with the history of this part of the South. From Firishta and other historians we know the names of some authors and their works. But most of them are just like the fabulous bird *Unqa* whose name is known but whose body or form remains unknown. Still fewer is the number of those that are available in print either in original or in translations and summaries. Firishta's *Gulshan-i-Ibrāhīmī* tops the list of such works and others help it by supplementing, corroborating or contradicting the information supplied by Firishta. For the history of the Deccan, Ṭabāṭabā's *Burhān-i-Maāthir* is the only other printed work that is available both in original (published by Majlis-i-Makhtutat-i-Farsi: Hyderabad, Deccan) and in translation. I of course leave aside those works which contain scanty information about the Deccan.

A small portion of the text of Rafī-'ud-Dīn Shīrāzī's *Tazqirat-ul-Mulūk* had been published in a now-defunct periodical *Ṭarikh* of Hyderabad (Deccan) and the late Major J. S. King has supplied us the translation of some extracts from it. But we must remember that Firishta, Shīrāzī and Ṭabāṭabā were practically contemporaries and wrote their works in the first quarter of the seventeenth century and the end of the sixteenth century respectively. Ṭabāṭabā's effort is a modest one ; for he is content with giving the history of only the Nizāmshāhī dynasty, his account of the Bāhmanī dynasty serving as a prologue to the former. Firishta traverses a very extensive field and brings within his compass almost all the Muslim dynasties that ruled in India before his time. But we must not forget that a very small portion of the works of these three authors deals with the events of which they were either eye-witnesses or which sychronized with them while a large part of their accounts deals with the history of a period from which they were removed by 50 to 250 years or even more. Though Ṭabāṭabā generally never mentions the sources on which he has based his compilation, he must have utilised many original works like Firishta. As in places he reproduces letters in extenso, he must have had some access to original correspondence also. Firishta has enumerated in the preface of his work the authors whom he had consulted ; but the perusal of the actual work reveals some more names. Unfortunately as many of those works especially relating to the history of the Deccan together with that correspondence are practically lost to us, we are unable either to judge their own merits or form any idea of the way in which these two authors borrowed their information from them.

Of the three authors mentioned above, Firishta together with his work is too well-known to require any dilation on him. As early as 1768 A.D., he and his work were first made known to the Western world and since that time

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he has been continuously so much commented and criticised upon, that very little remains to be said about him. But as compared with Firishta, Ṭabāṭabā has very lately attracted the attention of scholars. The late Major J. S. King published the translation of the first part of his work *Burhān-i-Maāthir* in Indian Antiquary for 1899 A.D. and made him widely known to scholars. Lt. Col. T. W. Haig published the translation of the remaining portion in four subsequent volumes of the same journal (volumes 49 to 52) and completed the task left unfinished by J. S. King. Major King indeed had some doubts about the accuracy of Ṭabāṭabā's statements ; but he has nowhere given the estimate of the real value of his work as a source. It is Sir T. W. Haig who has tried in his notes to his translation to show the drawbacks of Ṭabāṭabā's account. It is worthwhile to sum them up here so that we may get a correct idea of the value of the work. But before doing that let me first quote Sir T. W. Haig's own summing up of the estimate of the work:

"The value of the work as a historical document is much impaired by its partiality, the author being a panegyrist of the dynasty whose history he professes to tell. The most flagrant instances of his unscrupulous partiality are his impudent attempt to claim for the founder of the dynasty, in the face of the clearest historical evidence, descent in the male line from the Bahmanī kings, his fictitious account of a defeat inflicted on Maḥmūd Shāh Begrā of Gujarat by Aḥmad Niẓām Shāh, fighting in defence of a mythical Maḥmūd Shāh of Khandesh and his praise of the maniac Murtaẓā Niẓām Shāh I."

These remarks he had passed in the introduction to his translation of *Burhān-i-Maāthir*. In the various notes added to the translation, Ṭabāṭabā, the author, has been accused thus: 'he has committed mistakes in the Muslim names of persons and years of incidents (of course months and days too). His account in a very large number of places is fictitious or imaginary, inaccurate, fabricated, garbled, misrepresented or misleading, perverse, confusing or confounding, cursory, full of contradictions, discrepancies, omissions, commissions and lies, imperfect, unfittting and baseless. There are under-statements, over-statements and palpable mis-statements. Sometimes he conveniently ignores facts. At other times he seems to be unwilling to give a faithful account. In places he conceals much that is to the discredit of the ruling princes. His geography is as bad as his history'. If we add to these accusations, the author's incredulous partiality towards his Muslim brethren and unjustifiable severity towards Hindus or infidels, his religious fervour and bigotry and lastly his colouring of every Muslim invasion as a *Jihad* against the ignorant and infidels in and out of places, what does then remain in his account which we may take to be true and believe in it? Only the single account of the origin and rise of Aḥmad Niẓām Shāh I will suffice to prove the validity of some allegations made against him. Aḥmad Niẓām Shāh lived only a hundred years before Ṭabāṭabā. If he could not give a faithful account of the time a hundred years prior to him, can we expect from him a truthful narrative of a period 250 to 100 years prior to him? In a number of places where Firishta's account differs from that of Ṭabāṭabā's, the former's account seems in all appearances, to be nearer the truth and Sir T. W. Haig therefore has accepted Firishta and

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discarded Ṭabāṭabā in many places. But who can vouchsafe that Firishta's account is founded on facts? Even in places where both concur, one cannot be too sure that their's is the only truthful account. Both of them could not even give a correct genealogy of the Bāhmanī dynasty. Unless, therefore, the sources utilised by the two authors come to light and the same are thoroughly examined, one cannot finally accept one account as true and discard another as false. Such are the drawbacks and demerits of the two authors which we are required to utilise largely at present.

But let us leave aside the various drawbacks and defects in the narratives of these two widely known authors on the history of the Deccan of this period which tend to make one believe that they are not trustworthy. Still I wish to raise here a very grave objection against them. They are more or less the political accounts of those that ruled the Deccan and not of those that were ruled in all their aspects. In this period the Muslim rulers differed from the Hindu ruled in religion, culture, social set-up, language and a number of other items and moreover they were in such a negligible minority that the accounts can at the best be called the accounts of a minority that ruled.

It is of course a wonder how such a negligible minority could rule an overwhelming majority entirely different from the minority in all respects. It will continue to be so till we make a very intensive study of the period based on contemporary first grade material.

But be that as it may. What kind of rule was it? Was it a foreign rule or a rule of the ruled, i.e. *Swarajya*? The rulers indeed lived and died in this country and many a man from the ruled classes secured services there and served them honestly. Still it was a foreign rule in my humble opinion and all the characteristics of a foreign rule were self-evident there.

Did the rulers patronise the languages of the ruled? No. So far as Sanskrit and Marathi of this period are concerned, I can say 'no' with certainty. I have not as yet found any Sanskrit or Marathi authors definitely patronised by the rulers of the Bahmanī and other dynasties of this period. Dalapatrāi, a Brahman officer in the army of Aḥmad Niẓam Shāh I of Ahmadnagar indeed wrote an encyclopaedic work on *Dharmaśāstra* in *circa* 1510 A.D. But in the first place the work is silent on the kind of patronage received from the ruler and secondly, a single exception will not disprove the general finding. Not even ten Marathi poets of note have come to light as yet who belonged to the period between the ages of Jñāneśvara and Ekanātha (1325 and 1565 A.D.), and the lives of those that have come to light show that they had received no patronage from the rulers of their times. Firishta and others mention a number of Muslim saints and poets such as Gīsū-Darāz, Shāh Ṭāhir, Shāh Ni'amatullāh, Bābā Kamāl, Maulānā Pīr Muḥammad, Junaidī, Āzarī, Naẓīr, and a host of others and supply a good deal of information about them. Hindu saints and poets like Nṛisiṁha Sarasvatī, Dāmājipanta of Mangalwedhe, Kānhopātrā, Chombhā, Pāṭhakas and others indeed lived in this period ; but not one of them has been referred to by the Muslim authors.

Owing to the disadvantages of the foreign domination people seem to have even migrated to the Vijayanagara empire where the rule was a far more

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benevolent one and where they certainly had far better chances of material as well as spiritual progress. Thus Purandaradāsa is believed to have migrated from the Poona District to Vijayanagara. The great-great-grand father of the well-known Gāgābhaṭṭa though said to have cured the son of one Jāfar Malik of Ahmadnagar from leprosy had to approach Kṛishṇadevarāya of Vijayanagara for the betterment of his fortune. In the fateful battle of Talikote several Marathas appear to have fought against the Muslims under Vijayanagara banners. If properly investigated, we may get many more instances of such forced migrations.

Before the advent of Muslims the kingship was hereditary. Honest and sincere servants had every chance of rising to the highest post possible below the king. During the Muslim rule of this period how many Hindus were made generals and ministers? Firishta and others mention practically none. They have mentioned a number of Muslim generals, statesmen, administrators, ministers and even petty officers such as *havaladars, qiladars,* etc. In the same way they have not forgotten to name refractory Hindu chiefs. Had there been any high Hindu officers in the service of the rulers of the age, they would have certainly referred to them as they have done in a few solitary cases such as those of Dalapatrāi, Bhūpālarāya and Kānho Narasī. But these also appear in the later portion of this period when the Bahmanī kingdom had definitely split up into five different principalities. The only logical inference is that the Hindus or members of the ruled class or belonging to a majority of the population could not aspire for a high position in this period. Petty jobs they might have got ; but under any foreign rule of a minority, the majority certainly gets such jobs just as we got under the British rule in the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century.

What was the state of the religion of the majority? Was there religious persecution in this age? Yes. There was. Firstly, the legends, the stories, the facts and the incidents that we know about the Hindu poets, saints and authors tend to prove that there was religious persecution, sometimes severe and sometimes mild. Secondly, the old remains, at almost all the holy places and, of temples, *mathas, pathasalas,* of the pre-Muslim period, the conversion of several of them into *masjids, dargahs, ashurkhanas,* etc. prove beyond doubt that it cannot be the vandalism of nature or of ignorant people alone. It must be intentional molestation. Thirdly, inscriptional evidence like that of Ghoḍe (Poona) and literary references from the works of Muslim as well as Hindu authors prove definitely that there was persecution and intolerance. Fourthly, the accounts of some of the *Devasthanas* clearly evince the same fact. Fifthly, the chipping off of noses and faces of decorative sculptures and breaking of images in old pre-Muslim temples that still stand tend to prove the same fact. I doubt whether new temples were ever allowed to be built and whether any fresh government grants were given to Hindu temples, *mathas,* etc. in this period. Change in the religion of several high Hindu families could not be mere accident. Forced conversion certainly there was. Rāmadāsa the well known poet-saint of Maharashtra of the 17th century and two of his followers have very graphically described in their poems the results of the vandalism

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of nature as well as the rule of a sultan. Those descriptions apply equally well to this period.

I have painted rather a gloomy picture of the majority of the people of the Deccan who were governed by a small minority entirely different from them. I have, therefore, termed that government a foreign rule. The picture of a foreign rule must necessarily be a gloomy one. It cannot be otherwise, especially when our data of evidence are meagre and come from the authors of the rulers' class alone. I wish I draw a better picture of the ruled of that period ; but not until we get better contemporary material. Since the split in the Bāhmanī kingdom the exigency of time necessitated a gradual change in the policy of the rulers towards the ruled and it reached its climax in the middle of the seventeenth century. Its discussion however is altogether a different topic and the limits of our period forbid us to do that here.

We are sure that even the best and most widely known authors do not supply any first hand and quite valuable material for the history of the ruled who were in an overwhelming majority and whose history we must know, not only for the sake of knowledge but for learning a lesson also, as it were they who after an alien rule of over 300 years threw off the foreign yoke, became independent and tried to build up a benevolent empire in some guise or other. Then where should we look for the material of that history? The answer is quite clear and simple. We must approach both the majority and minority classes ; we must search each and every house of them, especially the houses of *either* those that were hereditarily connected with the administration of the country in some way or other and their distant relatives even, *or* of those who had to do something with the Indian culture in the past. Thus the houses of those whose names include the words such as Karṇika or Karṇī, Desāī, Deshmukh, Joshi, Pānḍe, Pāṭil, Gauḍā, Mukaddam, Pādhye, Upādhye, Vaze, Ārādhye, Bhope, Shetye, Mahājan, Chaudharī, Chaugule, Biḍwai, Pīr, Bāngī, Kāzī, Khatīb, Ināmdār, Jāgīrdār, Vaidya, Purāṇik and others should be thoroughly searched ; every scrap of paper and apparently worthless manuscript, every design or figure, every coin, medal, amulet or ornament, must be minutely scrutinised before throwing it away or laying it aside. If a vigorous search of this type is undertaken, I am sure, we shall get a lot of new material.

I shall cite only one or two instances here. Last year through the exertion of my cousin Shri V. P. Lavate of Junnar, one Shri Krishna Gopal Ghatpande of the same place was induced to entrust to my Society some original Marathi and Persian papers for study. As his ancestors were hereditary accountants of some *ghats* or passes in the Sahya ranges included in the districts of Poona, Ahmadnagar, Nasik and Thana, most of the Persian papers refer to the matters concerning the passes, and belong to the last quarter of the 17th and first half of the 18th century. But there were four *farmans* of 'Alī 'Ādilshāh II and along with them one document dated the 10th of Rajab 932 A.H. It is a genuine document as it possesses seals and endorsements in different hands. Some three years ago Shri Satyanarayana Umiya Shankar Pandya of Ananda (Gujarat) was kind enough to show me some records written on paper and cloth, two out of which are ante-dated to the above docu-

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ment by four and five years respectively. Being non-official, these do not bear any seals ; but the signatures and endorsements by the witnesses in different hands show that they are original and genuine ones. My Society has published a number of such early records, the photographs of some of which I have brought and exhibited here. If we get manuscripts written in the 14th to the 16th centuries, why should we not get records of the same centuries? Nay, as the records concern with the *inams, watans,* and other worldly gains, we should find them in more abundance than manuscripts which have nothing to do with earthy advantages. Holders of such *watans, inams* etc. must have tried to preserve the former for their own advantage. What is only needed is a determined effort with a definite end assisted by proper equipment. Of course the number of such records which we expect to get will be comparatively far less than the number of records of the later centuries. If the later records we would get in thousands, earlier records we are sure to get in hundreds.

But records and manuscripts constitute only a part of the material. Structures and sculptures, terracottas and pottery, paintings, designs and maps, coins, amulets, medals and ornaments, stone inscriptions and copper-plates and a host of other articles are equally important as historical material. Out of these, structures, sculptures, stone-inscriptions, wall paintings and some other objects are scattered all over India and as the same are owned ordinarily by the general public or the government, they are cared for by none. Some, therefore, are lying in the scorching sun, while others are constantly exposed to heavy rains. Some which are looked upon as gods and godlings are continuously washed and besmeared with oil, vermilion and other substances which preserve the bodies of those objects but destroy their souls. Still others are being used for any kind of purposes by the illiterate gentry. But do not think that the material owned by individuals and even institutes fares better. Even educated owners being quite ignorant of the value of the historical material they possess destroy it inadvertently. For ignorance and poverty we cannot blame the owners. But it has already played and is still playing havoc. I know a widow from a respectable family who possesses about 200 royal farmans of the early and later 'Ādilshāhī period ; I have seen them with my own eyes ; but in spite of all my attempts, I have failed to persuade her to bring them to light. In the hilly country of the Deccan, there are old historical families which at present live from hand to mouth and reside in houses not at all better than temporary hutments. As the early members of the families had taken part in the active politics of their times, they possess documents, the value of which as historical material is just like precious gems. They throw a very lucid light on the actions of the past generations of both the rulers and the ruled. But alas! What is their condition? They lie completely uncared for and constantly in the danger of being destroyed through fire, rain, floods and white ants. Thousands of coins are daily being melted by copper-smiths and gold-smiths. Only an insignificant number of them comes to the notice of us—researchers. This is all due to poverty and ignorance. But will you not be shocked to hear that a friend of mine, an England-returned barrister and an honorary magistrate using thousands of sheets of daily returns of the

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Burhanpur bazar (Mandi) for the hobby of preparing paper-pulp baskets? Within an hour I collected a gunny bag of such returns from the top-floor of the house of that friend. I know of another graduate who melted very rare gold coins even when I had definitely advised him not to do so and explained to him how they would bring him more money than the mere bullion value. In the house of a so-called enlightened ruler I have seen stone-inscriptions being used for washing clothes.

If then we are sure that there is very valuable historical material in our country, if the potentialities of getting it are very great and if the danger of losing it is quite imminent, due to the ignorance of its owners about its preciousness, due to their inability to protect and preserve it against natural calamities and human vandalism, whose duty is it then to rescue it from decay and ruin, preserve it for posterity and use it for the proper understanding of history in all its aspects and in its true perspective? Whom will the coming generations hold responsible, if it is not rescued in time and preserved? If I am right the greatest responsibility lies with our republic, with the constituent states, with the universities, with institutes founded with the avowed purpose of the propagation of historical research and with us who claim to be sincere students of history. We cannot blame the foreign British Government, if it has not done much appreciable work in this connection ; for after all it was an alien government. But now that we have attained independance it is the most primary duty of everyone of us to rescue and preserve from further decay and ruin the historical material scattered all over our country.

But what are we doing? The Republic has a well organised records office of its own and material very valuable for our past history has been deposited there. But some states have no organised records offices at all and consequently no deposits of old records. Then there are universities which conduct researches in Indian history and culture, some of which indeed have valuable deposits of manuscripts ; but I have not heard of any university having a very large and valuable collection of archives collected in its research activities. Museums generally collect coins, sculptures, paintings etc., but they pay a very little or practically no attention to manuscripts and records. I have seen some records and manuscripts exhibited in certain museums, government, semi-government and public. But they are deposited there more or less for show and not for research purposes. Still my objection, against the government depositories and semi-government institutes, is that much of their income is eaten up by salaries, routine travelling and allowances of the staff and a very small amount remains for the acquisition of new material. The National Archives of India spends a small amount on acquisition of fresh material ; but does the material acquired by it or its agencies stand any comparison to the material that must be acquired? Moreover if we go on collecting material by purchase at the rates offered by the National Archives or by some states, can we imagine about the money that will be required for salvaging material to our satisfaction? We must have some legislation like that of the Treasure Trove Act or the Land Acquisition Act by which the Government can acquire material of historical value without spending much. Governments know that

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public societies do the same type of work with less money than what Governments spend for the same purpose. Still they would not support such societies properly and allow them to share a part of their responsibility. Governments should concentrate upon doing only that which the public societies and individuals cannot do for want of exorbitant funds.

Then there are public institutes and museums started with not only the object of historical research, but for the advancement and diffusion of knowledge of sciences in all the branches in general. My knowledge about their administration is rather limited and I may be open to correction. Such public institutes generally have become consumptive due to (1) the lack of sufficient support either from the governments or from the public and (2) the unsound policy of conducting them. The organisers of such institutes neither approach the governments nor the public constantly and seriously for the betterment of their financial position, the natural result of which is that the workers starve and their enthusiasm and zeal die. Moreover these organisers generally have hardly any time to work as much as is required for the betterment of the institutes. Besides there are other faults too. All these drawbacks have resulted in the sinking down of public institutes. The general public never enters into the details of the working of institutes but stop their support and allow them to die. I find that only those public societies, where organisers and workers whether honorary or paid are identical, prosper, while others sink down. Unless some radical changes are effected our public institutes will never prosper.

And lastly there are all of us who have gathered here for the cause of our past history and culture. We all profess that we are the honest students of history. But what do we do for our cause? How many of us make at least one sincere effort to rescue historical material from private sources? For it is that material which is in the constant danger of being perished immediately. Some of us met here in 1948. All of us know that Jaipur has a very renowned depositary of archives. Did any of us even wish to have a glance at them at that time? I do not know what we will do this time. Why should they be the monopoly of only a selected few? Few of us are the real devotees of historical research. It is true that all of us must earn money for our maintenance. But earning money and living sumptuously should not be our only goal. We should remain satisfied with the minimum money which we may require and devote ourselves to our cause. But what we generally find is that those who get money even insufficient for mere subsistence, work hard for the cause and those who get sufficiently more than their requirements sit idle and practically do nothing. Unless this anomalous situation is remedied, there will be no new recruits for the cause which is already suffering and will suffer very seriously in the future. But the real danger to all historical research is still ahead. Our future is shrouded in mystery just like our past. A government may come in power which will definitely try to deprive us of our freedom of thought, speech and peaceful action and force us to think, speak and act in a particular way. At that time each one of us and our institutes will have to assert our right of free thinking, speaking and acting at the sacrifice of every-

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thing dear to us. The consumptive historical institutes and pseudo-students of history will at once collapse and fly away from the field at the time.

You all know that in the faculties of sciences every student appearing for either a college or a university examination has to complete a certain course of practicals such as experiments, survey work, dissection, hospital attendance, animal or plant breeding and so on. If practicals constitute quite an integral, essential and indispensable part of the study of various branches of sciences and if without passing them, a student can neither get promotion to a higher class nor a degree, why should then students belonging to the faculties of arts be exempted from practicals in their subjects? I do not know higher mathematics, logic, etc. But I know a bit of history and archaeology. I can assure you that not only it is possible but certainly advisable to prepare a syllabus of practicals in these subjects for all the examinations of colleges and universities. Again if working knowledge of at least one foreign language is deemed necessary for certain degree examinations in sciences, why should the same rule with some modifications be not applied to history and archaeology?

We have neither time nor it is advisable here to enter into the details of such a curriculum of practicals. But if we prepare, lay down and make such a curriculum compulsory, we shall be profited in ways more than one. In the first place we shall not be required to spend any large amounts over this curriculum. It will require at the most only that much amount as is required for practicals in sciences. Secondly, we shall be able to collect a very large amount of new material such as records, manuscripts, paintings, coins, inscriptions on copper and stone, terracottas, pottery and potsherds, beads, structures, sculptures etc., either in original or their copies, estampages, casts and photographs and thus save the material that is in the imminent danger of being lost for ever at the hands of whimsical nature or human vandalism. Thirdly, altogether new archives, spots and sites worth intensive search, exploration and excavation will come to light. Fourthly, students will be gradually trained in the handling of material, methods of research, ways of exploration and the art of excavation. Fifthly, the unemployment problem among the educated ones will become a bit less serious. But the greatest advantage we are likely to reap from such a curriculum is the chance of creating in the minds of at least some more students real and lasting love for the study of history and archaeology which will result in having some historians and archaeologists of the first rank in the world. The view taken by the Calcutta University on a resolution of a similar type passed by the Indian Historial Records Commission in one of its previous sessions (1949) is unfortunately incorrect. For, the preparation of descriptive lists is only one of the several items of the technique of historical research. As a whole the technique is much more complicated than what a layman believes it to be. A patient and continuous application of some years is required to master it.

Sisters and brothers, I have detained you long. I have almost tried your patience. I do not wish to detain you longer. I have touched only some points from the Indian history of this period which I thought important in

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a way I could ; in case of others I could not even do that for want of time. I know there was nothing in my address either new or inspiring or thought-provoking, especially when compared with the twelve addresses that are already before you. Still you listened to it attentively. I heartily thank you for giving me that patient hearing and finish my address with the saying of Jñāneśvara, the greatest poet-saint of Maharashtra,[1]

बाल बापाचां ताटीं रिगे । रिघौनि बापातेंचि जेवउं लागे ॥
किं तो संतोषाचेनि वेगें । मुख ओडवी ॥१५॥
तैसा मीं ज-हीं तुम्हासति । चावटै करितसें बालमती ॥
त-हीं तुम्हीं संतोषिजे ऐसीचि जाति । स्नेहाचि एया ॥१६॥
आणि तेणें आपुलेपणाचेनि मोहें । तुम्हीं संत घेतले आहा बौहें ॥
म्हणौनि केलिये सलगिचा नोहे । भारु तुम्हां ॥९॥२८॥

A baby while dining with her father in the same plate, imitates him in offering morsels and the father leans forward to accept them through love for her. Similarly I have spoken harsh and senseless words ; still you saintly persons will never feel ungratified and never mind them through love for me.

GAJAPATI GAJA-KŪṬAPĀKALA

DR. O. RAMACHANDRAIYA

The term "Gajapati Gaja-Kūṭapākala" is attributed to Kṛṣṇadēvarāya of Vijayanagara in his Hampi epigraph[1] of January 23-24 of 1510 A.D. Kṛṣṇa became king sometime between the months of Vaiśākha[2] and Śrāvaṇa Śu. Thursday of Śaka 1431, Śukla,[3] i.e. between 4th May and July 26 of 1509 A.D. The date of the Hampi epigraph, therefore, could not have been of the anniversary of Kṛṣṇa's coronation, but of the coronation itself.[4] The conviction that the king must have earned his right to all the titles given to him in the inscription and the apparent improbability of so much achievement in so short a time led Mr. N. Krishna Sastri to infer that the inditing of the epigraph was long delayed after the coronation.[5] Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Āyyangar, however, considers that those titles were merely conventional and "much too vague to bear the burden of the inference drawn" that the Rāya, by his previous achievement, must have deserved all those attributes.[6] The Hampi inscription embodies mostly of the usual Tuḷuva Praśasti, but for the insertion of Kṛṣṇa's name, his

1. Edited by Prof. Hultzsch, *Ep.I.*, Vol. I. It is dated in Māgha, Śu. 14 of Śaka 1430 in the cyclic year Śukla. The Śaka year was actually 1431. See Sewell: *F.E.*, p. 120 and *I.A.*, XXIV, p. 205.
2. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 802: When Vīra Nṛsimha was the reigning king.
3. 703 of 1919: When Kṛṣna was holding sway.
4. Prof. Hultzsch is not quite certain of this. See *Ep.I.*, Vol. I, p. 366.
5. *A.S.R.*, 1908-09, p. 175.
6. "Yet—Remembered Ruler of a Long Forgotten Empire": *Hindusthan Review*, Vol. I, 1917, pp. 334-335.

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achievements and the general particulars of the grant. In all the references to the king's munificence to several temples and also to his personal attainments, we need find nothing to push forward the date of the actual incising of the epigraph. But so far it has been rather difficult to find in the events prior to the date on the inscription a justification for the Rāya's title, viz., that he was a fever to the elephants of the Gajapati (Gajapati gajakūṭapākala).

"The eulogy of Krishnarāya which is registered in this inscription," writes Mr. H. Krishna Sastri, "shows that the record must have been actually drawn up some years after the coronation, by which time at least ..... he had conquered the Gajapati king." The conquest of the Gajapati certainly forewent the inscription. The letter was incised by the day of the coronation and there is no reason why the war with the Gajapati should not have preceded it. But Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Āyyangar chooses to doubt the war itself. He writes, "the actual record in question makes no specific reference to the conquest of the Gajapati king ..... The reference to Gajapati is no more than 'who was like fever to the elephants of tht Gajapati'."[7]

We hope we need not deny a war, merely that we do not know something more of it. It is true, Epigraphy does not furnish any further evidence for this war. But Bengali tradition is rich in references to Vijayanagara and they throw more light on this aspect of our enquiry.[8] Rames Babu pleads that "we may give some credit to the statement in the *Caitanya Bhāgavata* and the *Caitanya-Maṅgala* (of Jayānanda) which are unanimous in recording that Pratāparudra attached Vijayanagara about 1510 A.D."[9]

The *Caitanya-Maṅgala* states that Pratāparudra was in Vijayanagara fighting a war.[10] The *Caitanya Bhāgavata* is more informative in that it synchronises this war with Lord Caitanya's visit to Pūri. The passage runs:

"At the time of Iśwara's visit to Nīlācala, Pratāparudra was not in Utkala. He had been to Vijayanagara on war. Hence the Lord did not see him for that once."[11]

When Pratāparudra Gajapati returned from the invasion of Vijayanagara, he had lost more than war. For Lord Caitanya had already left for his South Indian pilgrimage. Months passed before the Master went back to Orissa. It was then that king Pratāparudra paid his homage to Caitanya. Lord temporal bowed down to Lord Spiritual.

We are thus concerned more with the first visit of Caitanya to Pūri. This can be fixed, fairly correctly, with the assistance of *Caitanya-Caritāmṛta*. Nimāi

7. *H.R.*, 1917, Vol. I, pp. 334-5.
8. Mr. R. D. Banerjee went wrong when he wrote "Oriya and Bengali writers do not mention a campaign against Vijayanagara during the reign of his son (Pratāparudra) but do so in his (Purushōttama's) case."—*The Empire of Orissa, I.A.*, 1929. p. 61.
9. *I.H.Q.*, Vol. III, March-December, 1927, p. 262.
10. " . . . . Pratāparudra
Vijayanagare gēla karivārē yuddh."
. . . . . .
11. "Ē samaya Iśvara āyilā Nīlācalē
Takhane Pratāparudra nāhika Utkalē
Yuddharasēgi yaccēn Vijayanagarē
Atayēva Prabhu nā dēkhalen sēyibārē."

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was born of Jagannāth and Śachi, "one evening in February or March 1485 A.D. when there was a lunar eclipse at the same time as the full moon."[12] As he grew up, he developed the tendencies of a hermit and induced Kēshava Bhārathi to initiate him to Sanyāsa. Nimāi, newly born into Sanyāsa, was now named Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya. "He was then 24 years of age."[13] This brings us to the year 1509 A.D. "The Master renounced the world in the bright fortnight of Māgha and came to reside at Pūri in Fālgun (February 20 to March 20, 1509 A.D.). At the end of the month, he witnessed the Swinging Ceremony of Jagannātha . . . . . In Chaitra, he liberated Sārvabhauma. Early in Baiśākh, he wished to travel to the South."[14]

We are thus very fortunately provided with a definite chronology of Lord Caitanya's movements. This travel to the South was early in Baiśākh, *i.e.* April 20-May 18, 1509 A.D. The last known record of Vīra Nṛsimha, brother of Kṛṣṇarāya is dated in Śaka 1431 Sukla and in the month of Vaiśākha. Pratāparudra must have, therefore, invaded Vijayanagara sometime during the last months of Vīra Nṛsimha's reign, or close on his death.

So soon after his accession, Kṛṣṇarāya was confronted with this war with the ruler of Orissa. Available evidence is too scanty to enable us to study the different stages of this war. Pratāparudra does not seem any way gainer for this invasion. His armies broke and fled, leaving Kṛṣṇarāya, the Gajapati Gaja-Kūṭapākala, the victor of the battle-field.[15]

KUMARA KAMPANA IN THE TAMIL COUNTRY

A. Krishnaswami Pillai

One of the little known chapters of Vijayanagar history is the activities of Kumara Kampana in the Tamil country. How the Tamilnad became a part of the Vijayanagar empire needs to be fully worked out. It is an interesting and inspiring theme of historical investigation. The sources for this kind of research work in the history of South India are copious, especially the epigraphical and literary ones. Here an attempt is made to describe briefly the activities of Kumara Kampana or Kampana II in the Tamilnad.

Kumara Kampana was the second son of Bukka I (1355-76 A.D.), the second ruler of the first Vijayanagar dynasty. He was the hero who was responsible for the conquest and consolidation of the Tamil country during

12. *Chaitanya's Life and Teachings,* Trans. from *Chaitanya Charitāmrita,* by J. Sarkar, Intro. p. ix.
13. *Ibid.,* p. xii.
14. *Ibid.,* Chap. V, p. 46.
15. The Hampi Stone Inscription shows the forces that Kṛṣṇarāya had to contend against before he could secure the throne of Vijayanagara. In them perhaps lay the secret of Sāluva Timma's anxiety that Kṛṣṇa and not the minor son of Vīra Nṛsimha should obtain the kingdom. The titles गजपतिगज कुटपाकल and परिभूतसुरत्राण demonstrate how admirably Kṛṣṇarāya combated the enemies and in that very process laid the foundation for the further expansion of the empire.

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the reign of his father. His example was followed by the later sovereigns of Vijayanagar. Kumara Kampana was not merely a political conqueror but he came to Southern India as the restorer of the indigenous culture and the preserver of the ancient religion. The Muslim invasions from the North, beginning from the time of Allauddin Khilji, had brought untold misery and misfortune to the ancient royal dynasties of South India. The Chola Empire was no more, the Pandyan kingdom had become a thing of the past and the Hoysala ruler Ballala III who tried his best to save South India from the tyranny of the Sultans of Madura fell in the battle of Kannanurkoppam. The South Indian temples had been plundered and desecrated, their untold wealth carried away and their magnificence and grandeur destroyed. The exact condition of the Tamil country before the advent of Kumara Kampana could be gleaned from the famous work called *Kamparaya Charitam* by Gangādevī. The mysterious lady who appeared before Kampana while he was at Vrinchipuram told him as follows:

"O King! The place known as Vyagrapuri (Chidambaram) has become truly so, for tigers inhabit now where men once dwelt. The Vimana of the Srirangam temple is so dilapidated that now it is the hood of Adhisesha alone which is protecting the image of Sri Ranganatha from the falling debris. The Lord of Gajaranya (Thiruvanaikkavu) who once killed an elephant to obtain its skin for his garment has now again been reduced to that condition because he is stripped of all clothing. The Garbagraha and mandapa of many temples are crumbling and the doors of many other temples are eaten up by white ants. Where there resounded once the joyful music of mridangam there is now heard the howling of the jackals."[1]

The above description of the temples in the Tamil country though poetic in character cannot be regarded as opposed to facts of history. What applied to the condition of the temples may also be applied to the political condition of the Tamil country. It was an age of small autocratic states ruled over by independent chieftains who refused to recognise a supreme authority. To put it more explicitly there was no supreme power which could control the petty states. Of these small states which existed in the region south of the Tiruvengadam hills two claim our attention for the present purpose. They were the Tondaimandalam region under the Sambuvarayas and the Madura Sultanate. The Sambuvarayas held sway in the present Chingleput, North Arcot and portions of South Arcot districts. The Sultans of Madura ruled over the present Trichinopoly, Madura and Ramnad districts. It is necessary that the history of these two states must be sketched for the proper understanding of Kampana's conquest of the Tamil country.

The Sambuvarayas of Tondaimandalam

The Sambuvaraya chieftains were once the feudatories of the Chola monarchs. Since the extinction of Chola rule from the time of Raja Raja III the Sambuvaraya chieftains became prominent. The earliest ruler of

1. *Madhuravijayam* by Gangadevi, Introduction.

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this minor dynasty was Sengeniminden Ahmallen Sambuvarayan. He was a contemporary of Kulottunga III. In the 8th regnal year of Kulottunga III, this Sambuvaraya made a gift of taxes to the Tiruvallam temple near Conjeevaram.[2] The most important ruler of this Sambuvaraya family was Rajagambira Sambuvaraya. An inscription of his at Padaivedu in North Arcot district mentions that in 1258 A.D. he became independent of the Chola ruler and refused to pay him tribute.[3] During his rule, the Tondaimandalam region came to be called Rajagambirarajyam. He was succeeded by one Virasola Sambuvarayan in 1322 A.D. and he assumed the title of Sakalalogachakravarthi Venrumangonda Sambuvaraya. These titles may be regarded as too much for a petty ruler. But in those far off days any chieftain could add to his name any kind of title. According to inscriptional evidence[4] he ruled up to 1338 A.D. and during this period the Sambuvaraya state attained the zenith of its power. All his neighbours were afraid of him and even the attempts of the Rayas of Vijayanagar to expand their rule southwards was unsuccessful. He was succeeded by his son Rajanarayana Sambuvaraya (1338-1366 A.D.) who also assumed the prefix to his name Sakalalogachakravarthin. His inscriptions are found at Kanchipuram, Mahabalipuram, Padaivedu, Vellore and Tirupputkuli. It was during his rule that Kumara Kampana invaded the Tamil country.

An exact description of Kumara Kampana's campaign against Rajanarayana Sambuvaraya is found in the famous book *Kamparaya Charitam*. According to that valuable source of information Bukka I ordered his son Kumara Kampana to march against the Tundira country (Tondaimandalam) and after defeating Sambuvaraya, to conquer Kanchipuram. Then he was ordered to proceed against the Sultans of Madura. According to the instructions of his father Kampana started on his famous expedition to the South from his headquarters at Mulbagal. He crossed the Andhra districts from Mulbagal within five days and reached the banks of the river Palar. There the forces of the Tamil chieftain Rajanarayana Sambuvaraya met those of Kumara Kampana. The forces of Sambuvaraya were defeated and they fled for safety to their citadel Rajagambiram (Padaivedu). Kampana proceeded against that place also and besieged the fort. When pressed hard, Sambuvaraya came out of the fort sword in hand and there was a duel between him and Kumara Kampana. The poem *Kamparaya Charitam* mentions that in the duel, Sambuvaraya was killed.[5] But Mr. T. V. Sadasiva Pandarathar in his article on the 'Sambuvarayas' says that Kumara Kampana after defeating Rajanarayana showed his magnanimity by restoring the kingdom to him and accepted tribute.[6] The latter's opinion is more reliable since Kumāra Kampana assumed the title of "Sambuvaraya Sthapanacharya."

After the defeat and restoration of the Sambuvaraya chieftain at Padaivedu, Kampana proceeded to Kanchi and Virinchipuram and took rest during the

2. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, No. 60.
3. T. V. Sadasiva Pandarathar: Article on 'Sambuvarayas' in *Tamil Pozhil*, Vol. 2.
4. *Madras Epigraphical Report*, 1911.
5. S. K. Iyengar: *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 23.
6. T. V. S. Pandarathar: *Tamil Pozhil*, Vol. 2.

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rainy season. It was here according to Madhuravijayam that a mysterious lady appeared before Kampana and after describing to him disastrous consequences of the Muslim invasions of the south and the sad plight of the Tamil country and its temples, exhorted him to destroy the invaders and to restore the country to its ancient glory. She also presented to Kampana a divine sword which, she said, would give him victory over the Sultan of Madura.

The Sultanate of Madura

The history of the Sultanate of Madura is an interesting but at the same time a horrible one. According to Ibn-Batuta, Muhammad Tuglaq appointed Sheriff Jalaluddin Ahsan Shah to be the Governor of Ma'bar which became one of the provinces of his vast empire. This Jalaluddin rebelled and usurped the ruling power, killed the lieutenants and agents of the Sultan and struck in his own name gold and silver coins.[7] But Ahsan Shah was assassinated by one of his nobles in 1340 A.D. and was succeeded by another noble called Allauddin-Udaji. He ruled for a year and after a successful war with the Hindus of Madura, was killed on the spot by an arrow from an unknown hand. A son-in-law of his who assumed the title of Qutbuddin succeeded him. He was killed within forty days of his accession and his successor was one Ghiathuddin Dhamagani, originally a trooper in the service of the Delhi Sultan. Ghiathuddin, according to Ibn-Batuta, was a fiend in human shape and the atrocities of his rule are well depicted by Ibn-Batuta.

It was during the reign of Ghiathuddin that the Hoysala ruler Vira Vallala III made his final attempt to destroy the Muslim rule in the south. As fortune would have it, though almost successful in his attempt, yet he was captured alive and put to death horribly at Kannanur-Koppam. Soon after his return to Madura Ghiathuddin lost his only son, his wife and mother by an attack of cholera and himself died a fortnight later. Ghiathuddin was succeeded by his nephew, Nazr-ud-din who had been a servant of Muhammad Tuglaq at Delhi from where he fled to his uncle at Madura. He ascended the throne of his uncle by a lavish distribution of gold to the nobles. One of Nazir-ud-din's first acts was the killing of a son of his paternal aunt because he was the husband of Ghiathuddin's daughter. Having murdered the husband he married the widow. The successors of Nadir-ud-din were Adil Shah (1356-57 A.D.), Fakruddin Mubarak Shah (1357-58 A.D.) and Allauddin Sikander Shah (1358-77 A.D.).

The rule of the Sultans of Madura from 1335 to 1377 A.D. may be regarded as the worst period in the history of South India. The difficulties which the people, their religion and culture had to experience had been well attested to by Ibn-Batuta. The tyrannical rule of the Madura Sultans was put an end to by Kumara Kampana. After subduing the Sambuvaraya chieftain, Kampana marched southwards, helped by his friend, Saluva Mangu. Gangā-devi describes the Sultan of Madura who was defeated by Kampana as "one

7. S K. Iyengar: *South India under Muslim Invaders.*

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who reduced to a low condition, the Cola and Pandya by his valour, who proved to be the hatchet to the creeper, the prosperity of the Ballala."[8] Dr. S. K. Iyengar interprets this statement and comes to the conclusion that Ballala referred to was Ballala IV, and the Sultan of Madura who was defeated by Kampana was Nazir-ud-din, the successor of Ghiathuddin. He would date Kampana's expedition to Madura prior to 1358 A.D.[9] But Father Heras, on the strength of the coins of the last Sultan of Madura, pushes back the date of Kampana's expedition to Madura to 1377 A.D.[10] Mr. T. V. S. Pandarathar thinks that the invasion of Kumara Kampana against Madura would have taken place before 1346.[11] But a careful study of the inscriptions during the time of Kumara Kampana would convince anybody that none of these dates may be regarded as correct. I have studied all the inscriptions relating to the reign-period of Kumara Kampana in the South. Many of these inscriptions are dated in the Saka era, but some contain only the name and month of the cyclic year. The earliest inscription which mentions about Kampana's rule in the South comes from Chittoor district and gives the Saka era 1283 which corresponds to 1361 A.D. The latest records mentioning about Kumara Kampana are found at Tirupullani (Ramnad district) dated 1374 A.D. and at Tirupparaithurai, Trichinipoly district (1374 A.D.) Therefore Kumara Kampana was active in South India between the years 1360-1375 A.D. for about fifteen years. It must be between 1370 and 1375 A.D. that Kampana fought against and defeated the Sultan of Madura.

Father Heras in his *Aravidu Dynasty*, says, "one of the most transcendental acts of Kumara Kampana in the South was the restoration of the Pandya ruler to the Madura kingdom. He made enquiries concerning the members of the Pandyan royal family and their respective rights. The result of this enquiry was the coronation of Somasekhara Pandya as the ruler of Madura."[12] But this conclusion is based upon local chronicles and is not supported by epigraphical evidence. The name Somasekhara Pandya is unknown to the genealogical lists of the Pandya rulers. Further there is in existence till the year 1377 A.D., a coin of the Sultan of Madura. Therefore, Kumara Kampana's restoration of the Pandyas to their ancestral throne is a myth. Inscription No. 64 of 1916 is helpful in solving the problem. The substance of the record is, "The times were 'Tulukkan' times. The *devadana* lands of the temples were taxed with the *kudimai*.[13] However, the temple worship had to be conducted without any reduction. The cultivation of the temple lands was done by turns by the tenants of the village. At this juncture Kampana Udaiyar came on his southern expedition, destroyed the Tulukkans and established orderly government throughout the country. He appointed many Nayakkanmars for inspection and supervision so that the worship in all temples might be revived as of old."

8. S. K. Iyengar: *South India under Muslim Invaders.*
9. *Ibid.*, p. 182.
10. Father Heras: *Aravidu Dynasty*, p. 106.
11. T. V. S. Pandarathar: *History of the Pandyas in Tamil*, p. 156.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 106-107.
13. A kind of tax.

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So far, I have tried to narrate the political achievements of Kumara Kampana in the Tamil country and it is clear that he was completely successful in his attempt. But the conquest of the Tamil country alone was not his main object. He came to the South as the champion of Hinduism and as the preserver of the South Indian temples. The temples at Madura, Srirangam, Kannanur, Chidambaram and Conjeevaram were left uncared for during the period after the decline of the second Pandya empire and the establishment of the Vijayanagar empire. Therefore it became an important duty of Kumara Kampana and his friends and officers to see that the temples of South India were restored, preserved and protected.

The first duty of Kumara Kampana after defeating and killing the Sultan of Madura was to restore the daily services in the famous temple at Madura. The Pandyan Chronicle gives a very interesting account of this incident. "Kumara Kampana Udaiyar, a native of Karnataka, having conquered the Muslims, took possession of Madura. He opened the Siva and Vishnu temples which had been locked up for a long time. After opening the temple of Minakshi, he obtained a personal view of the goddess. Things were found precisely as on the day when the temple was closed. The lamp that was lighted on that day, the sandalwood powder, the garland of flowers and the ornaments usually placed on the morning of festival days were now found exactly as they were before. Kampana on seeing this miracle, was glad, closed his eyes and with great piety made the customary offerings. He gave many villages to the temples and introduced ordinances for the regular performance of worship."[14]

The next temple that was restored to its former grandeur was that of Srirangam. During the invasion of Malik-Kafur and Muhammad-bin-Tuglaq, the idol of Sri Ranganatha had experienced difficult and painful incidents. Due to the religious fervour of a Srivaishnava of Srirangam and his son, the idol was carried from place to place in South India and was kept secretly in a cave in the holy hills of Thiruvengadam. It was Goppanaraya, the Governor of Senji and an important officer of Kumara Kampana, who drove the Muslim governor of Samayavaram near Trichinopoly and re-installed the idol of Sri Ranganatha at Srirangam. Before he did so, he brought it safely from Tirupathi and kept it in the rock-cut shrine at Singavaram. Then, in an opportune moment, he marched with an army to Samayavaram, defeated the Muslim governor there and restored worship in the temple at Srirangam. This glorious achievement of Goppanaraya is testified to by his Srirangam inscription. He was a Brahman officer belonging to the Apastamba Sutra and Bharadwaja Gotra.

This was not the only achievement of Goppanaraya. He was appointed by Kampana as the Governor of Senji Province and also as the general supervisor of temple affairs in South India. Inscriptions No. 86, 87 and 88 of Vol. I of *South India Inscriptions* mention the part played by Goppanaraya at Kanchipuram. In these records he is mentioned as *Koppanangal* which is

14. Taylor: *Oriental Historical Manuscripts.*

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only a Telugu version of Goppanaraya. No. 86 refers to Kampana as the lord of the eastern and western oceans and his officer Koppanangal restored the lands which once belonged to the Rajasimheswara temple. The lands had been sold away by the temple authorities to Anakathangavatham shrine. In Saka 1286, Goppana ordered that the lands should be restored to tht former temple. Inscription No. 87 belonging to the same year, records that with the approval of Koppanagal, the authorities of the Rajasimheswara shrine at Kanchi sold some houses in the northern row of the Sannadhi street to certain Mudalis for 150 panams. No. 88, dated Saka 1291 mentions that during the reign of Kumara Kampana, with the approval of Koppanangal the temple anthorities gave a *mutt* near the temple and some lands to a certain Gangarayar of Thirumudukunram (Viruddachalam). No. 52 of 1905 is an inscription found at Dalavanur temple in South Arcot district. It registers the grant of land by Saluva Mangu in accordance with a letter received from Goppana. According to the inscription the correct name of the village is Thalaivinallur.

Other great officers of Kumara Kampana who helped him in the tremendous task of establishing peace and security in the Tamil country were Vittappar of Anegondi, the treasurer, and Somappa Udaiyar, the Mahapradhani. Both these officers are mentioned in an inscription at Kurmayi in Chittoor district dated Saka 1283.[15] According to this inscription, these two officers issued an order to Meydevar who was the subordinate treasury officer in Pulinadu, to assign certain duties in kind on all articles that passed through his province for the benefit of the Vishnu temple at Kurmayi. The treasurer Vittappar was appointed as the royal officer in the Siva temple at Tiruvottiyur in Saka 1290. He found that the servants of the temple had struck work owing to differences between them. Vittappar enquired of the Virasolanukkar and the Kaikolars concerning the cause of this strike and called a meeting of the *Srirudras, Maheswaras, Isabhattaliyas and Devaradiyars* in the Vyakarnamandapa of the Tiruvottiyur temple. Then he settled a procedure in the matter of order of service to be followed by them in temple service. But the question was not finally settled. Three years afterwards under the orders of Kampana Udaiyar these people had to meet again in the same hall presided over by an officer called Punaiyirunda Nambi Kongarayar. This time it was successfully settled.

Besides the above, other instances could also be mentioned to prove the beneficent activities of the officers of Kumara Kampana in the Tamil country. No. 255 of 1935 from Tirukkoilur gives the information that one Maraya Nayaka, the son of Somappa Dandanayaka executed repairs to the temple at Tirukkoilur. Another inscription dated Saka 1289 records the gift of land for the maintenance of one Kattanainan of Pidavur, singing the sacred hymns before the deity of Nerkunram and is signed at the end by Goppamangal who is evidently no other than Goppanaraya. No. 162 of 1936 dated Saka 1294 comes from Kannanur, the capital of the Hoysalas in the

15. No. 309 of Appendix B. *M.E.R.*, 1913.

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Tamil country. It mentions that the temple of Poysaleswaram Udaiyar was demolished up to its sacrosanctum and converted into a mosque by the Muslims during their occupation of the temple. After Kampana's conquest of Madura, the temple at Kannanur was restored and reconsecrated for worship.

It is clear from the above literary and epigraphical evidences that Kumara Kampana aided by his officers such as Saluva Mangu, Goppanaraya and Somappa, was responsible for the restoration of peace and order in the Tamil country both in the political and religious fields.

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SECTION IV

LATER MEDIEVAL PERIOD

1526—1764 A. D.

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'ABDU-R-RAHIM KHAN-E-KHANAN, SUBADAR OF GUJARAT

DR. C. R. NAIK

History resolves itself very easily into the biography of a few stout and earnest persons. In every age there have been men who have risen head and shoulders above their contemporaries. It was such men-soldiers, statesmen, rulers, poets, scholars, priests and philanthropists—who initiated new movements in history and led men for good or evil. Such was 'Abdu-r-Rahim Khān-e-khānān who represented a unique synthesis of all the worthy sons of the worthy father, Bairām Khān, the Bismark of the age of Akbar.

Providence blessed the old father with this only son in A.D. 1556 when his fortune shone the most resplendently. But only three years after this, the estrangement between him and Akbar came about, which terminated in the death of the father and the commencement of the adventurous career of the son.

It seems that fate invited Bairām Khān to make a halt at Pattan (otherwise called Nehrawālah or Anhilwāda, the ancient capital of Gujarat) *en route* to Mecca via Surat in order to drink the draught of martyrdom,[1] with 'Allāh-o-Akbar' on his lips, at the hands of some Afghān ruffians. In the suite of Bairām Khān there was also his only son of four summers, who was miraculously saved from the clutches of the barbarians, to live long and turn out a *grandee* of the first rank to render glorious services to the land of Gujarat.

The greatest of the Mughal emperors was really great in not viewing the misdeeds of Bairām Khān in the last part of his life because the latter had been the most brilliant star in the constellation that illumined his court. On hearing the sad news of his forcible removal from the world, Akbar issued a summons that ran thus, "Console 'Abdu-r-Rahim and bring him to the royal presence with care and caution."[2] When the orphan was brought before him, he seated him on his lap and fondled him with streams of tears running over his face.

Akbar made adequate arrangements for his training and education in the same way as for his own son and as the boy possessed extraordinary talents, he, in the course of time, turned out to be a versatile poet, prolific writer, consummate scholar, astute politician, able administrator and cautious commander.

When 'Abdu-r-Rahim reached the age of discretion, the second royal favour that he received was the title of Mirzā Khān.[3]

The first opportunity that he got to renew his old relations with Gujarat was when Akbar launched his successful expedition in A.D. 1572, at the solicitation of Itimād Khān, the prime minister of Sultan Muzaffarshah III (A.D. 1561-72) of Gujarat, for quelling the long-standing anarchy since the

1. This is one of the twentyfour ways of becoming a martyr. He is accounted as one because he was on his way to Mecca.
2. Muhammad Husain Saheb Āzād, *Darbar-e-Akbari*, p. 569 (Urdu).
3. *Ma'āsiru-l-Umara*, Vol. I, p. 694 (Persian). This is the reason why historians write Mirzā Khān for him in the early part of his life.

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assassination (A.D. 1561) of Ahmadshāh II. The kind-hearted emperor purposely vouchsafed to give the boy a chance to pay a holy visit to the sepulchre[4] of his father. In his graciousness the emperor made over to him as 'jagir' that very Pattan, the district of Gujarat.

After making administrative arrangements and conferring the viceroyalty on Mirzā 'Aziz Koka', he left the place with Mirzā Khān on the 10th April 1573. But hardly had they reached Fatehpur Sikri in June 1573 when disconcerting reports about a fresh insurrection in Gujarat were received. The young sovereign of 36 with Mirzā Khān (according to Nizāmu-d-din Ahmad,[5] a lad of great parts and promise aged only sixteen) started back, on the 23rd August, the historic journey of great rapidity on swift she-camels with a tiny force and travelling through the stifling heat of Rajputana covered up the distance of two months within an unbelievable period of nine[6] clear days.

Faizi in his 'masnawi' (epic-poem) describing the expedition says,

بیک هفته در احمد آباد رفت * تو گوئی شهنشاه که چون باد رفت

: (Within a week, he reached Ahmedabad ; you may say, the emperor posted like wind). Perhaps, Faizi did not reckon the day of departure and the day of arrival. If not so, no historian can impeach an authority possessing a poetic licence. On reaching Bālisānā between Pattan and Ahmedabad, Akbar, dividing the army of Gujarat into three brigades gave over to Mirzā Khān the command of the centre which was generally held by himself. The big experienced veterans, who upto the time shone like bright planets in the battlefield paled before him when he exhibited his valour in destroying the power of the sturdy rebel at Sarnāl. It was from this time that for all the royal affairs the emperor's attention began to turn to Mirzā Khān to seek his weighty judgment.

Subsequent to the resignation of Mirzā 'Aziz Koka in A.D. 1575, Akbar thought it proper to confer the governorship of the province on Mirzā Khān whom he considered as the only person capable of maintaining order and tranquility. In A.D. 1576 when only nineteen years of age, he took charge of this administrative responsibility. People heaved sighs of relief during his successful 'subādār'-*ship* of two years. Akbar was quite happy to learn that all was going well in Gujarat. So he called him to the capital and deputed him at Mewār. Thereafter he exalted him to the office of Mir Ard[7] in A.D. 1580 as a reward for his glorious services in Gujarat and Mewār.

To control a vast province—full of rebellious Mirzās, required a very efficient and capable administrator. So Mirzā Khān's back had turned and the movement had started, which ultimately broke out in the form of dissensions all over Gujarat in A.D. 1583. There was no other alternative for Akbar but to appoint again Mirzā Khān as the Subādār there.

4. His remains were still there. They were removed to Mashhad in A.D. 1577.
5. *Tabaqāt-e-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 264 (Persian).
6. 'Abdu-l-Bāqi Nahāwandi, *Ma'asir-e-Rahimi*, Vol. II, p. 221 (Persian). Sikandar bin Muhammad, *Mirāt-e-Sikandari*, p. 371 (Persian).
7. The charge of thousands of petitions addressed to the emperor.

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In the 'farmān' that was issued by the emperor to the effect, he addressed him as *'farzand'* in the following manner[8]:—

عمـدة الملـک، رکن السلطنـة العليـة، مؤتمن الخلافـة الجهيـة لايق العنايات السلطانية
قابل الرعايات الخاقانيـة، فرزند عبد الرحيم -

: (The prop of the kingdom, the pillar of the sublime sovereignty, the trusted one of the glorious 'khilafat'—(vice-regency), deserving imperial favours, worthy of royal graces, 'farzand, 'Abdu-r-Rahim').

Mirzā Khān on receiving it reached the place of action and vanquished the chief rebel Muzaffar severely at Sarkhej about five miles from Ahmedabad and he utterly smashed his opposition in the second skirmish at Nādot near Broach.

In recognition of these two consecutive victories, Akbar granted him the coveted title of the Khān-e-Khānān (the Lord of Lords) in A.D. 1584.

Thereafter he continued as the 'Subādār' of Gujarat upto the year A.D. 1587.

Abu-l-Fazl[9] writes in his *Akbarnāmah,* 'He (Mirzā Khān) had always wished for a son and had been impatient in his seeking for one. When he was in Gujarat, His Majesty said one night to the writer (Abu-l-Fazl) when you write a 'farman' styling him 'Khān-e-Khānān', say in it that the law-giving Deity will soon give him three sons and that he is to name them Iraj, Dārab and Qāran.'' This imperial blessing was duly fulfilled.[10]

So much for his political achievements and personal gain, while he was in Gujarat. Now let us review what he did for her.

After the notorious incident of Karan Ghela (Karan, the Mad) who in trying to satisfy his lower self had brought the Hindu Raj to an end in Gujarat, there had always been unrest and disorder. The Subādārs appointed from Delhi by the Khalji and Taghlaq kings and thereafter the 'sultans' of Gujarat had sufficiently tried to propagate Islam and not a few of them had indulged themselves in oppressing people and converting temples into mosques. After Akbar took up the reins of the government of Gujarat, there was nothing of the kind.

There were in all fifty-nine Mughal 'Subādārs' who ruled over Gujarat, but the Gujaratis can count upon 'Abdu-r-Rahim Khān-e-Khānān only as their real well-wisher and benefactor.

As a 'Subādār', or 'jagirdār' or in any capacity, wherever Mirza Khān was required to stay for a longer or shorter period subject to royal orders, his aesthetic instinct played its part. As a result, he left behind him so many monuments in India, which are reckoned among the finest and most worthy of study from the architectural point of view. But his special interest in Gujarat and his high sense of architecture were best revealed in all that he built in Gujarat. The Bāgh-e-Fath or Fath-Bāgh[11] (the Garden of Victory) that he made on the battle-field of Sarkhej to commemorate his victory over Muzaffar Khān was a wonderful piece of architecture.

8. 'Abdu-l-Bāqi Nahāwandi', *Ma'asir-e-Rahimi,* Vol. II, p. 113.
9. *Akbarnamah,* Vol. III, p. 582 (Persian).
10. He had many more over and above these.
11. Now known as *Fatehwadi* by the people of Gujarāt.

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'Abdu-l-Bāqi Nahawandi wrote in A.D. 1617 about it, "It became celebrated for its beauty, decency and freshness in the fourth inhabited part of the world. Now it is a place of recreation for the people of Ahmedābad."[12]

The following forms part of the eloquent verses composed by the poet Hakim Azraqi in description of this garden:

بگشتي چو انديشهٔ مرد عاشق * بغوبی چو رخسارهٔ يار دلبر
بيک سوی اين باغ خرم سرای * پر از صفّه و کاخ و ايوان و منظر
نگويم که عين بهشت است ليکن * بهشت است اندر سرای مکرر

(In strolling like the fancy of a lover, in beauty like the cheeks of the sweet-heart.
On one side of the garden a pleasant edifice with couches, storeys, porticoes and balconies.
I do not say it is the very paradise, but it is the paradise in another world).

On account of the magnetic influence of the august name of the builder the place continued to attract visitors, among whom was Jahangir himself. He visited the place[13] in response to the invitation of Khairu-n-Nisa, the daughter of the Khān-e-Khānān, in A.D. 1617 while returning from the Deccan in the season of autumn. He was surprised to see the blooming and blossoming garden with trees and plants yielding fruits and flowers. On touching, the mystery was solved ; that it was the art of paper and wax and not the nature that pleased his sight so much. His remark was, "The preparation of the garden alone might have cost two lacs of rupees"[14] (of course, during those days).

John Albert de Mandelso, the German traveller, arrived at this place in October A.D. 1638. His description[15] deserves to be reproduced as it is fuller than any given by Persian historians or other European travellers:

"This garden which, no doubt, is the most delightful of any in the Indies, is also the most considerable of any in the whole country, not only in respect of the victory which the Mogul gained in that place over the last king of Guzuratta, and which gave it the name of Zzietbāg (*Jitbāg*), that is, the garden of victory ; but also in respect of its magnificent structures and the noble fruits which grow there in great abundance. It is seated in one of the most pleasant places in the world, upon the side of a great pool, having on the side towards the water, several pavillions and on that towards Ahmedabad, a very high wall. The sumptuousness of the buildings speaks the great spirit of the Prince that founded it, as doth also the caravansarai, adjoining thereto."

"There are in the garden many alleys of fruit trees: as orange and citron-trees of all sorts ; pomegranate trees, date trees, almond trees, mulberry trees and trees which bear tamarinds, mangoes and cocos, besides many other not known to us ; and there was such abundance of them, and they were planted

12. *Ma'asir-e-Rahimi*, Vol. II, p. 239.
According to De Lact's *Empire of the Great Mogol*, there was a magnificent palace with a garden around it.
13. Jahangir, *Tuzuk-e-Jahangiri*, p. 216.
14. Ali Muhammad Khān, *Mirāt-e-Ahmadi* (1754), Pt. II, pp. 192-93.
15. M. S. Commissariat, *Mandelso's Travels in Western India*, pp. 47-48.

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so close, that we could walk about the garden in the shade, which was a great refreshing to us. The branches of all these trees were infinitely stored with apes which added not a little to the divertisement and satisfaction of our walk."

Many a contemporary historian like Badāuni, Abdu-l-Bāqi Nahawandi, and Nizāmu-d-Din Ahmad declared that the Khān-e-Khānān was a refuge of the learned. He was a shining orb in the horizon of literary patronage at the Mughal Empire. His hospitability was universal without any bias of religion, caste and creed. Akbar, no doubt, was eminent among the Asiatic monarchs ; but as far as the literary patronage and benevolent pieces of work were concerned, the Khān-e-Khānān was pre-eminent. The Persian work, *Māāsir-e-Rahimi* proves that he was the Maecenas of Akbar's age and according to Ramachandra Shukla,[16] he was the Karna of his time. The moonlike effect of his literary patronage influenced the poets and prose writers of Persia to such an extent that their tide overflooded the court of this nobleman. Following verses of the poet, Kausari,[17] as if an open daring challenge to Shah 'Abbās, the contemporary monarch of Persia, gives an idea of it:—

که در ایران کسی نایـد پدیـدار * که باشد جنس معنی را خریـدار
در ایـران تلخ گشتـه کام جانـم * بـبایـد شـد سوی هندوستانـم
چو قطـره جانب عمـان فرستم * متـاع خود بهندوستـان فـرستـم
که نبود در سخنـدانان دوران * خریـدار سخن جـز خانخانـان

(That in Persia no one comes within sight, who is a customer of the commodity of meaning.

In Persia the palate of my soul has become bitter.

Go I ought towards Hindustan. Like a drop towards the ocean I may send,

I may send my commodity to India.

For there is not among the learned of the age

The customer of speech except the Khān-e-Khānān).

Gujarat had the pleasure of having numerous nightingales of Persia and parrots of India in its pleasant and fertile land, singing melodious songs in the library which the ardent taste of the Khān-e-Khānān for valuable and interesting manuscripts induced him to establish in Ahmedabad in A.D. 1583. He spared neither pains nor money in developing it. The wonderful speciality of it was that there were preserved in it the 'diwans' in the hand of the poets themselves. On its staff were poets like Naziri Nishapuri and Mulla Shakibi, calligraphists like Shuja's of Shiraz and Mulla 'Abdu-r-Rahim entitled *'Ambarin Qalam of Herat,* gilders like Muhammad Amin Khurāsāni drawing the monthly salary of Rs. 4,000/-, expert Hindu portrait-painters like Mañdā, and Mádhu. translators like Mulla Muhammad Ali Kashmiri, etc. To enumerate all is beyond the scope of the paper. Shamsu-l-Ulama Hafiz Ahmed Khān Sāheb, the assistant curator of the Indian Museum, Calcutta says "Almost all the famous

16. *Hindi Sahitya Kā Itihas,* p. 220.
17. In the *Masnavi Farhad-o-Shirin* (Persian).

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libraries in India, which I have had the honour to visit contain some manuscripts bearing the autograph notes of the Khān-e-Khānān which evidently belonged to his library."[18]

The Khān-e-Khānān was the first person to introduce the 'Mushā'arahs' into Gujarat. The centre for the same was the library. A 'Tarah' was given and the Mushā'arah' was held. All the poets working there took part and among them the conspicuous figure was 'Abdu-r-Rahim himself who was a poet of no mean order. The varied and splendid education that he was liberally provided with by Akbar made him one of the first minds of the age. He was a master of Persian, Arabic, Turki, Sanskrit and Hindi. Nay, he was a vigorous prose writer and facile versifier in all these languages. He was among the first grade poets with the nom-de-plume Rehmān as well as Rahim. His position among the Muslim Hindi poets tops the list and in general, if he is not among the first nine, he certainly deserves to be among the first fourteen. His Hindi verses on morals are much admired. He had an unflinching faith in the Hindu religion and was a devotee of Shree Krishn.[19] There are so many 'ślokas' composed by him in Sanskrit.

The Fath-Bāgh and the library bestowed glory upon Gujarat but the Khān-e-Khānān was never careless about the means of comfort and pleasure for Gujaratis. He learnt that people were inconvenienced in travelling by water. So at the port of Surat which was the main port and which was, according to Mulla 'Abdu-l-Bāqi Nahawāndi, the best port of the world during those days, he arranged from his private purse for three ships named 'Rahimi', 'Karimi' and 'Salari' for the pilgrims to Mecca and Madina as well as for travellers in general.

'Abdu-l-Bāqi Nahawandi eulogises the arrangement in the words, "Never had such a kind of munificence been practised in the past by any 'Sultan' or 'Subādār' or 'Mirzā' nor will any be able to do so."[21]

Among his several benevolent works, he got prepared one pleasant and charming garden of the Irani fashion with immensely beautiful fruit and flower trees and plants including the much-praised 'Sarv' (cypress), 'chenar' (poplar), 'gul' (rose) and others of India, Persia and Turkey, running streams and rippling reservoirs all set against the incomparable background of the silver waters of the river, when Surat was in his 'jagir'. As it was situated on the river bank, it became a place of morning and evening recreations for the pleasure-seeking people of Surat who are still proverbially known by the name Surati-Lalās.

Another piece of his benefaction was the construction of 'hammāms' (bathrooms). It is said that the Khān-e-Khānān was the first person to introduce the hammāms of the Irani type into India. Also he was the first to build in Gujarat the hammāms for the poor public inclusive of beggars and 'fakirs'. Probably the 'hammāms' at the localities now known as the 'Nani (small) ham-

18. The Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. XVI, University of Calcutta, pp. 58-62.
19. *Mayāshankar Yagnik-Rahim Ratnāwali*, p. 14 (Hindi).
20. *Ma'āsir-i-Rahimi*, Vol. II, p. 611.
21. *Ma'āsir-e-Rahimi*, Vol. II, p. 611.

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māms' and 'Moti (big) hammāms' in Ahmedabad were the offshoots of the charity of this Rahim.

These are only a few from amongst the many benevolent works done in Gujarat by 'Abdu-r-Rahim Khān-e-Khānān, the one amongst the nine gems: *nav-ratna* in the court of Akbar. He managed the disorderly affairs there to the entire satisfaction of the people with his far-reaching statesmanship, efficiency of organization and instinctive perception of what was practicable and most profitable under the circumstances.

He wished for the prosperity and welfare of Gujarat upto the end of his life in A.D. 1627. It was always uppermost in his mind that he owed this land all that he owned.

SOCIETY AND CULTURE UNDER THE SETUPATIS

S. NATARAJAN

The history of the Setupatis extending over nearly three centuries is of peculiar interest because of their patronage to Tamil literature and their success in maintaining peace and order in the Ramnad country during one of the most troublesome and confused period in recent South Indian history. In short, their rule bridges the hiatus between the Nayak rule at Madura and the establishment of British supremacy in the land. In this article an attempt is made to give a description of the social life of the people of the Ramnad kingdom during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The bulk of the population was composed of the Maravas who were probably the oldest caste in the country. Mr. Kanakasabai Pillai states that they were a branch of the Nagas.[1] Traditions regarding the origin of the caste are numerous. But they are all fictitious and do not lead us anywhere in determining their nationality. All these legends point to the conclusion that they were all of low origin. The "VALANGAI-IDANGAI-JATHI-VARALARU"—a Tamil Manuscript preserved in the Madras Oriental Manuscripts Library—also states that their status was low. Jesuit letters confirm this.[2]

The *Marava Jathi Varnanam* gives a fairly exhaustive account of the Maravas.[3] It says that there were seven well-marked divisions of the caste, viz.,

(*i*) The Sembu-nattu Maravas
(*ii*) The Kondayan-kottai Maravas
(*iii*) The Appanur-nattu Maravas
(*iv*) The Agata Maravas
(*v*) The Uru-nattu Maravas
(*vi*) The Opu-kottai Maravas
(*vii*) The Kurichi-kattu Maravas.

1. Kanakasabai Pillai, *Tamils 1800 Years Ago*, p. 41.
2. *La Mission Du Madure*, Vol. I.
3. *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, Vol. IV, p. 354.

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Amongst these the Sembu-nattu Maravas seem to have been the most important. The Ramnad rulers all of them belonged to this class.

The Maravas were a fierce and turbulent race famous for their military prowess. A description given by a poet of old, clearly shows their ferocity. He says "of strong limbs and hardy frame and fierce-looking as tigers and wearing long and curled locks of hair, the blood-thirsty Maravas, armed with bow bound with leather, ever ready to injure others, shoot their arrows at poor and helpless travellers, from whom they can rob nothing only to feast their eyes on the quivering limbs of their victims".[4] Again he writes "the wrathful and furious Maravas whose curled beards resemble the twisted horns of a stag, the loud twang of whose powerful bowstring and the stirring sound of whose double-headed drums, compel even kings at the head of large armies to turn their flag and fly".[5] They lived chiefly by serving in the army as soldiers and by plunder. From ancient times they were famous for their bravery and were employed by the kings of old in times of war. The peaceful professions of agriculture and commerce did not have much fascination for them. Those who were not soldiers earned their living by serving in the palace and in the houses of rich Maravas, by cultivating the soil and by holding some of the public offices.

They had their own peculiar methods of dressing. They wore their hair very long. Men usually tied handkerchiefs round their head and this served as turbans. The *Purananuru* states that a Marava chieftain wore a cloth round his waist by a blue strap, and adorned his head with peacock feathers.[6] The rulers and other rich Maravas usually decorated themselves with rich and gorgeous jewels. Both men and women perhaps with the exception of the chiefs lengthened the lobes of their ears by hanging heavy and wonderfully big ornaments.

Their marriage ceremonies were peculiar and differed much from those of the other Hindus. After fixing the marriage, a few of the relations of the bride-groom went to the house of the bride and tied Tali round her neck. Then the bride was taken in procession to the bride-groom's house where certain ceremonies were performed, and the performance of other functions was postponed to some other date when they could easily complete them without much difficulty. But no one could escape the observance of these functions and as the popular expression went "the defects must be cured". If by some misfortune, the husband died before the defects were cured, these ceremonials should be gone through in the presence and on behalf of the corpse, which would be placed on one seat with the unfortunate woman and made to represent the bride-groom.

There were not many restrictions regarding the choice of the bride or the bride-groom. Inter-marriages between the Kallars and Ahambadayans and the Maravas were allowed. One of the wives of the Kilavan Setupati was a

4. Kanakasabai Pillai, *Tamils 1800 Years Ago*, p. 42 and *Kalithokai* Vol. IV, pp. 1 to 5.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 43 and Vol. XV, pp. 1 to 7.
6. *Purananuru*, Stanza, 189.

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Kalla woman. The chiefs of Maravas were accustomed to marry Ahambadaya women. Male children, born out of such unions, must marry Ahambadaya girls and belong to the Ahambadaya caste. In the case of female children they must marry Maravas and belong to the caste of their husbands. Marriages with other castes were also allowed. The Governor of Orieyur who murdered Britto on the orders of Kilavan Setupati married a Christian lady. Polygamy was in vogue. Kilavan Setupati has forty-seven wives. Vijayaraghunatha had a big harem and Tadiya Deven before his conversion to Christianity also had many wives. Divorce was allowed and if the wife found that she could not live with her husband, she was allowed to divorce her husband and marry any one whom she liked. Widow re-marriages were permitted except in the Sembu-nattu division.

The other castes that inhabited the country were the Kallars and Ahambadayans. The Kallars as their name indicates were a predatory tribe living on plunder. The Ahambadayans were closely connected with the Maravas and observed most of their habits and customs. These castes were very closely related to one another and the legends regarding the origin of the Maravas, Kallars and Ahambadayans emphasise this point. There was always a tendency for the lower classes to get merged into the higher and the popular version of this tendency ran as follows: "The Kallan became a Maravan ; the Maravan became a Ahambadayan and the Ahambadayn is now a Vellalam".[7]

There were also some Muslims in the land and they were engaged mostly with trade. The relation between the Hindus and Muslims was quite cordial. They helped Kilavan Setupati in constructing the fort at Ramnad. Some Muslims also patronised Tamil literature. One such example was *Sithakkathi Marakkayar*. The Hindus also sang about the glories of the Muhammadan Prophet and won the admiration of the Muslims. One Umaruppulavar was reputed to be the author of *Seerappuranam* dealing with Nabi Nayinar. This happy relationship seems to have existed throughout.

The Brahmans though few in numbers formed an important section of the population. The *Tevai Ula* says that there were only 512 Brahmans at the time of its composition.[8] Probably there were 512 Brahman families. Their learning and their position as the spiritual head were sufficient to make them influential. They wielded great influence in the court and sometimes changed the policies of the rulers. They were patronised by the rulers and were granted Sarvamanya lands and houses to live.

Still another section of the population was composed of the Christians. They did not find much favour in the country from the beginning and were subjected to all kinds of misery. Their properties were sometimes looted, their churches destroyed and the Christians themselves subjected to physical tortures. But they were not helpless. Some of the Setupatis themselves were not against the Christians. Again some chiefs of the type of Vaduganatha and Tadiya Deven were great sources of strength. In spite of the

7. Athelstain Baine, *Ethnography*.
8. *Tevai Ula*, p. 11, verse 94.

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persecution of the Christians due to the fanaticism of the people, the new religion slowly made headway. This is a living tribute to the spotless character, sincerity of purpose, and undying enthusiasm of the Missionaries of the type of John De Britto, Jaenicke, Schwartz and others.

The religion of the Maravas was Saivism. But they worshipped besides Lord Siva, some minor deities like Karuppannasami, Badhrakali, Madurai-veeran, Aiyanar, Mariamman and others. Offerings of meat, liquor and other intoxicating drinks were made. Usually, the Brahmans helped them in worshipping their gods, but their services were not requisitioned when they offered prayers to the minor deities. Festivals were organised and celebrated in honour of their gods. Rulers and other rich persons made big endowments for the celebration of these festivals. Sometimes groups of persons supplied the necessary funds. An inscription dated S.S. 1641, Vikari, mentions a grant of revenue to a temple by eight different castes of chettis.[9]

The inhuman and horrible custom of Sati was prevalent. We are told by Father Martin that forty seven wives of Kilavan Setupati burnt themselves on his pyre.[10] It seems that only wives of princes indulged in this cruel vanity.

The economic condition of the people was not on the whole satisfactory. Though the Setupatis succeeded to a large extent in maintaining peace and order in the country, the people were not free from the oppression of the Poligars. The Ramnad country situated as it was in dry and arid regions was very poor. The situation became worse when the rich and fertile portion of the kingdom became a separate Zamindari from the time of Kumaramuthu Vijayaraghunatha. The frequent wars especially from the time of Tirumalai Setupati should have drained the resources of the country. Above all, famines, epidemics and other visitations increased the misery of the people. Under the circumstances, the people would not have been very happy.

Trade and commerce did not receive adequate attention from the Setupatis. The only cottage industry that flourished in Ramnad was the production of painted cloth. Some trade was also carried on by the Dutch. But that in no way contributed to the growth of the prosperity of the people because the Dutch were only keen on getting the maximum profits which they took to their own country. Ramnad was in those days an important centre of pilgrimage and thousands of devotees flocked to visit the holy shrine. If the Setupatis had encouraged trade and commerce Ramnad would have become an important and flourishing centre of trade. One thing must be noted. The lack of initiative was mostly due to the character of the people who were averse to all kinds of peaceful occupations.

An inscription dated 1637 S.S. Manmatha (1715) says that 2 *panams* were charged as interest for every 100 *panams* a month.[11] This would come to 24 per cent per annum. To people at present who are accustomed to a low rate of interest this would seem to be a very high rate. We cannot say

9. Burgess and Natesa Sastri, *Sanskrit and Tamil Inscriptions*, p. 89, No. 12.
10. *La Mission Du Madure*, Vol. 4, p. 203.
11. Burgess and Natesa Sastri, *Sanskrit and Tamil Inscriptions*, p. 87, No. 11.

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if this was the universal rate of interest. Rates of interest are fixed by various factors like the demand for money, the supply available, the urgency of the borrower, the character of the lender etc. Under these circumstances, rates of interest should have varied from time to time and from place to place. There are reasons to think that the rate above quoted was not a normal rate. Ramnad country was suffering from severe famine and other national calamities from 1709 to about 1712. The rate quoted above was prevalent some three years after the great disaster. A rate of 24 per cent at such a time as that could not be considered very high.

Slave trade seems to have been carried on by the Dutch. A letter of Froenza to Paul Oliva dated 1662[12] states that the Dutch enticed the natives by promises of work and food and carried them off to Holland to be sold as slaves. It is a pity that the Setupatis did not exert themselves to prevent such shameful and inhuman activities and allowed the Dutch their own way without caring to safeguard the interests of the people.

One of the valuable contributions of the Setupatis which redounded greatly to their credit was the encouragement they gave to Tamil literature. The Ramnad country was famous from ancient times as the place where some of the greatest of Tamil poets lived and flourished. No wonder the Setupatis were imbued with a love towards Tamil literature and tried to promote Tamil culture. Big slices of lands were presented to the poets and even now the descendants continue in the enjoyment of the benefits of those grants. Presents were also made in cash as in the case of the author of the *Oruthurai Kovai*. An imposing list of the poets who received the patronage of the rulers can easily be given. Tirumalai Setupati was a great patron of men of letters and Mithilaipatti Alagiya Chitrambala Kavirayar, the author of *Thalasinga Mali*, and Ponnangal Amirtha Kavirayar, the author of *Oruthurai Kovai*, lived in this court. One Padikkasuppulavar who was the author of several popular anthologies and other works flourished about 250 years ago under their protection. Another poet of distinction was Omaruppulavar who was the author of *Seerappuranam* dealing with Nabi Nayinar. This work was very much admired by the Muslims. Another literary celebrity was Javvathu Pulavar who was patronised by Vijaya Raghunatha. It is said that he composed the *Raja Rajeswari Panjarathnam* when the Setupati was suffering rom small-pox. One Sakkarai Pulavar is said to have been presented with the villages of Sirukambaiyur, Kothalangulam and Kodikudi as a token of the appreciation of his literary merit. Besides these, a number of poets of the type of Talaimalaikanda Devar, the author of *Marudhoorandhadhi*, Muthukutti Pulavar, Chitrambala Desikar, Perunkarunai Muthalagar, Mambalakavirayar, who was renowned as Kavisingara Navalar and others flourished at the court of the Setupatis. It is impossible to give an exhaustive list of all the poets and the list given above is bound to be incomplete. A study of the lives of the poets very well reveals that the Setupatis had been extending their patronage liberally and thus greatly contributed to the

12. *La Mission Du Madure*, Vol. III.

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advancement of Tamil literature. It is a truism that literature and art can flourish only under peaceful and prosperous conditions, and, since Ramnad was not always free from troubles and confusion, it is very doubtful if Tamil literature could have developed there independently without their patronage.

SHIPPING AND MARITIME ACTIVITIES OF ORISSA DURING THE MUSLIM RULE

B. C. RAY

Being situated on the shore of the Bay of Bengal and having enjoyed all the privileges to develop her maritime activities, Orissa from time immemorial had her reputation as a seafaring country. In the glorious ancient period, the Kalinga ships helped the people of Kalinga in establishing colonies in the Indian Archipelago.[1] It is said the people of Kalinga were the pioneers in colonising the far off lands of Sumatra, Java, Indonesia, Burma, Siam and other places.[2] The main ports of Orissa from which the Kalinga ships plied were Mausolia (Masulipatam), Kalingapatam, Chilika, Puri, Chitrotpala[3], Higli, Tamralipti, Harishpur and Balasore. The maritime trade with the Indian Archipelago, Burma and other islands brought a vast amount of wealth to Kalinga. The glories and prosperities of the Hindu Orissa were probably due to her foreign trade with the distant lands.

So long the Hindu kingdom of Orissa was independent and the Hindu kings gave encouragement and offered royal patronage, the maritime trade was very thriving and considerably added to the national wealth of the country. With the advent of the Muslim to Orissa (from the year 1568) change took place not only in the political condition of the country but also in the social, economic and maritime activities of the people of the kingdom. The lack of due royal patronage, the indifference of the foreigners to the prosperity of some ports, away from the headquarters of the Muslim Governor and the control of some important ports and strategic sea coast areas by the Muslim Administrators exclusively for the aggrandisement of the Mughal Empire without any regard to the former privilege enjoyed by the people, presented a new atmosphere in the maritime activities of the country.

After the Muslim conquest of Orissa, during the time of Akbar the centre of gravity being changed, some of the southern ports of Orissa (including Chilika and Chitrotpala etc.) lost their former glories. The northern ports,

1. R. D. Banerjee, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 94.
2. R. D. Banerjee, *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 98, it throws some light as to the people of Kalinga taking part in colonising in these islands.
3. 1. Charitrapura or Puri according to S. N. Majumdar, *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 585. 2. St. Col. Dr. Waddal says a tradition of the port of Chitrotpala is current at the village of Nendra (15 miles below Cuttack) for an older channel of the river Mahanadi: proceedings of A.S.B. 1892, p. 185. 3. Krupasindhu Misra, *History of Orissa*, p. 114. He identifies it with Konark.

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particularly Balasore, Pipli and Harishpur came to much more prominence than before. The reason of such change lies in the change in the political situation. Orissa being included in the province of Bengal for the administrative purpose in the early part of the Muslim rule, the Muslim Governor with his headquarters in Bengal was naturally more interested in the northern ports than in the southern ones, which were due to their distance or due to their not being completely subdued for certain time.

Balasore, Pipli and Harishpur were the most important naval centres. These ports maintained their relations with the interior, being situated on the rivers. Balasore on the river Baragalanga, Pipli on the river Subarnarekha and Harishpur on the river Patua were outlets for the interior tracts. Particularly in the rainy season grains and other commodities were collected from the inlands to these ports to be exported to the distant places in the sea. Similarly when the rivers were full in the rains salt, coconuts, spices and other articles available near the sea shore or brought from the distant places to the ports were sent through the waters into the interior of the country. Thus from the mouth of the river Mahanadi articles were sent in the river towards Sambalpur and its neighbouring parts and cotton, paddy and iron and such other things were brought from there to the sea coast areas. In a country infested with dense jungle, the river in the rainy seasons served as a means of communication and was sometimes preferred to the impossible and difficult jungle routes.

Shipbuilding centres were opened at Harishpur, Balasore and Pipli. Ships were built at these ports for various reasons: (*i*) firstly to defend the eastern boundary of the Mughal Empire against the foreign European merchants, (*ii*) secondly to make the coast safe and secure against the inroads of Feringes (Assamese pirates) and other raiders, (*iii*) thirdly to transport goods in ships from or part of the empire to the other, (*iv*) fourthly to send ships to distant lands like Ceylon and Burma to bring desired rare articles not available in the Muslim Empire.

Even from the days of Akbar Arakan pirates—both Maggs and Feringes were plundering the coast of Bengal. "They carried the Hindus and Muslims, threw them one above the another under the desks of their ships and sold them to Dutch, English and French merchants at the port of the Deccan"[4] Some time the captives were brought for sale at high price to Tamluk[5] and the port of Balasore of the Mughal Empire. At Balasore Shaista Khan, the Viceroy of Bengal, ordered a vigorous naval construction to land an expedition against Arakani pirates in 1665. Khan-i-Dauran writes to Mohummod Jan: "Urge the officers of Jajpur, Bhadrak and other Mahals to get them (rice, cloth, sesamum, mustard oil etc.) ready and quickly send them before the selling season to the port of Balasore to Mohummad Baqr, the Darogha of the ship construction."[6] Balasore was made for a time the most important shipbuilding centre and a place of great activities. Provisions were

4. *History of Bengal,* Vol. II, p. 379 (D.U.P.)
5. Sihabuddin Talish says 'slave trade was in vogue in Tamluk' (1665 A.D.).
6. J. N. Sarkar, *Studies in Mughal India,* p. 218.

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collected from different parts of Orissa for the workers of the factory. Articles and ship-builders were also collected from various places of the country to work at Balasore. Khan-i-Dauran writes: "All the Kalapatis and Nazars—master craftsman and blacksmiths living at the port of Harishpur and other places should be won over and sent to Balasore to engage in shipbuilding (for government) then dated the 28th December 1644."[7]

These ports were opened for the export and import of goods in the State ships for the purpose of the State, secondly for the export and import of goods of the individual businessmen.[8] Thirdly for the loading and unloading of the ships at the ports of the foreign merchants including the English, Dutch, Danish and Portuguese ships.

Heavy ships were sent from Balasore and Pipli to carry on trade with Ceylon, Burma and other distant places.[9]

In his *Travels in the Mogul Empire* Bernier[10] (1656-58) says that port of Balasore on the coast of Orissa was frequented by sloops from Madras and Ceylon. "Of the Nawab's mercantile marine Bowrey says that it consists of about 20 sails of ships of considerable burdens that annually trade to sea from Dacca, Balasore and Pipli, some to Ceylon, some to Tenassarim. These fetched elephants and the rest six or seven go yearly to the twelve thousand islands called the Maladives to fetch Kauris and Cryre (coir) and most commonly do make profitable voyages."[11] Ships for trade from Surat and Masulipatam come to Balasore.[12]

Of all the ports on the coast of Orissa Balasore was the best and the most prosperous one and an important port for the reception of seats from distant water. In 1724 Valentine's account testifies to the prosperity of the ports. For the loading and unloading of the ships plying from European countries Balasore proved to be an alluring station. Ships from Balasore sail for Nigapatam and Batavia and Malaka. Nicoles Manucci[13] in his *Storia Do Mogor* mentioned that Foosen from Malaka reached Balasore road on the 18th March, 1704. After loading new goods at Balasore in his ship he sailed for Nigapatam in December 30th, 1704 while other two vessels started for Batavia.

As regards the exporting commodities from the country rice, being profusely cultivated, formed the major part of export not only to different parts of India but also outside India. Balasore was a great rice-exporting port

7. J. N. Sarcar, *Studies in Mughal India*, p. 218.

8. C. R. Wilson, *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, Vol. II, Part I, p. 263. A ship of Nindiram on its return from Maldives and being loaded with Kaudis were sold at the port of Balasore.

9. Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, p. 86. He writes 'Indian ship-owners appear to have gained ground at Pipili and Balasore from which ports 26 foreign sailings were recorded in the season of 1643-44.'

10. Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, Vol. I, p. 441. He testifies to several considerable ports in Balasore district.

11. A geographical account of the countries round the Bay of Bengal, pp. 179-80 in *History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activities* by R. K. Mukharjee, p. 234.

12. See page 352, *Seir Mutakherin* by Sayyed Gulam Hussain Eng. Tra. After the defeat of Murshid Quli Khan at the hands of Alibardi Khan, Murshid Quli Khan fled away from the port of Balasore in his friend's ship loaded with goods and grains which he brought there for the purpose of trade.

13. P. 160, Vol. IV, *Storia Do Moger* (1653-1708) by Nicoles Mannuci, tran. by Irvine.

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from where the stored rice was to be sent to Bengal and different parts of Mughal India. Rice was taken as share of government from among the people. Khan-i-Dauran says as for the Malangi boats for loading rice in, they have not been procured owing to bad conduct of the Darogha of the port, get bond from the Zamindar of the Mahal and send rice to the ports to be shipped in sailing season".[14] Cloth and salt were two other articles which were exported in plenty.

As described by Bowrey various boats were found in Bengal and Bay of Bengal such as Patalas (great flat bottomed vessels), the Oloaka boats, Budhagaru (a pleaure boat) and Purgus. The Purgus[15] were found at Hugli, Balasore and Pipli used in loading and unloading ships. Another type of boats which were seen in Orissa was the Malangi[16] boats mainly required for transporting grains and other things in the river to the ports.

The ports on the sea shore were a source of income to the Mughal Empire The local people were allowed to ply in the local boats or ships for their trade in the sea and were earning their livelihood in the shipbuilding factory at the ports and also were deriving other advantages therefrom (including fishing in the water). So a sort of ship money[17] was imposed on them on coastal district. Thomas Bowrey, an English traveller who travelled India during A.D. 1669-79, gives a valuable description of shipping and maritime trade on the east coast of India. Shaista Khan of Bengal was imposing a ship money on the mercantile community to build up a naval defence and power of the country. "Then not satisfied that all rich and poor should bow to him but wishing that the ship in the water should do the like the Nawab would every year send down to the merchant in Hugli, Jesar, Pipli and Balasore for a ship or two in each respective place of four hundred, five hundred or six hundred tons to be very well built and fitted even as if they were on voyage to sea as also ten, twenty or thirty galleys to attend them, the Moor's Governor having the strict order to see them furnished with all speed gunned and well mend and sent up the Ganges as high as Dacca."

Other source of income from the ports was custom duty or charge for anchorage. It is stated in the year 1659, the Governor of Balasore[18] began to impose exhorbitant charges on the English for anchorage. Even though some foreigners were granted *firman* to trade free of custom duty in the ports they had to satisfy the Governor by paying some amount. Shaista Khan who like Mir Jumla[19] exacted annual offerings of three thousands rupees, issued an order confirming all the privileges of the English Company in relation to their trade. In the conflict between Mir Jumla and the English

14. J. N. Sarkar, *Studies in Mughal India*, p. 216. Pelsart's *Jahangir's India*, p. 8. Moreland, *Akbar to Aurangzeb*, p. 120.
15. R. K. Mukherjee, *Indian Shipping and Maritime Activities*, p. 235.
16. J. N. Sarkar, *Studies in Mughal India*, p. 216.
17. R. K. Mukherjee, *A geographical account of the countries round the Bay of Bengal*, pp. 179-80 ; *Indian Shipping etc.*, pp. 233-234.
18. C. R. Wilson, *Early Annals of English in Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 44.
19. C. R. Wilson, *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 48.
20. *Proceedings of Indian History Congress* 12th session, Cuttack, p. 296 ; *History of Bengal* (D.U.P.), Vol. II, p. 344.

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in regard to the junk episode Mir Jumla ordered the Governor of Balasore to impose a duty of four per cent on English export besides anchorage duties on ships. As a result of this the English trade suffered a great deal for a time.

THE ANALYTICAL STUDY OF HANUMANT SWAMI'S CHRONICLE OF RAMDAS

M. S. AGASKAR

DESCRIPTION

This Hanumant Swami's Chronicle of Ramdas was published in Shaka 1792 (1870 A.D.) by Naro Krishna Dumale under the patronage of Srimant Seth Govardhan Laxmidas in Ganpat Krishnaji's press, Bombay. This is the earliest (first) printed edition and it is not known whether this is the only copy of it in existence. Eighteen years afterwards, another edition of the same was printed in Shaka 1810, in the Jagdishwar press, in Bombay. The Satkaryotejak Sabha, Dhulia, published the Hanumant Swami's chronicle in Shree Samarth Vegdevata Mandir (Bundle No. 1852) on 2nd January 1950. This chronicle was written actually in MSS. during Shaka 1740-1745. The Sabha has also added in the same publication, the Shaka 1711 edition, corresponding to Bundle No. 26 therein at the end, which now appears to be the earliest chronicle of Hanumant Swami on Ramdas. It has been observed that no two editions are just the same and not simply that many of them are incomplete but that there are significant changes in the very subject matter itself, which in its turn provides a new ground for the student of the history of the Marathas and their times and again shows how 'inclinations' and 'controversies' in modern school of historians have been able to re-interpret and drop on change the words therein. The Shaka 1792 edition in my possession, consists of 178 ($10\frac{1}{2}'' \times 8''$) pages and the front page with one illustration ($8'' \times 6\frac{3}{4}''$) of Ramdas and Shivaji, with three other persons standing nearby. This illustration may not have been published anywhere else.

CONTENTS

The chronicle narrates, at large, the full length life history of Ramdas from the Sampradaya school of thought and incidentally points out some political events of the country in Shivaji's times. It maintains the theme of Ramdas's guidance for Shivaji in overthrowing the alien power. Its claim for authenticity rests on the earlier chronicles and the various compilations on the subject by the disciples of Ramdas. It gives the birth date of Ramdas as Shaka 1530 and his Samadhi year in Shaka 1603. The geneology of Ramdas's family is traced from Shaka 884, when in the beginning, Krishnajipant

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came to the village Hivare with his five sons. The later history till the time of Ramdas has been traced with particular references to the blessings and Darshan of gods Surya, Rama, Maruti to the prominent persons in the family, culminating in the most significant event—the birth of Ramdas.

After the thread ceremony of Ramdas, he was informed by agencies non-physical of Shivaji's birth and his mission and was vested with the life purpose of liberating the country from the Muhammadan yoke. Ramdas escaped from the impending marital bond and visited the sacred places like Kashi, Ayodha, Gokul, Mathura, Brindawan, Dwarka and exchanged views on matters spiritual with prominent leaders, there. He then set for Jagannath, Rameshwar and throughout carried his work of organising Maths (Seats) temples and collected disciples as per the sacred trust of God Maruti, vested in him. Ramdas' mother was eagerly awaiting his arrival and Ramdas came back to the Krishna bank to finalise his work of life. Ramdas's connections with Tukaram, Chinchvadkar Deo, Raghunath Swami and Anand Maruti are pointed out and Satibai, Ambabai, Akabai and Venubai are shown to be moving with him in his Sampradays. Maths were organised in Chapal, Shiras, Masur and the disciples like Ambaji and others were tested in their loyalties. Samarth completed his work of building the eleven temples of Maruti at prominent places. The meeting of Ramdas and Shivaji has attracted much of the attention of the historians of today. The chronicle, as it is, explains how Shivaji urged to see Ramdas and fully narrates the major aspects of the said meeting, though it does not finally decide the actual date of the same. It gives at length the various miracles performed by Ramdas, leading the narration finally to his perference for Sajjangad as the permanent abode, as per the wish of Shivaji. Shivaji renunciated his empire but Ramdas refusing to accept, advised him to perform his duties, ably as the king and rule efficiently, for the welfare of the people. He changed the form of salutation, from 'Johar' to 'Ram Ram' curious enough, another incident is told now that Shivaji donated 300 pagodas to Chaphal temple and 500 more to erect a bridge and Ramdas sent his blessings to him. Ramdas was not disposed to attend Sambhaji's coronation, after the death of Shivaji and the chronicle traces the normal life up to the 'Nirvana' of the great sage.

Criticism

Origin: Hanumant Swami ordained Rango Lakshman in Shaka 1715 to compile the geneology of Samarth's family—The Vatandars in Bedar province. The second edition of the work, compiled as per Swami's order, was prepared by Malhar Ramrao Chitnis in Shaka 1739 at Sajjangad. Thereafter, when certain disputes arose about the Math privileges and attracted attention, Maharudra Swami ordained Rango Lakshman to write again whatever he had compiled in the early beginning. The work then compiled in Shaka 1753 rests for its evidence on the documents at Jamb, Sajjangad and other papers left with Bhanji Yadav Pothedekar Joshi, the Gotra Purohit of Samarths' family. The Satkaryotejjak MSS. of the chronicle is dated Shaka

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1740-1745. Mr. Dev had hinted earlier that there were disputes that arose in the Sampradaya on account of this chronicle but he has not brought to light those important documents, namely Badrak No. 396 papers. Rango Lekshman was a Karbhari in times of Hanumant Swami and he had obviously helped in the compilation of the chronicle. This Rangopa had entrusted the work of writing history of Ramdas to one Purshottam Bhat but Bhat had to leave this pursuit as Ramdas himself visited Bhat in his dreams and threatened, finally persuading him to forsake the entrusted work. Bhat explained this to Hanumant in his letter, in Shaka 1730. It is curious how after 125 years after Ramdas, Bhat was required to foresake his effort, after his three or four earlier ardent attempts to that effect. Hanumant Swami died in Shaka 1740. His son Maharudra Bawa was born in Shaka 1739. As per his instructions, the geneology papers in Shri Sampradaya were re-written, in Shaka 1753. The enlarged edition of the chronicle has incorporated the geneology chart and the chronicle commences with Suryajipant—The 23rd head of the family. It is true that though various other details were modified from time to time, satisfying the needs of respective authors, the basic geneology chart of the family is not tampered. It has been accepted that Hanumant Swami's chronicle of Ramdas had been shaped and reshaped and obviously answered certain Sampradaya need in the Math disputes, running over a considerable period.

Birth of Udhava

Hanumant Swami and Atmaram Swami of Ekkeholi who wrote Das Vishramdham were contemporaries. Still they give different details about the episode of Udhava. Even Mr. Dev was at a loss to understand why these two, living under the same circumstances and times, could not concur on these points. The chronicle fixes Takali near Nasik and Atmaram prefers Bhilavadi, near Satara as the birth place of Udhava. Ramdas gave blessings to a woman who was about to ascend the Sati-pyre on account of which, her husband came to life again and Udhava was their son. It is obvious that the chronicler could not have any eye-witness after 150 years, as the event must have been of the period 1630-32. Perhaps Satara was intended in any of the traditions that the chronicler heard in his times or the later authors who modified his work did not solicit Satara therein for their own reasons. It is always advisable to refer to a far away place in such miracles as people find it easier to satisfy themselves on that account. Thus, Atmaram mentions Bhilavadi and Hanumant prefers Takali, both the places being at a considerable distance from the respective authors. Again, some time it is referred that Udhava was the son of the *Sati* in question, while he is also found not to have to do any thing with the episode and was just a loyal disciple of Ramdas.

Vishramdhan and Bhaktalilamrut agree as to the place, namely Bhilavadi. But Mr. Dev was still under the necessity of expressing his confusion when he wrote the preface to Bhaktalilamrut. Hanumant Swami was himself the

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head of the Chaphal Math and Bhimaji Bawa, that of Sirgar Math, situated just two cos away from Chaphal. Both were ardent Sampradayis and in addition, one was in direct lineage of Samarth's brother and the other in that of Kalyan's brother, too. Chaphal and Sirgar are separated by just a hill between the two. Still there are more than 30/40 major differences in their works on Ramdas. Again, Giridhar, Meru Swami, Mahipati and Udhavsut never referred to this miracle at all.

Satkaryotejak Sabha has published Shaka 1711 edition of Hanumant Swami, in addition to Shaka 1740/1745 edition and the Sabha feels that Shaka 1711 edition is the original chronicle of Hanumant and that the author chronicles were the enlarged editions of the same. But even in the same two editions of Hanumant Swami, this episode of rejuvenating *Sati's* husband happens to be in two different forms. This episode is also to be found in the Bhaktalilamrut of Bhimaji Bawa and then, at once, in the later edition of Shaka 1740/1945 chronicle, we find Takali is preferred to Bhilavadi as the place of Udhava's birth. Thus this piece of information is obviously tampered by later compilers after Shaka 1711.

Imitations

The chroniclers of Ramdas have always left the necessity to bring in famous traditional experiences and miracles of earlier sages, passing them in some form or other, under his name. Thus many of the episodes of Shankaracharya, Madhavacharya, Narsinha Saraswati, Tulsidas, with which the writers and the people were familiar, are also seen in the life of Ramdas. The habits of his parents and grand parents shown as devoted worshippers of Upasya Gods and the blessings offered to them ; that Ramdas was the incarnation of Maruti, and the other details, elevating the little village Jamb to a city with the status of a Tirth and Punyanagari (Holy place of pilgrimage) where every body was practically always engaged in Upasana, Kirtana and such other activities, fall under this category. Generally those who preached *paramarth* in vernacular were harassed by Sanskrit scholars of the times and hence, in order that this should not be wanting in Ramdas's life, Gagabhat is shown as a Purohit, who used to explain Puran to Shivaji for a number of years, simultaneously undermining the influence of Ramdas. Then references in Hanumant Swami's chronicle as to when, how and which portions of Dasbodh, Ramdas explained to Shivaji, obviously come under this type too.

Shakavali

The Vakenishi Tipana gives 39 entries of prominent dates, in the life of Ramdas of more than 73 years. They more or less refer to the various miracles. But the corresponding entries are not to be found in Hanumant Swami's chronicle, published by Satkaryotejak Sabha. But the edition of Shaka 1792 does contain many of them, obviously pointing out that this

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chronicler was in possession of some such resource before he started his work. Rajwade earlier attemped to establish that thesis that Ramdas was the inspiring and guiding spirit behind the political planning of Shivaji, utilising this Shahvali with the Sakhavali of Shivaji, with a view to interconnect them. These new entries in Shaka 1792 edition of 'our' chronicle, thus obviously are of much help to forward evidences in the said controversial matter. The Shakavali prepared by Shankar Srikrishna Deo which he has affixed under the title, 'Bakharivarum Shakavali' to his Samarthavatar is from Shaka 1810 edition of Hanumant Swami published by Govardhan Lakshmidas Thakar at Bombay in Jagdishwar Press.

Pilgrimage

Ramdas was born in 1608 A.D. He spent his first twelve years in his native village Jamb and thereafter he escaped from the marriage ceremony in 1620. He was at Nasik from 1620 to 1632 and thence went on pilgrimage, during further 12 years, returning by 1644 to the Krishna bank. Three lists of the places visited by him are forwarded by Shankar Shri Krishna Deo. Pangarkar, too, has prepared his *Tirthavali*. Dasbodh itself refers to very many thirthas of prominence but there have been attempts to prove that not only Ramdas visited all the major *Tirthas* in three directions over the entire country but that he even had been to Arabstan. This chronicle of Shaka 1792 does provide a further reshuffling of the details as regards the pilgrimage which in itself contributes much to a proper understanding of a period of as good as full twelve years in the prime of Ramdas and shaping of his ideals.

It is not known whether Ramdas came back to see his woe-be-gone mother and brother or he happened to meet them when he had completed the northern circuit and was about to set for the South. There are stories that pull evidence in all the directions. The chronicle, too, is not clear about it in particular but declares that he came for the first reason and obviously at Paithan.

Disciples

The chronicle narrates at length miracles and experiences of Ambaji (Kalyan) and other devoted disciples and how they were tested from time to time and provides good material which enable historians to trace their life histories. As a side tract, it is suggested that though in form of miracles, Ramdas is clearly seen here, typically (1) avoiding clashes with the local officers of alien Government (2) and that he weilded good influence in the courts of the Muhammadan rulers of his time.

Shivaji—Ramdas Meeting

Later Date : (1) G. K. Chandorkar published in Marathi weekly *Kesari* on June 26, 1906 a group of letters which were in the possession of the descendants of Divakar Gosavi, the disciple of Ramdas and the one who

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was present when Shivaji and Ramdas first met, according to the familiar story, Keshav informed Divakar on 4th April 1672 that Raje Shivaji Bhonsale was coming to visit Samarth and that it was his first visit, suggesting that, inasmuch as there was nobody to make arrangements, the people of Singanvadi should be engaged. Another letter from Shivaji to Jijoji Katkar, the Chief Official at Sajiangad says, "Sri Ramdas Gosavi, residing at Sivthar will come for a few days to the fort and you shall permit him to arrive there, to stay as long as he pleases and to leave when he pleases" (Dated 1676). The letters point out that Ramdas was already looking for Shivaji's support. (2) A letter has been found written by Bhaskar to Divakar (dated 13 February 1659) wherein Shivaji had interviewed the disciples and enquired about Ramdas, donating an annual sum of 200 pagodas for the celebrations of the temple solemnities. (3) The tradition is that Shivaji had a desire to meet Ramdas for some time before he was successful in his attempt. But the chronicle suggests (i) that Shivaji did not even remember his own earlier gift of 300 pagodas at the time of his visit, at a later date to Chaphal. (ii) Different stories and miraculous experiences are webbed out of these three letters and Tipans. (iii) Ramdas had pleaded that Shivaji had forgoten (Vismruti) to take note of his stay in the country under him. (iv) These documents contribute a basis upon which a group of scholars have built up a weighty argument against the early date of 1649, for the meeting between the two. They maintain that the first meeting between them took place in 1672, as brought out in one of the above letters. There is still another letter written by Divakar to his son Bhiwrao Bhat, in which the writer states that Raja Sri Shivaji Bhonsale was admitted to spiritual discipleship at the hermitage at Singanvadi, in the year called Paridhavi which coincides with A.D. 1672. This date is also accepted by Prof. J. N. Sarkar, Mr. Keluskar and Rao Bahadur Sardesai and Prof. N. R. Phatak who forward in addition, fourteen major arguments in support of the later date, pointing out that while admitting that the teachings of the poet saints as a group were useful to Shivaji in establishing his kingdom, the teaching of Ramdas was not distinctive or different from the others and that it was Shivaji who influenced Ramdas rather than vice-versa. They maintain that Hanumant's references to Pratapgad, Mahuli, and Wai and other places are unhistorical because these came into Shivaji's possession after 1662.

The chronicle explains that when Shivaji got down from Pratapgad and encamped at Mahad, he had the occasion to hear the *kirtan* of a saint who stressed the dire need of a Guru in an individual life ; and hence, Shivaji thereafter urged to meet Samarth. Shivaji could meet Samarth in his dream receiving on his way, a letter from Ramdas in the rhythmic form, Shivaji finally met Ramdas at Singanvadi. The chronicle then narrates many other stories about the blissful connections of Ramdas and Shivaji but at once turning sharp tells the earlier episode which differs from the later incident. It is told that Shivaji came to Chaphal from Karhad Prant to see Ramdas for he had heard already of him. He met Nanso Mallanath Amberkhane, Chief Officer of Chaphal and enquired about Ramdas. Shivaji was told that

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he was then at Bhairavgad near Kondaval pass. Shivaji lamented that he had not the good luck to serve Samarth even though he was so near to him. Vithal Gosavi thereupon brought to his notice the earlier favour of 300 pagodas of his. Shivaji, on this occasion gave a fresh donation of 500 pagodas and rebuilt a bridge.

(*i*) In the sense that these two stories are told at different places, the chronicle is not consistent and hence more misleading. (*ii*) The two stories are not co-ordinating but lead to different versions and conclusions. (*iii*) One suggests that Shivaji knowing much about Ramdas, had not actually urged for the spiritual guidance of a Guru till he heard the Kirtan at Mahad. (*iv*) The other suggests that Shivaji when he was in Karhad Prant casually happened to visit Chaphal and hence was interested in Ramdas. Thereafter he had visited the temple, donated another 300 pagodas and further added 500 pagodas to save the structure from the ouslaught of the adjacent stream. But he had forgotten all till he heard the *kirtan* at Mahad. It is left to the readers to adjust that Shivaji was feeling need of a Guru, that he urged to see Ramdas, that he was given Darshana and that finally Shivaji could see Samarth, when he particularly insisted on it.

The common points in both the stories are (*1*) Shivaji heard the fame of Ramdas, (2) There was a temple and Math a Chaphal which were well organised. But they point to a later date definitely because (*a*) Shivaji began to stay safely in Pratapgad and Mahad area only after 1676 and (*b*) Shivaji had no time for quite pursuits like safe attendance to a Kirtan etc. in that area till Chandrarao More of Javli was defeated, (*c*) for Shivaji the urge for spiritual guidance perhaps must not have come as early as 1649 when he was the busy man of the hour. (*d*) There was no possibility for Shivaji to wander freely in Karhad Prant, visiting temples for its own sake, till 1672-1673 as it was then alone that he had established good and able officers there after the conquests. (*e*) The very fact that the chronicler suggests that the second episode was earlier to the first, points out the significance of the later date namely 1672.

Conclusion

In a narrow sense it is possible that the Bhakti poets taught many religious themes that had little to do with the political regeneration of Maharashtra ; themes which seemed to oppose such a regeneration, like that of renunciation and turning away from the things of the world. Indirectly, however, the Bhakti poets stirred the Hindus with their poetic songs and began a reigious and social upheaval which had far reaching consequences. In the first place these poets helped to purify the Hindusm of that day and stressed Bhakti as the chief means of salvation. Secondly it was against the rigid maintenance of caste ; including as it did, people from all classes, some of the leaders being Brahmins, Tailors carpenters, shop keepers, barbers and Mahars. It was a Hindu movement in a country dominated by Muhammadans, who had destroyed many Hindu shrines and brought about a condition of religious indifference, resulting finally in a feeling of hopelessness. Forgetting rigid caste

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distinctions, united in a passionate loyalty to God, and increasingly conscious of their Hindu nationality as opposed to the Muslim invaders, the common people gradually acquired a group consciousness and a racial pride which made them a ready instrument for Shivaji's plans. The seed had been sown and under his able leadership the shackles of Muhamadan control were broken. It was in such a background and under such stirring conditions that Ramdas lived and preached. The teaching of Ramdas does differ from that of Tukaram and the other Bhaktas ; yet with all his emphasis upon the practical, Ramdas remained to the end of his life pre-eminently a spiritual teacher.

THE EXECUTION OF TĀRDĪ BEG KHĀN

SUKUMAR RAY

The execution of Tārdī Beg Khān by Bairām Khān is one of the controversial points in the history of Akbar's reign. Modern writers on Akbar, Dr. V. A. Smith and Sir Wolseley Haig, justify the conduct of Bairām Khān on the ground of State necessity but the majority of the contemporary historians condemn it and state that Bairām was adversely criticised by people who regarded it as an arbitrary crime—a treacherous murder and it was one of the many causes which led to the unpopularity of the great minister. On 7 October, 1556 the victorious general of 'Ādil Shāh, Hīmū met Tārdī Beg Khān, the Mughul commandant of Delhi, defeated him and he fled to Sirhind where the main army under Akbar and Bairām lay encamped. Here Tārdī Beg Khān was put to death by order of Bairām Khān.

The Persian chronicles, which are the original authorities, give different versions of the Tārdī Beg affair. In order to arrive at an impartial conclusion it is necessary to examine the following questions: Was Tārdī Beg Khān really guilty? If he were guilty, was his guilt so serious as justified his execution by Bairām? Did Bairām Khān take this drastic step purely with a motive to do good to the State? Had Akbar any hand in it?

There are only two really contemporary authorities for the incident: Bāyazīd Bayāt, the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Humāyūn wa Akbar* and 'Ārif Qandahārī, the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Akbarī*.[1] Bāyazīd was then in Mughal service at Kābul and heard the report of Bairām's execution of Tārdī Beg from an Afghān of the Khizr tribe.[2] 'Ārif Chandhārī was Steward to Bairām Khān and was therefore connected with the Mughul court in the very beginning of Akbar's reign. The other historians of Akbar's period, Abu-'l-Fazl, Badāūnī,

1. Only one MS. of Bāyazīd is extant: India Office, Ethé 223, on which the Asiatic Society edition is based and two MSS. of 'Ārif Qandahārī, both incomplete, one at the State Library, Rāmpūr and the other at the Cambridge University Library.
2. *Tārīkh-i-Humāyūn wa Akbar*, p. 218.

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Nizām-ud-Dīn and others joined Akbar's service much later. They were not therefore strictly speaking contemporary with the incident under discussion.

Now Bāyazīd and 'Ārif Qandahārī give rather conflicting accounts. According to Bāyazīd Tārdī Beg Khān was defeated in the battle and set out for the court and joined Akbar along with other nobles while the king was on the way to Delhi. As Bairām Khān had an old quarrel with Tārdī Beg, he made the defeat of the latter by Hīmū a pretext for execution him. He sent for him to his own house and himself left the room on pretence of ablution when by his order men appointed for this purpose put Tārdī Beg Khān to death.[3] In course of his conversation with Mun'im Khān Bāyazīd adds that it was commonly believed that the real cause of the execution was something else. During the reign of Humāyūn when Bairām Khān was merely Bairām Beg and his *muhrdār,* one day he wanted to sit on the same carpet with Tārdī Beg Khān, then Governor of Etāwā, which the latter disallowed.[4]

'Ārif Qandahārī, on the other hand, states that the nobles who were at Delhi, as for example, Tārdī Beg Khān and Iskandar Khān the Uzbeg, were perplexed at the ascendancy and victory of Hīmū, and as soon as they met in battle, Hīmū became victorious and the Muslims were defeated and they fled. .....They joined Akbar at Sirhind.....Tārdī Beg Khān was executed by the advice of Pīr Muhammad Shirwānī on account of his negligence in the battle of Delhi after the matter was investigated and discussed. Some men who had followed him in this matter were also put to the sword.[5]

Most of the historians, who lived and wrote during the reign of Akbar and whom we may regard as almost contemporary authorities, agree with Bāyazīd and state that Tārdī Beg Khān was unable to resist the attack of Hīmū and fled from the battle-field. According to Abu-'l-Fazl, Tārdī Beg made due preparations for battle and he attributes the defeat of Tārdī Beg at Delhi to the treacherous conduct of Pīr Muhammad Shirwānī and some others. Nizām-ud-Dīn, Badāūnī and Tāhir Muhammad, the author of the *Rauzat-ut-Tāhirīn,* also say that Tārdī Beg Khān fled from the battle-field because he could not resist the attack of Hīmū. None of these historians gives the least hint that there was wilful negligence on the part of Tārdī Beg. The *Tārīkh-i-Alfī* states that Tārdī Beg Khān gave battle in haste as he thought that delay would weaken the Mughul cause but he was unable to resist and fled from the field of battle because of the superior elephantry of the enemy and violence of their attack. But it adds that Bairām Khān was displeased with Tārdī Beg because his cowardice was responsible for the defeat of the Mughul troops at Delhi and because of his hypocrisy in word and deed.[6] Mīrzā 'Alā-ud-Daula Qazwīnī, the author of the *Nafāis-ul-Maāsir* and brother of Akbar's famous tutor, 'Abdul-Latīf Qazwīnī, agrees with 'Ārif Qandahārī and states that

3. Bāyazīd, p. 212.
4. Bāyazīd, pp. 220-21.
5. *Tārīkh-i-Akbarī,* pp. 72-73.
6. While describing the events of the year 964 A.H./1556-57 A.D. it says that Tārdī Beg had fought an useless battle with Hīmū and had been defeated, India Office MS. f. 432b and British Museum MS. f. 592b.

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Bairām Khān put Tārdī Beg Khān to death by the advice of Pīr Muhammad Shirwānī on account of his negligence in the battle of Delhi.[7]

So 'Ārif Qandahārī and Mīrza 'Alā-ud-Daula are the two contemporary historians who regard Tārdī Beg guilty of negligence. Most of the important historical works, which were composed during the reign of Jahāngīr and are of some importance for the history of Akbar's period, confirm the view that Tārdī Beg could not resist Hīmū's attack, was defeated in battle and therefore obliged to take to flight. Mu'tamid Khān, the author of the *Iqbāl-nāma* and Shaik Ilāhdād Faizī Sirhindī follow Abu-'l-Fazl in this matter while Nūr-ul-Haqq, the author of the *Zubdat-ut-Tawārīkh*, follows Nizām-ud-Dīn. Mu'tamid Khān adds that he heard from trustworthy people that Pīr Muhammad Shirwānī was to a large extent responsible for Tārdī Beg Khān's defeat at Delhi.[8] Even 'Abdul-Bāqī Nahāwandī, who enjoyed the patronage of Bairām's famous son 'Abdur-Rahīm and is his biographer, relieves Tārdī Beg of the charge of wilful negligence or desertion. According to Emperor Jahāngīr, who refers to the incident in his *Memoirs*, Tārdī Beg Khān made preparations for battle, drew up his force and was defeated after considerable efforts and strife and then proceeded to the royal camp. Firishta, who was a Southerner and writes from independent point of view, also states that when Tārdī Beg Khān heard of the report of Hīmū's advance, he promptly informed the *amīrs* in all directions to come to his aid and when many of them arrived, gave battle but was defeated and driven from the battle-field. Firishta, of course, condemns Tārdī Beg Khān for hastiness in giving battle without waiting for the arrival of Khān Zamān and for leaving Delhi to the enemy without fighting a second battle after combining his troops with Khān Zamān's force or asking for reinforcement from the king. In short Firishta accuses Tārdī Beg of a mistake in policy but not of wilful desertion or negligence. According to the *Makhzan-i-Afghāna*, Tārdī Beg and Iskandar Khān the Uzbeg marched against Hīmū but were defeated because of the superior force of the enemy and they escaped to emperor Akbar.

Two chroniclers, 'Abdullah, the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Dāūdī* and Ahmad Yādgār, the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Shāhī*, hold Tārdī Beg definitely guilty. 'Abdullah regards that Tārdī Beg's cowardice was responsible for his defeat. He gave battle and in the first charge dispersed the army of Hīmū. He then sent some horsemen to procure information about the situation of his enemy and when they reported that Hīmū was standing nearby unbeaten with his force, he became highly anxious and, inspite of the advice of some *amīrs* to maintain his position, he escaped to Sirhind. Ahmad Yādgār goes a step further and definitely charges Tārdī Beg Khān with wilful negligence and treacherous desertion. In the discussion among the assembled chiefs about the situation caused by Hīmū's advance, Tārdī Beg from the very beginning advised retreat from Delhi on the royal camp. The other *amīrs* did not agree with him, pointing that the enemy had not yet arrived, and decided to offer battle, upon which Tārdī Beg separated his army. Tārdī Beg, however, came

7. *Nafāis-ul-Maāsir*, f. 44b.
8. *Iqbāl-nāma*, f. 165a.

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out with his men and took up his post on the right in the battle-field. The Mughuls were at first able to rout the Afghāns who were on the point of flying. At this time Hīmū sent his ablest lieutenant Ilāhdād Khān to attack the enemy, and when a stubborn fight was going on between Ilāhdād Khān and the Mughuls, Tārdī Beg Khān did not leave his position and remained coldly neural. Though Ilāhdād was defeated and wounded, Hīmū made a violent attack on the Mughuls and put them to flight.[9]

From a perusal of the original authorities we find that no historian except Ahmad Yādgār lays the charge of treachery and wilful desertion at the door of Tārdī Beg Khān, no work except the *Tārīkh-i-Alfī* and the *Tārīkh-i-Dāūdī* accuses him of cowardice, no other authority except 'Ārif Qandahārī and Mīrzā 'Alā-ud-Daula charges him with negligence and none except Firishta condemns the commandant of Delhi for a mistaken policy. On the other hand, the majority of the chroniclers, contemporary and nearly contemporary, state that Tārdī Beg found himself unequal to the task of resisting Hīmū's attack and was forced to retreat to Sirhind. It will not be unreasonable if we dismiss the solitary opinion of Ahmad Yādgār because he is a later authority unconnected with the Mughul court and had no good opportunities of having an intimate knowledge of the incident occurring some sixty years ago in the Mughul camp, and also because he is not corroborated by any other authority. As to the charge of cowardice of Ja'far Beg Asaf Khān in the *Tārīkh-i-Alfī* and by 'Abdullah, we have the evidence of Abu-'l-Fazl, the emperor Jahāngīr and Firishta who difinitely say that Tārdī Beg made the best efforts to fight Hīmū while from the accounts of other writers including even 'Abdul-Bāqī, it seems Tārdī Beg duly gave battle. As to Firishta's contention, it is difficult to come to any definite conclusion. Whether Tārdī Beg could afford to wait for the arrival of 'Alī Qulī Khān from Sambhal and whether he had sufficient troops to fight against Hīmū, we cannot say with certainty. The statement of the emperor Jahāngīr that there was a large force at Tārdī Beg's disposal is not corroborated by any other authority. In fact Tārdī Beg's force must have been far inferior in number to Hīmū's army which was larger than the combined Mughul force on the field of Pānīpat. We do not know the strength of Khān Zamān's force: besides from Firishta's own statement we learn that Khān Zamān, having heard of Tārdī Beg's defeat, avoided Delhi and proceeded towards Sirhind. We cannot say whether it was possible in that situation when the army had been dispersed and its morale shaken, to wait for further reinforcement from the king and make another bid for Delhi. In any way there is no evidence from his conduct during the battle and after it of any negligence of which 'Ārif Qandahārī and Mīrzā 'Alā-ud-Daula accuse him. His flight to Sirhind was therefore caused by either an error of judgment or nervousness due to defeat and the consequent dispersal of his army. 'Ārif Qandahārī is a really contemporary authority for the incident and his account is of utmost importance. But it should be noted that 'Ārif was a devoted servant of Bairām Khān whom he accompanied to Gujarāt even after his downfall and it was quite natural

9. *Tārīkh-i-Shāhī*, pp. 351-52.

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that he would justify his master's conduct. On the other hand Bāyazīd was also a contemporary writer and had ample opportunities of knowing details about Tārdī Beg Khān's death. He was then at Kābul in the service of Mun 'im Khān who was informed of Tārdī Beg's execution by Akbar's *firmān* and Bairām's letter and discussed the incident with him. It is difficult to accept the version of 'Ārif Qandahārī supported by Mīrzā 'Ala-ud-Daula who though a contemporary author was not contemporary with the incident, against the view of Bāyazīd which is supported by the majority of the chroniclers. It will not therefore be unreasonable to conclude that Tārdī Beg fought against Hīmū, was defeated, and fled to Sirhind and his flight from Delhi to Sirhind was due to either nervousness or indiscretion and was not caused by any negligence on his part. It seems also probable, as the majority of the historians state, that he did not show cowardice in the battle-field.

Neither indiscretion nor nervousness was guilt sufficient to justify execution. Execution would be a severe and cruel step even if Tārdī Beg were guilty of mere cowardice in the battle-field, specially when he had presented himself before the king with all humility. Of course Tārdī Beg Khān had on occasions proved faithless during the reign of Humāyūn but there is no evidence of his disloyalty after he had rejoined the king—a charge which the *Tārīkh-i-Alfī* makes. There is enough force in the contention of Firishta and modern writers like Dr. V. A. Smith and Sir Wolseley Haig who follow in his train that the execution of Tārdī Beg was a severe necessity. Circumstances were difficult at the time, the Afghāns were still supreme, the Mughul power with a lawless nobility and an ill-cemented army was not yet established and the least cowardice or error on the part of a prominent noble would set dangerous example. The execution of Tārdī Beg calmed all disaffection in the army and among the nobles and led to the absolute authority of Bairām Khān which was badly needed if the Mughul kingdom were to be re-established in Hindūstān. In short the execution of Tārdī Beg was part of general plan to destroy the force of aristocratic disintegration which was hostile to the State.

But this leads us to a discussion of the third point: did Bairām Khān execute Tārdī Beg with a view to doing good to the king or the State? Several good authorities, Bāyazīd, Abu-'l-Fazl, Mu'tamid Khān, the emperor Jahāngīr and even 'Abdul-Bāqī Nahāwandī, reply in the negative and attribute Bairām Khān's action to personal motive, while Badāūnī states that Bairām was ill-disposed towards Tārdī Beg Khān. That there was personal bitterness between the two appears also from the *Rauzat-ut-Tāhirīn* where in a discussion at Sirhind among the nobles regarding the Hīmū menace we find Bairām Khān remarking sarcastically that the cause of Hīmū's courage was the *heroism* of Tārdī Beg. Bāyazīd says that Bairām who had old quarrel with Tārdī Beg, made his life the forfeit for his military failure. Accoring to Abu-'l-Fazl, Mu'tamid Khān and 'Abdul-Bāqī, though both Bairām and Tārdī Beg called one another *tūqān* (brother), in fact they were rivals. Tārdī Beg Khān was a prominent *amīr* and regarded himself as the leader of the army and was after overthrowing the Khān Khānān. They were not only hostile to one another due to their conflicting political ambition but also on religious grounds;

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Bairām Khān was a Shiah and Tārdī Beg Khān a Sunnī. Bairām Khan took advantage of Tārdī Beg's defeat at Delhi to do away with his rival and had him executed. Jahāngīr also says that as Bairām Khān disliked Tārdī Beg, he made his defeat an excuse to put him to death. Bairām Khān did not take such a drastic step against Iskandar Khān the Uzbeg whose conduct he censured when Iskandar abandoned Sirhind to the advancing Afghān army in 1555. Neither did he take Iskandar to task for having left Āgra for Delhi on account of the advance of Hīmū.

As to Akbar's part in the affair, the majority of the authorities state that Akbar had no hand in and was completely ignorant of it and Bairām Khān did all this while Akbar was away on hunting and without his knowledge and permission. Ahmad Yādgār, however, says that Akbar rebuked Tārdī Beg and other nobles at Sirhind for their defeat at Delhi and inflicted capital punishment on Tārdī Beg for his desertion in the battle-field. 'Abdullah also states that at Sirhind Akbar asked Tārdī Beg explanation for his defeat which he failed to give and the king had him executed with the advice of Bairām Khān. From the *Ma'dan-i-Akhbār-iAhmadī* it appears that Bairām had previously acquainted Akbar with the matter. According to Badāūnī the Khān Khānān impressed on the mind of Akbar that Tārdī Beg's treachery was the cause of the Mughul defeat at Delhi and brought the evidence of Khān Zamān and others in support of this charge and succeed in obtaining a sort of permission (apparent or reluctant نومسا گونه) for his execution. We have it from the *Tārīkh-i-Alfī* that 'Alī Quli Khān reproached Tārdi Beg Khān at Sirhind for his defeat at Delhi. In the *Tārīkh-i-Alfī* we find, however, Bairām Khān offering detailed explanation to Akbar for the execution of Tārdī Beg without his permission and he was able to reconcile the king through the efforts of Māham Anaga and some other confidants of the king and make him accept his apology.[10] We need not take seriously into consideration the statements of Ahmad Yādgār and 'Abdullah for reasons discussed above. But as to Badāūnī, the manner in which Tārdī Beg was executed as described by Badāūnī himself, raises grave suspicion that there was something wrong in this matter. In view of the evidence of the great majority of historians as well as of the summary procedure, hastiness and feigned friendship which Bairām showed, in short the manner in which the execution was effected, we are led to the conclusion that Akbar was ignorant of it. Bairām did all during Akbar's absence and without his knowledge and permission because he apprehended that Akbar would not agree to the execution of Tārdī Beg as he had refused to permit him to execute Shāh Abu-'l-Ma'ālī. One day while Akbar was away from the camp on hunting, Bairām Khān himself went to the house of Tārdī Beg Khān and by invitation brought him to his own place. At the time of evening prayer Bairām rose up in the midst of conversation on the pretext of performing the ablutions and his men, appointed for the purpose, put Tārdī Beg to death. When Akbar returned from hunting, Bairām sent Pīr Muhammad Shirwānī to him, representing that he was ashamed of having

10. *Tārīkh-i-Alfī*, British Museum MS., ff. 591b-592a, India Office MS., f. 432a.

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executed Tārdī Beg without his permission and he did this as he apprehended that the king out of innate kindness would have hesitated to act but the welfare of the State demanded his execution as an warning to others. Akbar, who was a mere boy, had no other way but to approve of the action of Bairām Khān whose services were then indispensable.

We may therefore conclude that the guilt of Tārdī Beg Khān was either indiscretion or nervousness and Bairām made an excuse of his rival's defeat by an overwhelmingly superior army and executed him apparently on the ground of State necessity but really to serve his own end without the knowledge and permission of Akbar whose reluctant approval he afterwards exacted.

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RAJPUT-MARATHA CULTURAL RELATIONSHIP

R. V. Oturkar

Introduction

Historains would be well advised to emphasise the binding forces of humanity more than the forces of conflict and disruption within the terms of precision and truth. It may be said that this is a difficult task and it may even be branded as unscientific. I submit that this is not so. Since there can be no narration without selection, it is for the historian to pick and to choose his date. Historians have so far paid greater attention to the concrete forces describing the conflicts and neglected the development of ties of cultural character arising out of the needs when two strong groups happen to be thrown together by force of circumstances. In what follows an attempt has been made to trace Rajput-Maratha cultural relations.

Now, I do not wish to conceal the facts, indeed none can, that the relations between the two martial communities of India that fought Islam in succession, were not always friendly. The feudal and medieaval character of organisation resulted into opportunists' alliances and group conflicts. In one case, at least, in Ishwarsingh and Madhavsingh conflict, after the death of Sawai Jaisingh, the conflicting policy adopted by the two Maratha Sardars Ranaji and Malharrao has no relieving feature and it could only be traced to the financial stringency, which was itself an outcome of a very defective financial system that sought to sustain the Maratha Confederacy. Human relationship has its dark side of killing and exploitation ; but there is a brighter side too and it is the duty of the historian to direct the attention of the reader to some brighter spots which are the relieving features in the midst of a succession of warfare. A careful student would be able to mark not a few of them and may be able to revolve a story of the binding forces of humanity which induce people to work together when historical forces compel them as it were to live together. It is to a few such factors appearing in Rajput Maratha Relations that I am referring to in this paper.

The Marathas were always very anxious to trace their descent from the Rajputs. Ghorpade Bakhar is at pains to delineate a line of succession from Sujansingh of Chitor to Shivaji. The Chitnis Bakhar also, in narrating the life of Shivaji traces his descent from Sujan Singh, the descendent of Laxmansingh of Padmini fame. The Sabhasad Bakhar which is a work of the closing years of the seventeenth century refers to the Rajput origin of the Marathas. For instance, Jaysingh sends a word to Shivaji, 'you are a Sisodia Rajput. You and I are related to each other'. In Radhamadhav Vilas Champu Maloji has been termed a 'Rana'. Quite apart from the veracity of the Rajput origin of the Marathas these references are an undoubted evidence that the Marathas liked to trace their descent from the Rajputs, even as early as in the 17th

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century. The efforts of Gaurishankar Ojha, in fact, have resulted in getting a geneology which is said to be authentic.

Shahaji, the father of Shivaji, in one of the letters written to a Bijapur Sardar, affirms that he was a Rajput and says that by no means shall he stoop down to seek favour of the Padshah. To quote his words: 'We are Rajputs, we shall serve only on conditions honourable to us' आमा अकातुकाखे बोले करु नु गैरहिसाबी पादशाही खिजमत न केली पेशर्जादि न करु.

When the coronation ceremony of Shivaji was contemplated, information was obtained from Jaipur about the coronation ceremony. There could be no coronation without a thread ceremony and hence the Munj ceremony was performed when Shivaji was 44 years old.

Radhabai, the mother of Bajirao I and Chimanajiappa had been to Banaras in 1733 and on her way she visited Jaipur and Sawai Jaysingh treated her with great courtesy. There is a letter written by Chimaji in Sanskrit, which bristles with expressions of friendly sentiments that he had towards Jaysingh. Bajirao addressed Sawai Jaysingh (1700-1743) 'Kaka'. There is a poem वंशभास्कर चंदूकाव्यम् written in Hindi by Suryamalla which describes the arrival of Radhabai at Udaipur. Jaysingh presented his daughter to her and said, 'She is married to the Rana of Bundi and I am looking forward to the Maratha support to preserve the integrity of that State against the attack of the Mughals.''

In 1743 he celebrated the performance of Vajipeya Yajnya (वाजसेन ?) at Jayapur and Maratha Brahmins were invited on the occasion. There are at present in Bramhapuri a part of Jayapur, the descendants of three Maratha families, Pundarik, Samrat and Dharmadhikari. At Jayapur you have पौंडरिक गोविंदकरजको गल्ली (vide Prof. Potdar's article in the *Mandal* Magazine). Ratnakar Paundarik also surnamed Mahashabde (महाशब्दे) was the Guru of Sawai Jaysingh. He had a big collection of Sanskrit works which later on was included in the State Library. This Ratnakar was the author of जयसिंह कल्पद्रुम. The relationship of महाशब्दे family with जयपूर appears to be over 150 years older. The ancestors of Mahashabde were at the court of Mansingh (1570-1614). The name is पौंडरिक विट्ठल कनटिक. Besides the three mentioned above, there was one Parvanikar who is really परभणीकर originally belonging to परभणी in Hyderabad State. He had written a commentary on कुमारसंभव and जयवंश a poem in praise of जयपूर discovered by Prof. Potdar. He had *inam* land received from Jaipur Maharaja. The present Jaipur Station is situated on that land. As Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai says, the cultural exchange between Maharashtra and other parts of India must have been immense, and it is an interesting and useful field for research. Common life and thorough exchange continued to grow side by side with the Mughal-Maratha struggle.

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Marathas, although they came as conquerors, were impressed by the rich and cultural ways of living of the North and desired to imitate the same in their own country. In a letter written by नानासाहेब from Bundelkhand on 22nd Dec. 1752, he says, "Life here is rich and full. One finds here larger gardens growing varieties of flowers and lotuses. The rivers of these regions are full of healthy sweet water which enrich the lands and their people in comparison with which our Deccan rivers appear to be poor slender streams'. The people here are rich and fair in complexion and they earn more they have to spend. Soon the Marathas who had seen better type of mansions in the North began to reconstruct similar ones in Poona, Satara and Nasik. Although the famous शनवारवाग is at it were a fortified castle with ramparts as you have in Ahmednagar, not a few mansions in Poona of Raste' Phadke's and Mehendale's for example, bear essentially the grandeur of mansions in Northern India.

I may here make a brief reference to Ahilyabai's efforts in the Administration of Malwa. She was in charge of the territory for 28 years from 1766 to 1794. A ruler cannot rule for such a long time only at the point of the sword. State may rest upon force but successful administration looks upon it only as a support in the last resort. It has a moral basis and success in administration is measured by the efficiency with which concrete good is extended to the people of the country and the ruler shows inclinations to mix up with the people of the country. Ahilyabai participated in the functions and encouraged the Bhils to be watchmen and weavers of Maheshwar to weave Sadis which had a great demand in the Deccan. Even today they are popular among high class ladies of Maharashtra.

These examples should suffice to indicate the trend of efforts that students of history ought to make in understanding the constructive aspect of History, unfolding what Pandit Nehru has called the binding forces of humanity.

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AKBAR'S DIVINE MONOTHEISM

K. S. Lal

Summary

All the works of Akbar had a correct planning, a beginning and an end. His works of art and administration had a definite plan. Similarly his study of comparative religions which began in the discussions of the Ibadat Khana had a happy culmination in the Din-i-Ilahi. The Din-i-Ilahi, was not a new religion ; it did not possess any of the elements of religion: Prophet, Book, Church, Priesthood. It was only a society of men of cosmopolitan views. Not being a religion, Akbar did not encourage converts to it, and confined its membership to his intimate circle. A society which has twenty members on its rolls cannot be called a "religion". The misunderstanding has arisen because of the word "Din". The want of a better word perhaps made Akbar call it by the name of Din-i-Ilahi. Thus etymology alone is a fault. Akbar never founded a new religion. He only showed the people the way to fraternity and peace. "His administrative methods were changed and his artistic motifs given up by his successors. The spirit of the Din-i-Ilahi was also gradually lost. It is a folly to eulogise Akbar's achievements in the fields of art and administration and at the same time to declare the Din-i-Ilahi as a monument of his folly."

AKBAR AND HIS DIN-I-ILAHI

H. Goswami, Vedantasastri

Summary

Akbar is believed to be the greatest of all Muslim emperors of India. It was he, who saw through the necessity of fusing the two major sections of the people, the Hindu and the Muslim, into a single nation, with a common culture under the guidance of a common religion. And for this purpose, he promulgated a new faith Din-i-ilahi alias Tauhid-i-ilahi. It was based on the fundamentals of both 'Hinduism and Islam' ; it combined in itself the montheism of the latter with the age-old sun-worship of the former.

A religious system is worth the name, when it has got the backing of some system of philosophy and there is no wonder that Akbar would try to evolve a philosophical doctrine to establish his new faith upon, and for this purpose he contacted a lot of religious teachers, professing divergent views.

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The Bengal school of Vaisnavism was founded in the fifteenth century by the Great Madhavendra Puri ; reached its culmination in the Great Master Sree Chaitanya Deva and had its religious and philosophical system codified under the able guidance of the six Vrindaban Goswamins during the regime of Akbar. The influence of the Goswamins was noticeable in various other sects such as the Nimbarka and Vallabhachari and also in some political and religious elites of the day such as Maharaja Man Singh, Acharyya Madhusudan Saraswati, Mira Bai and Tulsidas.

Through the influence of Maharaja Man Singh, Akbar contacted the Goswamins and became impressed with them.

It has been shown in this paper how in subsequent period Akbar summoned Ananda Ghana, Haridas Swami and Hita Hari Vamsa Jee, three Vaisnava scholars of the day, and learnt from them the philosophical views of the Goswamins as embodied in the six Sandarbhas, composed by Srijiva—himself one of the Goswamins, and later on incorporated the same in his new faith Din-ilahi alias Tauhid-ilahi.

A SANSKRIT INSCRIPTION OF THE SULTAN MAHMUD III (1536-1554 A. D.) OF GUJARAT

B. J. SANDESARA

SUMMARY

This is a Sanskrit inscription dated V.S. 1594 of Mahmud III of Gujarat, which mentions that when the Sultan was ruling at Ahmedabad and one Sigiramikhan was the Governor of Patan (the older capital of Gujarat, situated in the North Gujarat, in the former Baroda State territory), an officer named Malik Rakunal had built a Dharmasala at Patan at the order of Dariya Khan, who was in the charge of the state-administration on account of the minor age of the Sultan. As the commemorative inscription is in Sanskrit, the Dharmasala may have been built probably for the Hindu population.

The paper also refers to the Sanskrit inscriptions and coin-legends of some other Muslim rulers, and give the text of the original inscription.

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THE BATTLE OF SAKHARKHELDA (1724 A.D.) AND THE PART PLAYED BY RAGHOJI JADHAW OF SINDHKHED (BERAR)

D. B. MAHAJAN

SUMMARY

Introductory: This paper has been based on the important documents which are still unpublished and were found with the members of the great family of Jadhawas of Sindhkhed, in Berar. The Jadhawa's Bakhar narrates account regarding the part played by Rakhoji Jadhao, in the decisive battle of Sakharkhelda fought in the year 1724, betwetn the two Moghul armies headed by the Nizam and Mubarizkhan, the viceroy of the Emperor of Delhi. The information has been verified from various independent sources and has been found reliable and authentic.

Importance of the campaign : Importance of the campaign cannot be undervalued. It throws light on the intricacies of diplomacy and warfare of Bajirao Peshwa, the head of the Marathas in the Deccan. The Marathas, in general, sided with the Nizam, who was supposed to be a direct impediment in the way of fulfilling the ambitions of the Marathas and was a thorn in the heart of the Maharashtra. But the great militant family of which Raghoji was an able representative, remained loyal to the Delhi Emperor, and Raghoji fought gallantly with all his men and might and fell fighting in the battle. His body was then concealed by his assistants and his wife and mother removed into the jungles. They were, afterwards, received by Raja of Satara, Shahu, the Maratha King, as he was their near relation. The battle was decisive, as Nizam's success made him independent in the Deccan and he was a "Subhedar" of the Emperor in name only. The paper describes the actual part played by Raghoji and the way in which he fought till he was slain.

Date of Occurence : The battle was fought for two days on the 30th September and 1st October of 1724. Shri Kale's date, i.e. 13th October is definitely wrong. Shri V. K. Rajwade is vague while Shri Khare and G. S. Sardesai agree with the above dates in their writings quoted in the paper. Grant Duff also is not so definite.

The battlefield : The writer had the good fortune to see this battlefield and the paper gives its location and short description. There is a tomb of the Emperor's Subha-Mubarizkhan in the battlefield at Fattekherda and it has *Imams* for its upkeep and maintenance. There are a number of smaller tombs which show that many small and big Sardars were slain in the battle.

Besides, there are a number of Bundelkhandi residents at this village who are the descendants of the Bundela soldiers who had accompanied the Nizam to this battlefield.

The village was named as Fattekherda in commemoration of Nizam's victory in this battle.

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A PEEP INTO SOME MUGHAL INDIAN CUSTOMS HOUSES (CHAUKIS) IN BENGAL AND BIHAR IN 1670-71

Dr. Jagadish Narayan Sarkar

Summary

In this paper an attempt has been made to collect some details relating to the location and working of Customs houses (Chaukis) both on land and on river routes in Bengal and Bihar, as gathered from the travel-diary of Jhon Marshall, a factor of the English E. I. Company.

It is interesting to note that

(1) no goods were to be carried from Rajmahal to Cassimbazar without a pass (*dastak*) :

(2) none could pass from Rajhamal by land towards Patna except through Bar Jangal where everyone received a *Chhap* or stamp on a cloth:

(3) there was no restriction on movement of persons from Patna to Rajmahal.

Expectation or demand of *bakhshis* or tips seems to have been the most characteristic phenomenon in these *Chaukis*. At most places we read of *choukidars* demanding tips, without at all caring, it would seem, to inspect the *dastaks* or passes or stamped cloths (as at Cohandarea or Cushadanga, Murghhapore or Mirzapur and Panuella in Bengal and the Mir Bahr at Pirpainti in Bihar). At some places the *Choukidar* made enquiries regarding the party or the dastak (e.g. at Gopalpore or Gopalpur, Guyghat or Gaighat in Bengal). Sometimes the peons of the *Chaukis* harassed the travellers by disallowing them to pass in spite of their possessing permits and stamped cloths, unless they paid tips, as at Bar Jangal near Rajmahal and at Udhuanala and Patthura on the Ganges.

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SECTION V

MODERN INDIA

from 1765 A.D.

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

DR. PRATUL CHANDRA GUPTA

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I am grateful to you for asking me to preside over the Modern History Section of the Indian History Congress. I believe it is mainly due to my long and close association with the Indian History Congress. I am aware of my shortcomings which you have been pleased to overlook and I hope you will treat with the same indulgence my humble efforts to guide your deliberations.

It is a matter of profound grief that Dewan Bahadur C. S. Srinivasachari will no longer be with us. A former President of the Congress and one of its founders, he had always been a source of encourgement to the younger group of scholars, and those among us who did not know him intimately also felt a sense of personal loss at news of his death.

You have also learnt with regret the news of the death of Sir William Foster in May last. Towards the end of his life indifferent health and failing eyesight prevented him from continuing his academic studies. But to students of history his name has always been an inspiration. He has succeeded more than any other person in introducing the students of Indo-British period to the original materials of history.

Sir William Foster's death reminds one that it also put an end to a line of historiographers and severed a link which had existed since the early days of the East India Company. The first historiographer of the East India Company, Robert Orme, arrived in India as a writer about two hundred years ago, and later on became a member of the Council in Madras. On his return to England in 1760, he published his *History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan*. In 1769 Orme was appointed Historiographer to the East India Company, a post which he shared with John Bruce from 1793 till 1801 when he died. John Bruce had originally been a Professor of Logic in the University of Edinburgh. His association with Henry Dundas resulted in his being employed by the India Board. With the help of Dundas he was appointed Keeper of His Majesty's State Papers in 1792. Next year he became the East India Company's Historiographer jointly with Robert Orme, though on a much smaller pay, and after Orme's death eight years later continued as the sole Historiographer. Bruce was previously known as an author of philosophical treatises. His first work on India, published anonymously in 1793, was called *Historical View of Plans for the Government of British India*. But his more well known work is the *Annals of the East India Company* published in 1810. It was followed by *A Report on the Company's Exclusive Privilege of Trade for 20 years from 1794*. Bruce drew the attention of Henry Dundas to the necessity of calendaring the documents and reorganising the record office at Whitehall. In 1817 it was decided to

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close down the Historiographer's office and Bruce was granted a pension. The abolition of the Historiographer's office was evidently regarded as a temporary measure and it was agreed that should it be necessary to revive the post, it would go to the Sanskrit scholar Charles Wilkins.

With the growth of the Company's territories in India it was all the more necessary to collect information about its newly acquired possessions. As early as 1797 the Court had issued a letter to the Governor-General in Council directing him to call upon the servants of the East India Company to collect the data they might be able to secure for "the chronology, geography, government, laws, political revolution, the progressive stages of the useful arts" and particularly details about the "former and present state of internal and foreign trade". The information was needed for the Company's Historiographer for compiling general history of British affairs in the East Indies. The result was disappointing and the only province which showed some enthusiasm was Bombay. To Jonathan Duncan, Governor of Bombay, belongs the credit of collecting a large amount of materials for writing a history of India.

The interest of the Court of Directors in the collection and preservation of historical material was also evident from the setting up a public repository in London for Oriental learning. In 1798, the Directors noted with concern the removal of the Oriental manuscripts from India in large number. They deplored the "frequent practice" among the servants of the East India Company of making a collection of Oriental manuscripts. It was apprehended that the manuscripts in private possessions were "in danger of being neglected, and at length in a great measure lost to Europe as well as to India" ; and India might "at length be much thinned of its literary stores without greatly enriching Europe." It was suggested that attempts should be made for the accumulation and preservation of manuscripts by the Company. The Directors, however, did not intend that considerable expenses should be incurred "in forming a collection of Eastern books". It was recommended that a "suitable apartment might be allotted for this purpose in the additional buildings of the Company which were then being erected in Leadenhall Street.

Some progress in this direction had also been made in India. The members of the Asiatic Society were not however indifferent to the advantages of a respository of manuscripts in the new India House. In 1798, a member of the Society, John Gilchrist, the wellknown Persian and Hindi scholar, proposed that the Society might purchase rare and valuable books "in the Asiatick languages, with the patriotic idea of forwarding the originals or copies of them to the new British Indian repository". The Society had then planned a building of its own and most of the members were against incurring fresh expenses. Gilchrist's proposal was therefore found unacceptable. The Society had, however, started a nucleus of a manuscript library of its own by the acquisition of five manuscripts as early as 1784. Founded by the genius of Sir William Jones and associated with a host of Sanskrit and Persian scholars, the Society is rightly regarded as a storehouse of materials of ancient and mediaeval history. But what is not always appreciated is that the early

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correspondence of the Society, its old Proceedings and its collection of English manuscripts of the early nineteenth century may be of equal interest to students of Indo-British history.

In the eighteenth century historical works on India were few. One would come across political tracts, books of travel and publications the object of which was to vindicate one's policy or conduct. The early historians of British India, Orme and Bruce, wrote under official patronage. An earlier writer, Richard Cambridge, made Anglo-French struggle the subject of his study. Jonathan Scott's *Deccan* published in 1794 contained more than its title signified. Francklin's *History of Shah Alum* had been the standard book on the subject until a few years ago. But these only touched a fringe of India's history. In the century that followed India found her historians. The first quarter of the nineteenth century introduced many writers whose works are regarded as classics of Indian history. John Malcolm, Mountstuart Elphinstone, James Mill and others wrote the story of the consolidation of the British power in which some of them had also played their parts. It was Prinsep who wrote his book in 1819 and called it *Political and Military Transactions in India* in his time. The title would have been equally suitable to many other works, because this was the subject on which many of them wrote. The interest of some went beyond their own times and the regions which they served. Some carried their labour home. Grant Duff utilised his furlough before retirement in putting in final shape his *History of the Marathas* which he had planned a long time ago. Elphinstone began his *History of India* in retirement, which he decided to leave incomplete in 1841. "I have no talent for narrative", he wrote, "and that is enough to have been fatal to historians as incomparably superior to me as their subjects are to mine." Many of his readers will not agree with this observation.

The first quarter of the nineteenth century evidenced considerable interst in Indo-British history. The earlier works had their defects. Writing of contemporary or almost contemporary history has its own difficulties. The lot of the historians who writes about his own times is not always happier than that of others in his profession who build up their work from fragments of the distant past. The early writers of Indo-British history were not free from faults that would often characterise the work of pioneers. They made mistakes and occasionally failed to understand the people about whom they were writing. In one work, which is otherwise regraded as a standard authority on the subject, the author had been led astray by his own gift of sarcasm and influenced on occasions by considerations other than strictly historical. But on the whole they have set a standard which is difficult to achieve.

Students of Indian history cannot help noticing that from about the middle of the nineteenth century the character of books on Indian history underwent a change. One of my predecessors stated, evidently with regret, that inspite of the "soundest of equipments", the historians of the period sometimes turned "pitiful apologists for British rule in India". It is not merely the British historian but the Britisher in general whose attitude towards Indian

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affairs had changed. The servants of the East India Company were not noted for their moderation, and India was to many a means of making money within an incredibly short time. Some stayed in this country longer than they had anticipated, married Eurasian or Indian wives and settled down. Many had learnt to love the country of their adoption. In the beginning of the nineteenth century the number of Europeans or Eurasians who had made India their home was so large that it became a matter of concern to the Governor-General, Sir John Shore, however, had hardly any reason to be alarmed. About the middle of the nineteenth century Britishers in India had learnt to consider themselves far superior persons not only to the Indians, but to their own slovenly compatriots who had been long in this country and had taken to eastern habits. They never forgot that it was their destiny to rule an alien people and it could best be done by maintaining their aloofness. The scar of the Mutiny took a long time to heal. But there were other reasons also. In their case there was no slackening of home ties. More frequent communications with England, increasing number of white women and regular appearance of current European literature in India helped the Britishers to lose interst in this country and live within a world of their own. After the reorganisation of the military forces following the Mutiny, the European troops of the Company were no longer a local force for permanent service in India but a part of the Imperial British Army which would be transferred from one outpost of the empire to another. It was not possible to take root into the country. Even to the common people the change did not go unnoticed. The sepoys were not slow to observe that the white soldiers "are a different caste now". One of the sepoys, Sitaram, who had fought by the side of the British troops against the Pindaris, in the Afgan War and in the Mutiny, wrote his memoir about 1861 when he had retired from service. He was one of those whose loyalty to the Company's salt had made the British empire in India possible. The younger British soldiers, he wrote, "seldom can speak one word of our language, except abuse ; if they could learn to ask for things as quickly as they learn this, they would be apt scholars indeed". Sitaram had occasions to note the contrast, "The 17th foot called us *bhais ;* the 16th lancers never walked near our *chulas,* nor spat on our food ; and we were together for years". The Queen's regime introduced changes that did not please every heart. Men like Sitaram found it "far more hard, much more harsh.....if it were not for the old servants of the Company it would be far more worse than it is".

Political power is like a strong wine that easily goes to the head and makes it impossible to look at things in proper perspective. But it does not fully explain why British scholarship lost much of its interest in India. There was however no dearth of publications, and there were many among the soldiers of the Queen who served her with the same sincerity and success as their predecessors in the days of the Company. But most of the writers hardly looked beyond the problems of their time. Many of their works suffer from a curious ephemeral character and have no claim to the remembrance of posterity. The beginning of the change one might trace in the second quarter

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of the century. It would be too much to expect that every age would produce a Sir William Jones. But one is not prepared to find a change that was overtaking the European scholarly section in the country. In the course of a farewell Address to Lord Hastings, President of the Asiatic Society, on 26th December 1822, the members stated that "the extraordinary events of a few years have furnished us with new still more elevated incentive to study and have rendered a familiarity with the languages and literature of the past a high political obligation. We owe it to the subjects of our Government to cherish the only literature they possess, until they shall acquire taste for something of more value." The Governor-Genral's reply was in keeping with this sentiment:—"I will urge you not to release your research amidst the ruins which have overwhelmed the records of a country heretofore eminently civilised. I confess that I do not expect anything directly valuable will be found ; such traces as remain of the ancient state of India appear to me as establishing the presumption of progress in mechanical Arts rather than in cultivated products of the mind. The acquisitions I apprehend would be rough gems." Referring to Wilson's translations of excerpts from Sanskrit dramas which was read in the meeting, Lord Hastings commented, "the translation which your learned Secretary has this evening read to you from Sanskrit works lately discovered, will prove that the matter however irregular in its native shape may become a brilliant decoration when subjected to the polish which genius and refined taste can apply to it ; how far any advancement to science may be hoped is not here the question. Perhaps nothing intrinsically novel in any line is attainable. It can hardly be looked for ever in works of fancy ; imagination consisting wholly in various combination, exaggerations or distortions of simple known things has obviously its limits and these boundaries seem to have been reached.

Interest in history among the Indians was largely a result of the national consciousness in the closing years of the nineteenth century. Fortunately the political movement was also accompanied in many parts of India with a movement in art and literature. It was from this movement that the early workers in history drew their strength and inspiration. This largely explains their zeal and their sacrifice for the cause. It also explains why it was not always possible to have an objective and clear view of things. Many of our historians were full of crusader's spirit. The history of India had suffered from unsympathetic treatment by foreigners ; patriotism demanded that it should be set at right. In his Address to the Historical Association of Great Britain in 1947, Professor Trevelyan argued a case for occasional bias in history..... "the historian's bias may sometimes help him to sympathise with the actual passions of people in the past whose action it is his business to describe. Clio should not always be cold, aloof, impartial". Some of our writers of the Indo-British period perhaps wanted Clio to be a handmaid, not a judge. Their effort, however, were not all in vain. They were responsible for proving that every story told of the British occupation of India was necessarily true and that contemporary accounts like Holwell's *Narrative* cannot be wholly trusted. No amount of bias and passion however could turn men like dis-

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solute and reckless Siraj-ud-daulah into national heroes and martyrs, a fiction kept alive by our playwrights and story-writers.

Late Dr. Balkrishna who presided over this section of the Indian History Congress in 1938, drew our attention to what he described as "lamentable gaps" in Indian history, subjects which till then had not received sufficient attention of the Indian scholars. Among others he mentioned the struggle between the French and the English, the conquest of Ceylon, Burma, Sind and the Punjab by the East India Company, the history of the Karnatak and Mysore and India's relations with Afghanistan, Russia and Persia. Even today there is no published work on India and her neighbours by an Indian scholar, and though a former President of the Indian History Congress put in a strong plea for introducing the subject in the course of studies, I do not suppose any University has done so. But one is happy to recall that in the last twelve years much has been done by Indian writers to fill in these gaps. Beginning has been made of the narrative of Anglo-French rivalry. The history of Burma, Sind and the Punjab has received the attention of Indian scholars. The history of Karnatak has not been neglected and both Hyder and Tipu have found their biographers. New grounds have been covered in the history of the Rajputs, the Marathas, the Sikhs and the Assamese and the final episode of the fall of the Mughal empire has been written. We are however fully conscious that we have not been able to deal with all aspects of Indian history. Our studies are mostly limited to political events. The administrative and the economic history of Indo-British period have interested only a few, and the account of the fusion of Indian and European cultures remains unwritten.

You are familiar with the two schemes of history of India to be written by our scholars. Two volumes in the series sponsored in Bombay have been published. A more elaborate scheme has been prepared by the Indian History Congress. Some volumes in this series may be published before we meet next year. Two different series, one of the eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries and the other on contemporary history have been projected by the Government of India. The National Archives is bringing out the Fort William—India House Correspondence in several volumes. One volume, the fifth in the series, was published last year. One may hope it would be possible to bring out the remaining volumes without inordinate delay. The scheme of the Ministry of Defence to write a comprehensive *History of the Indian Armed forces in World War II* has evoked a countrywide interest. Some official histories of the War by other Allied Nations have already been published. This scheme has opened up new lines of research and one is curious to know how our historians have been able to break the unfamiliar ground. The Ministry of Defence would do well to extend its line of enquiry further into the past and help to bring out the complete story of the Indian troops since the early days of the Company. There are many regimental and army histories of the period and some of them are excellent. They are useful so far as they go. But their authors were concerned solely with the army of the East India Company and its white troops and had little to say

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about the sepoys. Hardly any notice is taken of the armies of other Powers. Till now we have not paid much attention to the military history of India. The study of military history may be included with profit in the University curriculum. Our students should learn more than what they are told in the schools, that our sepoys were fine fellows and that in the siege of Arcot they lived on gruel and gave their rice to their British comrades.

The systematic study and research of Indian history by our scholars were taken up about the end of the last century. It is now more than fifty years that proper attention is being paid to the use of original materials. It is unfortunate that even after half a century the number of persons working on the subject falls short of one's expectation. Shortly before the first World War, a young teacher in England, now a famous historian, complained that history did not attract the better type of British young men: "The idea that history is a 'soft option' for classics and science still subtly operates to keep some of our very best men out of the history schools." I do not know what are conditions in England now. In India it has always been different. I know of one University and I dare say there are others, where history is a popular subject and attracts many of our best students. It is a pity that many of them do not find it possible to preserve their interest in the subject. Many of us who are present here began their association with this organisation since its early days, in Allahabad or in Calcutta. It is a disturbing thought that we are joined by so few new faces every year.

It is no use blaming the younger generation. The truth is we have not sown but we are expecting the harvest. There is hardly any dearth of young talents in the country but hardly any means of making proper use of them. Many of us here are teachers. Nothing breaks one's heart more than to find that young men who would have done credit to scholarship of any country have to drift to other avenues in life. I do not blame them either. It is easy to speak glibly of the scholar's idealism when one does not know the conditions under which he works. Research has always been an expensive hobby in India. Ten years ago the average worker found it difficult to carry on, now it is almost impossible.

I am sorry to have to introduce a note of pessimism. But I am sure many of you have noticed with concern the growing difficulties of carrying on research work and the decreasing number of new faces in the field. The remedy is not with the Indian History Congress. I have referred to the schemes for the publication of historical works by the Government of India. One appreciates also the measures taken by the Government for the editing and publishing of historical records in Bombay and Nagpur and the work done by the Regional Survey Committees. All these are laudable efforts. These tasks are beyond the capacity of individuals and can only be performed with the aid of the State. But something surely ought to be done for encouraging our young men to scholastic life. I am conscious that it will not be easy and that there are other problems in the country. But because it is difficult it is worth fighting for ; and one might do well to remember that these young men will one day set the standard of learning in our country. A

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very well-known writer referred to Gibbon as "an epitome of the blessings of the eighteenth century." His misadventure with religion "saved him from being a don" ; failing to marry the lady of his choice, he "escaped the dubious joys of domestic life" ; his father was angry with him, but he produced that "necessary five hundred pounds" which made it possible for Gibbon to make his trip to Italy, and Rome "saw her historian" ; his father died at "exactly the right moment and left him exactly the right amount of money". No young man, I hope, would grudge Gibbon's luck or his success. But unless the prospects of an academic life are more cheerful I am afraid we shall fail to attract many of our younger scholars.

Fourteen years ago, the Indian History Congress was established for promoting and encouraging study of Indian history. Some of those who planned it and helped to found it on a secure basis are no longer with us. Do not let us forget the trust they have bequeathed to the members of the Congress. It is disconcerting that in recent years there have been some indications of a certain narrowness of thought and feeling. It is unfortunate that in a book published from a Government institution the author took exception to the use of regional materials by scholars from other parts of India and wanted to put an end to what he described as "an aggressive occupation of the historical field". Whatever some politicians might think, historians believe in the indivisibility of India's history and culture. We have always imagined history as a continuous stream and we never believed that a portion of it could be enclosed and set apart for one's private use. In Europe the scholarly world was not indignant when a German wrote the *History of Roman Empire,* an English man the story of its *Decline and Fall* and a Frenchman about the social and economic life in Great Britain. Much of the history of India would never have been written but for what has been described as an aggression by scholars from other parts of India. The view that portions of history should be treated as close preserves is a negation of what we stand for. Such opinion, I hope, is not shared by many. But it is a pity that this view should find a place in what is almost an official publicatnion and that there is a tendency that our mind instead of widening up is narrowing in. To the historian there is hardly any other religion except the pursuit of truth. Lord Acton believed that modern historians could be "more rigidly impersonal, disinterested and just" than the historians of former ages. Let our dissertations and deliberations show he had good reasons for his belief.

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BRITISH CONCERN ABOUT DELHI AFFAIRS (1778)

DR. KALIKINKAR DATTA

Delhi affairs continued to be hopelessly confused in the eighteenth century due largely to the feeble and degraded character of the later Mughal emperors, selfish intrigues of the debased court nobility and sometimes by the ambition of the Afghans and the onrush of Maratha imperialism. Mirza Najaf tried his best to regulate these for some years. But it was indeed a very hard task. Reviewing the situation about 1778 the historian of the Mughal empire observes: "Within six years of Shah Alam's coming to Delhi his Government was relieved of the menace of the overgrown vassals who had usurped the lands round Delhi and so long successfully defied Mughal authority. The Ruhela who had seized the upper Doab was crushed, partially in March, 1772 and completely in September, 1777 ; his fellow-clansmen of the trans-Ganges colonies had been extirpated in April, 1774 and rendered incapable of joining any pan-Afghan revolt against the Delhi throne ; the Jat Rajah had been shorn of all his enormous new acquisitions and turned into a petty Zemindar worth only nine lakhs a year (April, 1776). From 1775 to 1782 the dreaded Marathas were so heavily entangled in a contested succession at home and a war with the English abroad that they would not spare a single soldier for Hindustan."[1]

But this calmness and security were more apparent than real. The Sikhs again proved to be a disturbing factor in the north-west of Delhi. Further, the nominal Emperor of Delhi, Shah Alam II, tossed by adverse circumstances, had become extremely vacilating in nature and was easily liable to change sides. Mirza Najaf's jealous rival, Abdul Ahad Khan, soon influenced him and instigated the enemies of the Mirza. To add to these, by 1778 Mirza Najaf was involved in troubles with Rao Pratab Singh of Macheri (Alwar), then in alliance with the Rajahs of Jaipur and Bharatpur.

The English had, no doubt, established their political mastery over Bengal and Bihar as a result of Plassey, Buxar and the Diwani, and dominant influence in Oudh after the death of Shujauddaulah on 25th January, 1775. But their position was still critical in view of the hostile attitude of the Indian powers in western and southern India, and the machinations of their European enemies, the French and the Dutch, particularly after the outbreak of the War of American Independence. It had not also become possible for them as yet to extend their sphere of influence beyond Oudh. They naturally watched with anxiety the events in and round Delhi, as is proved by the correspondence between Nathaniel Middleton, their Resident at the court of the Nawab Wazir of Oudh, and the Calcutta Government.

Middleton wrote from Lucknow on the 29th May, 1778 : "To have

1. Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. III, p. 146.

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troubled the Hon'ble Board with particular advices of the irregular and desultory motions of Nudjif Cawn and his adversaries, since the overthrow of Zabitta Cawn's powers would have been taking up their attention with laborious details neither important in themselves, or at all interesting to our own Government or that of our Ally. I have, therefore, been wholly silent on the subject ; but as appearances seem now to threaten a Rupture between Nudjif Cawn and the King, in which it is likely the mediation of the Vizier may ultimately be called upon, by one or both parties, I think it my duty to lay before the Hon'ble Board a brief review of their respective situation and of the other powers connected with them.

When Nudjif Cawn had compromised matters with the Chiefs of the Jauts, and exacted from them such holds as he judged would be a security for their future allegiance and Submission, he marched against Rajah Purtab Singh, a Rajpoot Chief who possesses a considerable tract of country to the Westward of Agra. This man during the Wars of Nudjif Cawn with the Jauts taking advantage of the conjuncture, got into his possession many Districts on the Western border of the Jaut Country in which he firmly established his own jurisdiction and authority. When Nudjif Cawn had entirely conquered that people, he called upon Pertab Sing to surrender up to him the Districts he had thus acquired possession of which by the right of conquest had become an appendage of his Government, and ordered him to account for the Revenues he had collected from them. Purtab Singh, being himself a man of great ambition and enterprize, did not chuse to submit to these demands, and having found means to engage some Maratta Chiefs in his service, and also to form an alliance with the Rajah of Jaynagore he set Nudjif Cawn at open defiance. Since the commencement of the War, however, he has had little reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the Marattas, which has been constantly unsteady, and sometimes, even treacherous to his cause, and the Death of the Jaynagur Rajah has in a great measure deprived him of the advantages which he expected to derive from that alliance—He therefore, sensible of the unequality of his own force to the numbers of Nudjif Cawn, applied to the Minister Abdulahd Cawn to interest the King in his behalf promising on his part, should His Majesty march into his country to pay into the Royal Treasury a daily allowance of one thousand Rupees for every halting day and five thousand for every marching one, and that the payment of these allowances should commence from the day his Majesty left the capital—The King who has been long disaffected to Nudjif Cawn, and also in the great distress for money to defray his necessary expenses readily acceded to these proposals, and, by authentic intelligence received yesterday, it appears that he has actually joined his tents which have been some time pitched at the distance of about two Coss from Delhi.

Besides the relief which the King may expect from so seasonable a supply to his Finances, it may, with reason be supposed he has other motives to induce him to take this step, and the reduction of Nudjif Cawn's power however unequal he may be to such an attempt is probably his primary object.

The great accession of power and dominion which Nudjif Cawn has

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obtained within these few years, has made him extremely formidable to the Minister, and even to the King himself, in so much, that the forms of subjection and Dependance have of late been almost wholly laid aside. His Majesty, therefore, jealous of this power and incensed at the treatment he meets with from Nudjif Cawn, may wish either to reduce him or to raise and support some other chief to a degree of Rivalship, which might form a counterpoize to his power, and prove a check upon his actions ; and the Minister no doubt strenuously recommends this policy as the recovery of his own influence must depend upon the success of it. The attempt however may, and it is generally suspected will prove fatal to him, as his abilities and talents for intrigue, altho' far superior to Nudjif Cawn's, can avail him but little in a contest with actual power.

Nudjif Cawn's two Generals Nudjif Cooly Cawn and Affrausiab Cawn are now to the north west of Delhy settling that country lately over-run by the Seiks, as they pretend for his Majesty, but in reality for their Master—They have remonstrated to his Majesty against his present project affecting to believe that his removing to a distance from them and leaving the Capital defenceless, will render their endeavours for the prosperity of the empire of little avail —Their remontrances are mild and respectful, but as it is supposed they have received particular instructions from Nudjif Cawn it is very probable, if his Majesty yield not to their instances, that they will march to the presence with all their Forces and effectually prevent his proceeding.

The struggling parties of Seiks which have for some time past been plundering the Districts to the North of Delhy are now retiring to their own Country. Their engagements with Zabitta Cawn were formed more with a view to favour their own incursions than to procure any permanent advantage to him. Accordingly they have in their measures and movements considered and made use of him as the mere instrument of aiding their own designs, which being accomplished, they have abandoned him, and he is now detached from them with a Retinue of about a thousand men, endeavouring to make his peace with the King through the mediation of Abdulahd Cawn.

With respect to the several inconsiderable Bodies of Marattas on this side of India, they scarely merit notice. The Chiefs are divided amongst themselves and they are dispersed in small Bodies so as to become of consequence to no party, and besides this I am informed most of them have lately received peremptory orders from Sindia their principal, to repair immediately to the south, where his interests clashing with those of Ragonaut Raw, render the Presence of all his Followers indispensably necessary, and it is supposed they will speedily move that way. Upon the repulse of that small party which attempted to oppose Colonel Leslie's crossing the Jumna at Calpee, it was rumoured that they had intentions of making reprisals upon the Doaub, but neither the Vizier or myself received any intelligence which could justify apprehensions of that nature, and I believe the report has now subsided.

Little or no alteration has taken place in the political situation of the Ranna of Ghoad for these two years past, during which period he has supported himself against the constant attacks of the Marattas with a degree

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of success far beyond any expectations which could have been entertained from his military strength or his Civil resources.

I shall duly inform the Hon'ble Board of the Progress of his Majesty, and of such further Particulars respecting his designs, and the probable consequences as I may be able to learn."[2]

He added in another letter from Lucknow, dated the 2nd June, 1778: "Since my address of the 29th ultimo Luttaufut Ally Cawn, the Vizier's Representative at the Court of Delhy, has written to his Excellency describing the situation of Affairs there, the probability of rupture between the King and Nudjif Cawn, in consequence of his Majesty's present motion and desiring to be favoured with instruction for the guidance of his conduct in case of such an event I have the honour to enclose a translation of Juttaufut's arzee to the vizier, with his Excellency to the Nabob Nudjif Cawn on the same Subject.

The Vizier upon receiving Luttufut's Arzee, giving him undoubted intelligence of the King's march from Delhy, was struck with what occurred to him as the probable consequences of that event, and imparting his sentiments to me, did me the honour to request I would communicate mine.

His Excellency conceived that from the unceasing discontents in Nudjif Cawn's Army, on account of their heavy arrears, a total want of discipline among them, the death of Sumroo, and the fatigues they had alreary suffered and would probably further suffer in prosecuting the war against Rajah Purtab Singh, added the declaration of the King's displeasure, they would in all probability disperse and leave Nudjif Cawn *for corn* (?) to bear up against the Royal indignation. Upon this representation, and solicited by his Excellency I suggested that the Nudjif Cawn's Followers were indeed discontented with their present Service, they would even in the event of the King's march be under a necessity of continuing in it, since that measure tho' it might manifest his Majesty's displeasure, would be far from giving them the choice of a better Establishment, and the success of Nudjif Cawn in all his former undertakings as well against as with the consent of his Majesty, would give them confidence in his fortune to determine the present one. Happily persuaded therefore in my own mind, that His Majesty's march, admitting that he be allowed to prosecute it, would give no decisive turn to the Fortunes of Nudjif Cawn, or Purtab Sing, and reflecting that his Excellency's true interest required him to avoid becoming a party in any Foreign Quarrel, I gave my opinion that he ought to act the part of Mediator, and endeavour as much as possible to prevent an actual breach between the King and Nudjif Cawn at the same time that his Majesty's dignity should be preserved by an equitable accommodation between Nudjif Cawn and the Rajpoot Chief, in whose support his Majesty had avowedly taken the Field. His Excellency concurring in these sentiments, wrote his instruction accordingly to Luttaufut Ally Cawn, to which I beg leave to refer, and here I think it necessary to observe that I could not help agreeing in opinion with the Nabob, that in the event of his conciliatory measures proving unsuccessful his Duty and Honor were equally engaged to prevent

2. Foreign Secret Consultations, 15th June, 1778, No. 1.

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any insult being offered to the Royal person or standard and I therefore could not object to the insertion of the particular injunction to Luttaufut on that head —I took care it should be worded in such a manner as to convince him, that he must consider any active part in the disputes between Nudjif Cawn and the King as the last resource and the result of absolute necessity—I hope the Hon'ble Board will approve of the advice I offered the Vizier on this occasion without forming any judgment of the Consequences of such a step. His Excellency appeared ready to take an active interest in the contests of his Majesty and Nudjif Cawn and the particular situation of a considerable Body of his Forces at the presence gave ample scope to such an inclination to shew inself. I thought it therefore my duty to aim at correcting this disposition, satisfied thae his Excellency's real interest lay in a continual attention to the regulation and improvement of the ample possessions he at present holds.

By late advices received from Delhi we are informed that Nudjif Cooley Cawn and Affrausiab Cawn have defeated the main Army of the Seiks, with great slaughter, near Carnal, by which Success, that whole country, not long ago taken from the King is now become an Appendage of Nudjif Cawn's Government and the adjoining district of Pauniput, where the Royal jurisdiction and authority are yet nominally exercised may in fact be considered as a part of this Conquest, as the two districts lay so contiguous and are so circumstanced with respect to each other that they cannot well exist under a separate Government."[3]

THE SECOND AFGHAN WAR AND THE PATRIOTIC FUND

DR. NANDALAL CHATTERJI

While recently engaged in investigating into the official records in the possession of the U.P. Government relating to the Second Afghan War, I came across valuable data regarding one of the War measures which have escaped the attention of the historians. It will be a news to the students of history that the authorities initiated a plan which in those days was as unorthodox as it was novel. The Government sponsored what was styled the Patriotic Fund of India. The very name of the Fund would sound strange at the present day. In any case, it serves to illustrate the manner in which the Government sought to exploit the loyalty of the Indian people. The details regarding the Fund are interesting enough, and a study thereof would throw a flood of light on contemporary war propaganda and on the financial requirements which forced the Government to ask for and collect public donations all over India as a war measure.

At the outset, a public meeting was held at Simla on the 14th September, 1880, over which His Excellency the Viceroy himself presided. In this meeting

3. Foreign Secret Consultations, 22nd October, 1778, No. 5.

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the scheme of the Patriotic Fund for all India was put forward and adopted. (Vide. Letters from the Office of the Central Committee, Simla, 5th October, 1880, etc). His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief moved a resolution proposing the inauguration of the Fund in order to mark the high appreciation in which the people of India held the gallantry displayed by the troops in Afghanistan, and the courage and endurance with which they had brone the hardships of the campaigns. (Vide. Letter from J. Clarke, Superintendent-General, Government Secretariat, N.W.P and Oudh forwarding the Circular from Sir D. M. Stewart, President, Patriotic Fund, 1880). Subscriptions were invited for the Fund from princes of India and from the general public. The money collected was to be utilised for relief of the disabled and for the help of all members of the military classes, whether combatants or non-combatants, Europeans or Indians.

The following gentlemen were invited to act as a central working committee under the patronage of the Viceroy (Vide. the Proceedings of the Patriotic Fund meeting, 14th September, 1880):

Lieut-General Sir Donald Stewart,
Mr. A. C. Lyall,
The Hon'ble C. Grant,
Col. A. B. Johnson,
Col. J. E. Gordon,
Col. S. Black,
Lt. W. J. B. Bird (Secretary)

The central committe decided to take steps for organising local committees to receive subscriptions in the various provinces and arrange a concerted plan of action throughout the country. The Provincial authorities were invited to support and popularise the movement in their respective areas. (Vide. Circular No. 16/290 of 31. 1. 81).

The official records in Lucknow show that special sub-committees were formed in the various divisions and also districts of the N. W. Provinces and Oudh in promotion of the interests of the Patriotic Fund. A letter from the local Government at Allahabad, 4th January, 1881, (Vide. Letter from W. Tyrrell), makes this clear:—

> "The object of such sub-committees will be to make the Fund and its purposes known to the public ; and, in so doing, to invite and receive subscriptions thereto."

To oviate undesirable misconceptions in the mind of the Indian public, the authorities took care to announce that all contributions would be purely voluntary. (Vide. Letter from Local Secretary, Patriotic Fund, Allahabad, 28th January, 1881).

In an issue of the PIONEER of Allahabad (Vide. the issue of the 6th December, 1880), Sir George Couper, Lieutenant Governor of the N. W. P. and Oudh, made a plea for the Fund, and emphasised the need for care that was to be taken by the District authorities to see that there was no undue compulsion in the matter of collections. (Vide. also Circular No.24/465 of 16. 2. 81).

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It appears that a local committee was formed at London to receive subscriptions in England. (Vide. Circular from the Central Committee, 5th October, 1880).

How far the aims and objects of the Fund were eventually realised is not clear. One of the Circular letters from the President of the Central Committee runs thus:—

> "Donations to the amount of over Rs. 3,22,000 have already been placed at the disposal of the Central Committee ; and it is believed that subscriptions, amounting to nearly a third of that sum, have been raised, independently, in the Bombay Presidency."
> (Vide. Circular of 4th February, 1881, and also Circular No. 84A).

The official papers do not indicate any marked measure of success in the matter of collections. The public response does not appear to have been very encouraging, even though the local authorities were frequently instructed, as the circular letters show, to convene public meetings as often as possible for the purpose of advancing the cause of the Fund. There were a number of reasons why the Patriotic Fund did not arouse much enthusiasm in India. The official control and management of the Fund could not have inspired public confidence. Besides, the Central Committee and all its local committees were not fairly representative, and the reprsentation of the non-official or Indian sections of the public of these committees was insufficient. Furthermore, there was little public enthusiasm in India for the aims and objects of the Second Afghan War itself. It is well-known that the opinion of the Indian intelligentsia was against the costly military adventure outside India at the expense of the Indian tax-payer. Lord Lytton's Government was already unpopular on account of the Vernacular Press Act and other undesirable measures. Facts such as these go to explain the failure of the Patriotic Fund. Barring a number of loyal Indian princes and gentlemen, few came forward to donate money for the relief of war sufferers.

MR. LEWIS ANTONY YOON

C. N. WADIA

During the latter half of the eighteenth century, engaging European military men had become a vogue in the Indian states, great and small and in states ruled by Hindu rajas or Muslim nawabs. This happy (or unhappy) occurrence resulted from two desires working from opposite directions. The Carnatic wars had clearly shown the superiority of westernised armies, and M. Dupleix had successfully experimented with Indians, trained in the European mode of fighting and commanded by Europeans, and he had found them—the Sepoys—very helpful and efficient. On the other, after their defeat at the battle of Wandewash on 22nd January, 1760, the

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French, according to Malleson, had to content themselves with the position of auxiliaries to native princes, in their hopes of survival, if not for Empire. Though these adventurers failed to resuscitate the dream of successful rivalry to the English, they accomplished much in the way of effective resistance to the English.

Some of these adventurers like Lallé, Hügel and Alain, Raymond and Piron, De Boigne and Perron, Dudrence, Sombre and others are prominent figures in Indian history. Several others are little known partly because they played a comparatively insignificant role, like Boyd, Noronha, José Reiz, Bento de Campos or Frimont ; or partly because they served minor princes, like Francis Roach who served the Nawab of Carpé. Yoon belonged to the latter class.

He was in command of a Black Regiment, belonging to the Desai of Nargund, a Chitpavan Brahmin, Bhave by name. When in the beginning of 1785 Nargund was threatened by Tipu Sultan, the Desai employed Yoon to obtain aid of some regular troops from the Bombay government. Malet, the British Resident in Poona, thought he might safely rely on Yoon's veracity and employed him on a moderate allowance as his Intelligencer. It was in the capacity of an intelligencer—news-supplier—to the Poona Resident, that Yoon rendered a great service to history. In his letters to Malet he gave a detailed account of the war between Tipu Sultan and the Marathas (1785-7). He did for this war what Jose Peixoto had done for early life of Hyder Ali.

On the 29th of July, 1785, Tipu Sultan reduced Nargund and Kittur fell into his hands in September. On the 15th Feb. 1786 Nana Fadnis and the Nizam met at Yadgir, and this conference resulted in the plan for a joint war against the ruler of Mysore. The confederate forces captured Badami (May 21), Gejendragad (June 8) and then Bahadur Banda and Kopal. Before the end of the month Adoni had been reduced by Tipu Sultan, and Savanur fell to him on the 10th Oct. The Marathas were encamped at Seerhutty, 20 miles N.E. of Savanur. Yoon informed Malet on 5th Nov. that since Oct. 25, everything was quiet. The narrative that follows is based on Yoon's letters.

Unexpectedly Tipu Sultan encamped at Bankapur, and sent Burhan-ud-Din to Dharwar. Tukoji Holkar remained at Seerhutty, but detached a force of 3000 foot and horse on the 4th of November to observe Burhan-ud-Din. 2000 of the Nizam's forces marched to Ranchore (5 cos from the Kistna) to await orders. Tipu Sultan warned the Nizam of the consequences of helping the Marathas to become too powerful, but however willing the Nizam might have been, dared not make peace with him.[1]

In his letter of the 14th Nov. Yoon informed Malet that the garrison of Seerhutty was in distress. The fort, too, was not formidable, having but four guns ; but its large and deep fossé rendered it difficult of access. The Killedar offered to surrender if he was allowed a district, but Hari Pant Phadke only offered him 10000 rupees. When Tipu Sultan went to Banka-

1. Ben. Enclosures 14, pp. 337-343. Letter from Camp at Seerhutty of 14th Nov. 1786.

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pur to celebrate the Muharrum, he gave an opportunity to Hari Pant Phadke to breach, to storm and to take the fort. The siege lasted for 3 days and on the 14th, the Marathas and the Moghul (Nizam's) infantry, stormed it with little resistance. The garrison fled, leaving their arms. Yoon also quoted a discredited report that the Killedar of Dharwar offered to surrender if the Marathas would grant him Rs. 25000 and 10 villages.

Yoon was of the opinion that Tipu Sultan could have surrounded the 40000 Marathas under Gunna Pant and Bapoo Holkar, who were watching Burhan-ud-Din near Dharwar. He also mentioned that all this time negotiations were going on between Tipu Sultan and the Holkar. Tipu also offered to the Nizam Kurpa, to pay him a sum of money and restore Adoni to its former state, provided the Nizam left the alliance. But with the Marathas encamped only a small distance away, the Nizam lay entirely at their mercy.[2]

On the 2nd-3rd of December the Marathas had retreated, without making any defence, under the plea that Maratha strategy required avoiding pitched battles, and harassing the enemy. On the 12th the Marathas lost 600 men encamped at Bahadur Banda. Burhan-ud-Din had been sent by the Mysore ruler to treat for peace. He had an audience with Hari Pant Phadke on the 18th. The terms offered were such as the Court of Poona would not accede to ; and the Vakil took leave on the 28th. Far from restoring the country taken by his father, Hyder Ali, from the Marathas, Tipu Sultan wanted them to cede Badami and Gajendragad with their districts, leaving them the rest, i.e. Nargund and others. He offered to pay them the customary tribute of 15 lakhs and pay it annually. Pending the results of the negotiations the Marathas had postponed the attack.

On the 29th December, Osman Jung brought in a reinforcement of 8000 of the Nizam's horse and foot. A further reinforcement under Mogul Ali and Mahobat Jung, consisting of 30000 horse and foot besides artillery was expected to join. On the 25th-26th of December the army had advanced 8 coss and was encamped 5 coss east of Copal. The theatre of war was to be transferred to Adoni, and from there Tipu Sultan's territories were to be invaded.

By now Holkar was suspected of treason by the army, but Hari Pant Phadke believed his innocence when he professed his readiness to attack Tipu Sultan whenever it pleased the Commander.

It was at this time that Hari Pant Phadke tried to prevail on Mon. Lallée to desert Tipu Sultan, but failed. It will not be out of place here to clear a common misunderstanding regarding him. A majority of the writers of Indian History write his name as Lally, and confuse him as a relation of the famous Count de Lally, Baron de Tollendal, who fough against Gen. Sir Eyre Coote. Shama Rao, Munro, Hayawadanrao, Murland and several others believe him to be a relation—a nephew of the famous general. But while the Count was descended from Irish stock, the Commander of the Swiss

2. Ben. Encl. *op. cit.*

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Party was a Savoyard, Henry Francois, son of Charles Pompee de Motz de la Sale, commonly known as Gen. Lallée. He is the best known of the Europeans who served the rulers of Mysore. His name is generally associated with the discomfiture of Col. Baillie at Perambaucum on 6th Sept., 1780 and the defeat of Col. Braithwaite in February two years later. He died on the 7th October, 1790 of wounds received at Cheyur.[3]

Between the 3rd and 8th January, 1787 Tipu Sultan made an unsuccessful attempt on the inaccessible fort of Bahadur Banda. Yoon was surprised that Tipu Sultan should have made such an attempt. The Mysore ruler wtihdrew his troops after the return of the vakils, whom Hari Pant Phadke had sent back.

On the 10th of January a proposal was received from Tipu Sultan to deliver up all the country north of the Tungabhadra to the Marathas, and to pay them the whole of the arrears of tribute, and at the same time he desired that he should be allowed freedom to settle with the Nizam and he would do it to the latter's satisfaction.

On the 12th Tipu fired on Bahadur Banda. It surrendered the next day, not being prepared for a siege. On the 14th Hari Pant Phadke's army was cannonaded by the Mysore ruler at night and retreated.[4]

Negotiations were begun and the war ended by the treaty of Gajendragad in March, 1787. Kittur, Badami and Nargund were restored to the Marathas, Adoni to the Nizam and Savanur to the Nawab who was to be under the Marathas. In addition Tipu Sultan was to pay a tribute of 48 lakhs.

On the 26th February, 1787 Malet recommended the payment of a small monthly allowance of Rs. 200/- to Yoon for sending information from the Maratha camp, so useful to the English.

When the Third Mysore War started in 1790, and the Marathas as a party to the Triple Alliance of 1790, joined the forces against Mysore, Yoon was serving under the orders of Purseram Bhao. The Hyderabad correspondence[5] describes Yoon as 'active, intelligent and willing'. He joined the siege of Dharwar with 180 men, where he was to work under Col. Frederick. Mr. Malet was very glad, since, according to him, Yoon was the most trusty and respectable of the European commanders of crops under the Maratha Government.

On the 1st February, 1791, Col. Frederick expressed a desire to appoint Yoon Captain of the Guides and Hircarrahs. Malet wrote to Lord Cornwallis[6] commending the past services of Yoon. Since now he was serving under Col. Frederick of the Bombay Force, Malet wished that he should be paid by the Bombay Government. Col. Frederick thought that Yoon would be satisfied with Rs. 150/- a month.

The attack on Dharwar was delivered on 7th February, 1791. While

3. For a complete account vide my thesis: The Swiss Party in the Deccan.
4. H.M.S., Vol. 559, pp. 32-33. Letter from Camp 6 coss from Copal of 14-15th Jan.
5. Nos. 288, 290, 294.
6. Ben. Encl. 34, pp. 89-90.

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trying to bring a party of irregulars, Yoon was killed.[7] Thus died Yoon who remains practically unknown and unhonoured in the pages of Indian History. He was commended for his services and exertions.

His loss was soon felt, for writing to Malet from his camp before Dharwar on the 18th February, 1791 Col. Frederick said that with regard to the enquiries made by Malet, he has been at a loss for information since Yoon was killed.

THE NIZAM AND CORNWALLIS

SYED HASSAN ASKARI

The Governor-Generalship of Lord Cornwallis is undoubtedly significant in the history of Indo-British administration. It has also its great importance in the relationship of the English E. I. Co. with contemporary Indian powers. With all that W. Hastings had attempted to do to promote the interest of the growing British dominion in India, it was still exposed to the inveterate hostility of Tipu Sultan, a man of remarkable strength of character and considerable diplomatic insight and possessing a well filled treasury and an admirably-disciplined army. The Marhattas also were a formidable power. The Nizam's role, quite naturally like that of a feeble power possessing territories situated between two states, superior to him in military strength and efficiency and also in dominion, had been so long vacillating, marked by quick changes of alliances. Cronwallis, with the bogy of the "Tiger of Mysore" always present in his mind, and with his conviction that it was not possible to follow literally the injunction of clause 34 of Pitt's[1] India Act, sought to utilise the Nizam's traditional hostility to Mysore in his policy and operations against Tipu Sultan. Despite his differences with, and fear and suspicion of, the hostile designs of the Marhattas, he joined the Peshwa's Government in the war against the ruler of Mysore. But when the advantage lay more on the side of the latter than that of the Allies, he listened readily to the overtures of alliance and co-operation of the part of the English, and having joined the triple alliance, he showed himself more eager than the Marhattas to push forward the ends of the foreign imperialists. His interests clashed with those of the English in the Carnatic and Northern Circars of which he claimed to be the overlord. But false pride and a short-sighted policy made him acquiesce

7. Hyd. Cor., pp. 296-8.

1. It shall not be lawful for the Governor General and Council if it was without the express command or authority of the C of D or of the Secret conviction in any case, except when hostilities have actually been commenced, or preparation actually made for the commencement of hostilities against the British native in India or against some of the prices or states whose territories the Co. shall be engaged by any subsisting treaty to defend or guarantee, either to declare war or commence hostilities or enter into any treaty for guaranteeing the possessions of any country, princes, or states, any of the country princes or states in India, or any treaty for guaranteeing the possessions of any country, princes, or states.

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in the loss of his hold over valuable territories rather than ally himself with the Moslem ruler of Mysore whom he dreaded and also despised as an upstart.

An affair of great importance affecting the relations between the English and the Nizam involved the question of the Northern Circars. It would be helpful to examine briefly the back-ground. The five districts of the Northern Circars, including Guntoor, had been granted by the Nizam to M. Bussy in payment of his troops and had been wrested from the French by the English. Clive had managed to secure a Farmān from the titular Emperor, Shah Alam, on Aug. 12, 1765, bestowing it upon the Co. in 1766, the Nizam concluded a treaty with the Madras Government whereby the former, as overlord of the Carnatic, was to be paid 5 lacs per annum for Ellora, Condapally and Rajamundry and 4 lacs in addition when Chiccacole or Murtazanagar and Guntoor, then held in Jagir, by the younger brother, Basalat Jung, were to be made over to the English after his death. As the Guntoor Circar occupied a considerable extent of sea coast and was on the frontier of Carnatic which the English considered it their duty to defend, so in case of confusion they claimed their right to take possession of it. The English agreed to furnish a subsidiary force to be stationed in the fort of Condapally and its expenses were to be met out of the Peshkash due to the Nizam. The Nizam joined the English when the first Anglo-Mysore war, 1767-69, broke out. But he was seduced by Haider Ali. When threatened by the movement of the Bengal army near his capital he concluded the treaty of 23rd February 1768 whereby the Co.'s reversionary rights were confirmed and the Peshkash tribute was reduced. The English protested in vain against the employment by Basalat Jung of a corps of the French led by Lally. When roughly handled by Hyder Ali, Basalat offered, in January, 1779, to rent Guntoor Circar to the English and promised to dismiss his French corps on condition of an English force being given to support him. The tactless Governor of Madras accepted the offer and the conditions, in April 1779, and subrented the district to the Nawab of Arcot. This transaction served to create an enmity between the two brothers and offended both the Nizam and Hyder Ali. The discontented Nizam mooted the organization of a grand combination of Indian powers for the extermination of the British power in India. Hastings who sensed the danger and felt worried by the bad start of the Mysore War, suspended the Governor of Madras and secured a neutrality of the Nizam by restoring Guntoor to Basalat Jung and cancelling the 10 years lease to Muhammad Ali. On the death of Basalat in 1782, the English demanded the cession of Guntoor but the Nizam refused to surrender it on the ground of the arrear Peshkash for Northern Circars. Guntoor occupied a position of importance both for the Nizam and the English, being the only outlet to the sea for the former and as joining northern (Bengal) and southern (Madras) possessions of the latter. The English considered the right of the Co. by the treaty of 1765 as undisputed and were resolved on resisting all oppositions. Grant, the Resident of Hyderabad, had to resign for his advice not to displease the Nizam, and his successor, Johnson, was reprimanded and then dismissed, in 1785, for attaching any weight to the suggested terms of settlement of the Guntoor question. All talks about it

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ended for the time being but it left bitterness between the Nizam and the Co.

The claims were suspended for the present and despite the instructions of the Directors, the Bengal Council and the new Governor General procrastinated in the matter. Their[2] demand might drive the Nizam into the arms of Tipu Sultan and the French might become auxiliaries of the two. Whilst there was no probability of an invasion of the Circar by Tipu, in the event of a rupture, Tipu might deem himself justified in attacking a country wholly and absolutely possessed by the Nizam, notwithstanding British claims to it, and on the same grounds assert his right to a conquest of it, in the course of a successful attack. Moreover, from pecuniary point of view it was not thought advantageous to have it at that time.

The Directors, however, were determined to have Guntoor at all hazards. They had advised the Governor of Madras to keep in touch with the Governor General. They conceived the possession of Guntoor, both in commercial[3] and political view to be of highest importance. The Secret Committee considered the Directors' command relative to Guntoor on Aug. 27, 1787, and assured them that they would seize the earliest favourable opportunity for obtaining it without subjecting the Co. to harassment. At last when the prospect of a war with French had passed away, "the friendly intercourse with[4] the Marhatta state" had improved, and the Nizam, already reported to be engrossed[5] in dissipation, and being ill prepared for war, was expected to favourably respond to the advances of the Co. for fulfilling the terms of the treaty of 1768. Captain Kennaway was sent from Calcutta, in the beginning of May, 1788, to demand the cession of Guntoor within a fixed time and to adjust all accounts regarding the Peshkash of the Circars. The Nizam was not[6] to be given any time to intrigue with Tipu Sultan and the Marhattas and other powers were to be informed when the deal was completed. "The military preparations[7] which accompanied the demand were efficient in securing compliance". "The virtuous[8] Cornwallis, who was also a diplomatist" wrote to the Directors that "a good body of troops should be assembled near the Circar, under other pretexts, to be ready to act, if necessary, in support of our demand". Sir A. Campbell was to have a body of troops in readiness to take possession of the Circar at a time that would be concerted with C. Kennaway. He was to march within 14 days after the communication of the demand. Kennaway arrived at Hyderabad on the 30th July,[9] but the suspicious conduct of Tipu Sultan in supporting the Cherika Raja prevented for the time being the delivery of the Governor General's letter claiming the restitution of Guntoor. Cornwallis had written to Kennaway "Unless this alarm[10] should blow over..... instead of declaring the real object of your

2. Letters to the Court 3 and 9 dated Feb. 19, and Aug. 9, 1787.
3. Letter 9 from the Court, Aug. 1, 1787.
4. Ross, Vol. I, pp. 355-6.
5. Letter 14 to the Court, Dec. 14, 1787.
6. Letter 20 to the Court, June 5, 1788.
7. Wilks, Vol. II, p. 344.
8. *Ibid.*
9. Letter 21 to the Court Nov. 6, 1788.
10. Forrest, p. 38.

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mission, confine yourself to the general expressions of friendship and assurances of our earnest desire to cultivate a good understanding between the two governments." The alarm blew over. The Nizam, when threatened with the entry of troops within 2 weeks into his dominion, and not being prepared to sacrifice the whole of the state for Guntoor, gave way and ordered Saif Jung to deliver the Circar[11] to Col. Erdingteron. The English agreed to pay 10 lacs in settlement of the Circar. Mr. Sadler, the Chief of Masulipatam, was appointed superintendent of the Circar.

Thus the affair of Guntoor was settled in September, 1788, without any alarm or disturbance, and of the Powers of India only Tipu[12] Sultan is said to have expressed his disapprobation of the Nizam's acquiescence and Kennaway wrote about a letter having come from him to the Nizam expressing his dissatisfaction at the present[13] amicable settlement between H. H. and the English Governor. The Nizam was thanked for his promptness in executing the treaty of 1768 and Azimul[14] Umra, his minister, was also thanked for taking keen interest in promoting Anglo-Nizam concord. This minister and Mr. Alam who was deputed to Bengal were always of great help to the English and their council prevailed in opposition to that of pro-Tipu party led by Shamshul[15] Umra. The English records say that because the Nizam was apprehensive of Tipu Sultan, the loss of Guntoor did not seem to have[16] evoked a strong resentment in his heart. It was, however, natural for the Nizam to feel mortified at being compelled to cede Guntoor which he was[17] anxious to retain. Cornwallis, in his letter, dated June 16, 1788,[18] refers to the negotiations carried on by the Nizam with Tipu Sultan. The overtures for an alliance were repeated next[19] year in November when Hafiz Fariduddin was sent to the Sultan of Mysore. The Nizam's advances had a favourable response but nothing came out of the negotiations for a close and an indissoluble alliance between the two Muslim sovereigns either because of the Sultan's proposals for inter-marriage or because the pro-English party, influenced by the astute British Resident, convinced the Nizam of the greater advantages that lay in seeking the alliance and support of the English. True to his policy, the Nizam had sent, at about the same time, special embassies, both to Tipu Sultan and the English, "with the apparent view of forming," says Wilks "with one or[20] the other, as circumstances might dictate, such an intimate alliance, as should secure him not only against the eventual hostility of the other, but should afford that sort of general protection, which he could not but feel to be

11. Letter 21 to the Court Nov. 6, 1788.
12. Letter 23 to the Court, June 9, 1789.
13. Letter 25 to the Court, March 18, 1789.
14. Letter to the Court, Nov. 5, 1789.
15. Letter 47 to the Court, March 12, 1791 Kennawy while reporting his death writes that he was hostile to English interests and differed from the Minister, Mushirut-mulk, in this respect.
16. Letter 21 to the Court, Nov. 6, 1788.
17. Wilks, Vol. II, p. 345.
18. Ross, Vol. I, p. 357, Bahadur Khan and H. Fariduddin had been sent C.P.C., Vol. VIII, 251.
19. Wilks, Vol. IV, 345, see C.P.C., Vol. VIII, p. 896 for the second deputation of Hafiz to Mysore.
20. *Ibid.*

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necessary to a feeble and declining state''. The English were aware of his weakness and Cronwallis[21] was convinced that the Nizam being more apprehensive of the strength and ambition of the Sultan of Mysore than of the Marhattas would magnify the importance of his connection with the Co. and would not take any active part in conjunction with Tipu Sultan. Captain Kennaway's letters of 16th Feb. and 18th April painted a true picture of Nizam's dominion which once really important was in decay. The Nizam seemed to have no resources[22] beyond intrigue and nothing but personal danger would induce him to join any contest as might affect the Co.'s interests. Dissipation, intrigues and duplicity of conduct marked his character. His administration was feeble and arbitrary and his troops were few and disorderly. But his dominion was of considerable nominal consequence for the respect paid to it on account of the high esteem in which his family was held.

Though the English had poor opinion of the Nizam and of his power and resources, they realised his value as an ally and wished, in their own interests, to preserve and strengthen intercourse with him by such acts of concilation as circumstances could admit. Mir Abul Qasim, ordered in November to proceed to Calcutta, obviously to effect the adjustment of accounts but really to secure the fulfilment of the more important articles of the Treaty of 1768, whereby the Co. was to furnish to the Nizam 2 battalions of sepoys and 6 pieces of artillery, manned by Europeans, when requistioned, was practically successful in his mission. The accounts were[23] finally settled and the balance due to the Nizam amounting to 9 lacs was to be paid off. Despite the virtual abrogation of every part of the Treaty of 1768 by the English themselves owing to subsequent treaties of 1769 and 1784 with Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan recognizing their sovereignty over the territories they possessed, and notwithstanding the ban laid by the Pitt's India Act, Cornwallis, in his letter of July 7, 1789, expressly declared to be equally binding as a treaty, announced that the Treaty of 1768 would be[25] carried into full effect and a large body of troops would be furnished to the Nizam on certain conditions about the expenses and its use against the allies of the English from whose list the name of Tipu Sultan was deliberately excluded. The Nizam now could safely ignore the proposals of the Mysore Sultan, including that about the recovery of Guntoor. Having received intelligence from Bombay and Hyderabad, in October 1789, and prior to it,[26] that Hayat Saheb, an officer of the Sultan, was carrying on a clandestine correspondence with the Nizam, General Medows was instructed to suggest to the Nizam not to enter into any correspondence with the native power without the consent of Bombay Government. The request of the Nizam's minister, Mir Alam, not to give any quarter to Zamindars and Ryots from a certain Circar belonging to Saiful Mulk was[27] complied with.

21. Letter 27 to the Court, Nov. 5, 1789.
22. *Ibid.*
23. Letter 26 to the Court, Aug. 10, 1789.
24. Wilks, Vol. II.
25. *Ibid.*
26. Shaikh Ayaz, Letter 32 to the Court, Jan. 30, 1790.
27. Letter 30 to the Court, Nov. 5, 1789.

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No person who held land under the Nizam should be permitted to be renters in Co.'s districts. The Bengal Governor had to come to the rescue of the Madras Government for fulfilling the engagements to the Nizam and Mr. J. Duncan, Resident of Banaras, arranged for the prompt Peshkash through the bankers,[28] Dwarka Das and Baramany Dass.

When the Sultan of Mysore delivered his assaults on the line of Travancore on 29th[29] December, 1789 and the Raja applied to the English for help the Nizam, among others, was approached for alliance and a treaty. It evoked a favourable response, despite the bait held out by[30] the Sultan for the recovery of Guntoor. Though Kennaway assured the Governor of the Nizam's friendship for the Co., negotiations became protracted because the Nizam, being apprehensive of the Marhattas and the possible threat of a stab in the back from them, wanted a separate[31] treaty with more specific terms for protection. The treaties could not be made a single instrument of Triple[32] Alliance. The Nizam signed the treaty of offensive and defensive alliance on the 4th[33] July and it was settled by Kennaway that whatever plunder should fall into the hands of the detachment lent to the Nizam would be given up to His Highness excepting only an open or concealed treasure which was to be divided among the three confederates.

But the Nizam and the Marhattas are said to have "failed to fulfil their engagements[34]," and an English historian is of opinion that "both were unwilling[35] allies and rendered no useful aid but at least they were prevented from joining Mysore." The Fort William correspondence may help us to understand the position better. The Council, in its despatch, dated April 12, 1790, expressed much satisfaction at the Nizam so readily concluding the alliance with the English. "Not waiting for[36] the formal settlement of conditions," the Nizam had moved to his tents on the 18th March and proposed to march his army to the attack of Tipu's northern frontier as soon as he received accounts of Co.'s troops having commenced their operations." He was to be urged to commence operations without loss of time to favour the operation of the southern army and was to be encouraged by the prospect of co-operation and support from the Bengal detachment of Artillery, already on the move, by sea, to the south." On the[37] 22nd April, which was the day appointed, the Nizam moved with his army. But his progress was slow to Kistna where he decided to canton till after the rains, and he made a change of the route and the place of meeting with the battalions led by Major Montogomery from Pagtour to Bhootpur. The Council detected the reason in the report received by the Nizam wherein "there was much[38] truth" that the Co.'s two battalions

28. Letter 37 to the Court, Apr. 12, 1790.
29. Letter 34 to the Court, Feb. 13, 1790.
30. Letter 35 to the Court, Feb. 13, 1790.
31. Wilks.
32. Letter 39 to the Court, Aug. 15, 1790.
33. *Ibid.*
34. Ross, Vol. I, *Cornwallis.*
35. P. E. Roberts, p. 234, P.R.R.
36. Letter 37, Apr. 12, 1790.
37. Letter 42, Nov. 21, 1790.
38. *Ibid.*

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sent to join him consisted of young, inexperienced recruits, being incomplete in number, ill-equipped and deficient in clothing and arms, "imperfect, un-military," and not serviceable. It was so different in description to that which the Nizam had a right to expect by the stipulations of the treaty. An enquiry was held and Col. Braithwaite was held at fault and a similar investigation was ordered in the case of M. Montgomery. The Major had to be reinforced, on the 31st July, by the draft of 160 effective[39] sepoys sent by Braithwaite when the former had already joined the Nizam's detachment led by his nephew, Mahabat Jung, at Raichur. Later, the Major was re-called from the troops serving the Nizam as his corps was very expensive[40]. As for the Bengal detachment of Artillery, circumstances made it impossible to effect junction with the Nizam's troops.

On the other hand, the speed shown in the initial stages was not kept up by the Nizam's army. Mahabat Jung, with his intended 16,000, had crossed the Kistna before[41] 22nd July but his force being discontented for arrears had dispersed and would not assemble at Raichur until the 28th July, the day appointed for the march. The Nizam insisted on attacking[42] Cummum country for causing a diversion and opening a more easy communication between his and the Co.'s territories. It was not before the 20th August and without some persuasive efforts on the part of the Resident that the Nizam ordered his army to march with the English detachment for the intended siege of Copul. The dilatoriness in motions and lack of exertions indicated that the allies, the Nizam more than[43] the Marhattas, had grown cold in the prosecution of the war. Then there was the bad state of the Nizam's forces which did not amount to half the number stipulated by the Treaty and was also ill-equipped with arms and ammunitions. The Nizam had to send reinforcement and a sum of[45] 1 lac to pacify the mutinius troops of his nephew. Mushir-ul-mulk, the commander of his household forces who died on[46] Jan. 1, 1791, had not been very friendly towards the English. Even when Cornwallis personally assumed the command, he had reasons to feel dissatisfied with the activies and conduct of Raja Tejwant and Asad Ali, the officers of the Nizam serving with him. The latter had to be dismissed[47] by His Lordship and the former was accused of "making various delay, of most vexations nature" and was even suspected of "some clandestine[48] correspondence of a questionable shape."

Thus there were grounds for dissatisfaction on the either side. This does not mean, however, that the Nizam personally was an unwilling ally or his army had rendered no useful aid to the English. He was ever ready to oblige

39. *Ibid.*
40. Letter 44, Jan. 31, 1791.
41. Letter 42, Nov. 21, 1790.
42. *Ibid.*
43. *Ibid.*
44. *Ibid.*
45. *Ibid.*
46. Letter 47, March 12, 1791.
47. Letter 49, Aug. 4, 1791.
48. *Ibid.*

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the Resident by issuing the necessary orders from his headquarters at Pangul to his officers to act speedily and in conjunction with the English forces and sending reinforcements. When he received a letter from Tipu Sultan he forwarded[49] it to the Resident. Of course he would not act in conjunction with the Marhatta of whom[50] he was always suspicious and preferred marching with Co.'s troops but he urged the Peshwa in vain to follow the example of the Governor[51] General and lead his army in person. Once he requisitioned further two battalions but the Resident was directed to discourage the proposal "however useful to[52] the Nizam". But he sent his own nephew and his son with his Chief Minister to participate in the affairs of war and peace. Since Dec. 1790 the[53] Nizam had begun to take a more active share in the prosecution of the war and in forces won some successes also. He arranged through certain Bunjar for the daily supply of 500 bullock-loads[54] of grain from the time the army should arrive within 10 kos of Seringapatam until its fall. The Resident, as desired by the Governor General, conveyed his lordship's gratification[55] at the proof of H. H.'s friendships to the Engish nation and the confidence he had shown in allowing his son with the minister to join the army under his lordship's command. The English records testify to the earnestness shown later in the prosecution of the war and to some of the successes won by the Nizam's forces. After gaining several small places Mahabat Junj entered on the siege of Copul. The Pettah of Cummum was taken by H. Farid-uddin who secured the surrender of the fort later,[56] on 16th Nov., 1790. Earlier Asad Ali Khan had reduced Bangyanpully near Gooty by defeating a force of 9,000[57] with less than 2000. The want of a battering train and other facts protracted[58] the siege of Copul which surrendered on 18th April, 1791 after 5 months, followed by that of another strong fort, Bahadur Benda on May 3. The Nizam's troops captured the fort of Cadwal and on Feb. 28 Md. Amin Arab compelled the surrender of Siddhout. Gunjicotta[59] which had long been invested by Nizam's troops also fell on 12th June. The Zamindar of Raichoot had surrendered his fort and Maniary-Moorg, a place of some consequence, also surrendered to the detachment of Asad Ali Khan. H. Farid cooperated with A. Read in the siege of Gurranconda on 7th Nov. 1791.

49. Letter 42, Nov. 21, 1790.
50. Letter 47, March 12, 1791.
51. Letter 44, Jan. 31, 1791.
52. *Ibid.*
53. *Ibid.*
54. Letter 52, Dec. 1, 1791.
55. Letter 49, Aug. 4, 1791.
56. Letter 44, Jan. 31, 1791.
57. *Ibid.*
58. Letter 47, March 12, 1791.
59. Letter 49, Aug. 4, 1791.
60. Letter 52, Dec. 1, 1791.

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VAGHER REVOLT OF 1858-59

G. B. PANDYA

The Vaghers are considered to be a backward community of Kathiawad with a population of 5175 out of which only 12 were literate in 1941. They are partly Hindus and partly Muslims inhabiting Okha Mandal of which they claim to be the earliest inhabitants. The name is said to signify that Vaghers are tigers deviod of the sense of smell. Their mother tongue is a corrupt form of the Kacchi dialect. By religion Musalman converts are Sunni. Those who are Hindus hold Dwarakadhish in great veneration (*Gazetteer of the Baroda State*, Vol. I, page 188).

Yet this very community so insignificant in numbers and confined to one corner of what used to be the Gaekwad's dominion in Kathiawad at one time played an important role in the annals of Western India. Before the Gaekwads appeared on the scene two branches of Vaghers ruled at Dwarka and Vassai. An attempt to subjugate them failed in 1804. Another attempt in 1810 brought no fruits beyond realising one third of the indemnity imposed on them in 1807 for looting an English ship near Okha in 1804. The major part of this indemnity of Rs. 1,10,000/- had yet to be realised. Consequently Colonel East attacked them in 1816. With the background of experience his predecessors had bequeathed, Colonel East was successful in conquering the Vaghers. The territory was made over to the Gaekwad in view of the loyal stand of the Gaekwad at the time of the last war against the Marathas. The condition was that the Gaekwad was to bear the cost of the invasion and was also to pay the remaining indemnity claimed from the vanquished. The Gaekwad agreed to maintain peace and order in Okha in return.

The Vaghers were in revolt in 1818 and 1820. With the death of Mulu and Vesi Maniks and imprisonment of other prominent Vaghers the conquest was complete. It was now decided to appoint only Indian managers for Okhamandal. Another attempt at revolt in 1856 was nipped in the bud due to the watchful vigil of the Baroda Resident. This revolt proved that the appointment of an Indian manager under an Indian Prince did not necessarily ensure peace in the Okha Mandal. The problem of disarming Vaghers was debated but rejected on the ground that this would have created difficulties both for the East India Company and the Gaekwad. This is the purport of a letter written by Mr. Malet, the political Agent in Kathiawad to R. P. Willouhby, Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay, dated 18th November, 1845.

Meanwhile the affairs of the Baroda State had taken a sudden turn for the worse.Consequently the Baroda Durbar was placed in direct contact with the Governor in Calcutta. In this way Baroda administration was sought to be improved. But the experiment brought about equally unpalatable results (1854-1860).

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There appears to have been an absence of clear thinking in the dealing with the Vaghers. As late as 11th November, 1857 Lt. Barton informed Sir Richmond Shakespear, the Resident of Baroda, to procure Rs. 15,000/- so that 300 Vaghers could be kept employed for a year and consequently out of mischief. It was also suggested that 100 Vaghers should be entertained as Sebundee (security police) in the Emreilli. In the same letter. Lt. Barton complained that the Gaekwad's Manager in Okha Mandal, Govind Rao, had too poor an opinion of the race in general and treated the Vaghers as mere savages. Govind Rao trusted more to intrigue for preserving tranquillity and gaining his end than to vigorous system of repression.

We had already noted that inspite of all the repressive measures the Vaghers had broken out into rebellion. To add to this natural desire of being masters of their own land the Vaghers were agitated by the non-payment of pensions by the Gaekwad Government. The reason for this non-fulfilment of the pledge may partly be the attitude of the Manager and partly the financial troubles of the State. The deficit on the Government of the Okha Mandal was calculated as Rs. 26,000/- a year, but the Maharaja was proud to possess Okha for the distinction of being the proctecor of the holiest shrine in Western India.

The contention that the revolt was occasioned due to the exaggerated rumours of the downfall of the British Rule in the country may also be examined. The appearance of Tantia Toppi at Chhotadepur, the activities of Voharas in Baroda and the pronouncements of Molvi. Sarajuddin in Jumma masjid at Ahmedabad could have some effect if the Vagher had been in touch with them. There is no evidence to support this theory. Besides, Vaghers did not require any incitement to claim their independence back from the Gaekwad. The Vagher revolt took place at a time when the munity was well within control. I do not find any contemporary evidence in the record office to support the theory that there was an effect of the mutiny in the far end of Kathiawad.

The disturbance of 1857 was a very mild one. It was directed against the Government of the Gaekwad. The revolt of 1858-59 was of a most serious nature. Govind Rao was advised to engage Vaghers in cutting the jungles of prickly pear. At once time in and around Okha and Dwarka this jungle used to give protection to the Vaghers. Govind Rao had no money and therefore the Vaghers could not be engaged nor could the jungle that used to be their hiding place be cut until after this serious revolt. In a letter dated 10th of February 1858 Lt. Barton complained of fresh disturbance in Vassai. The Durbar was advised to send troops to suppress them. The Sepoys and Sawars in Kathiawad were just sufficient for police duty. As late as March 1858 Barton considered the disarming of Vaghers undesirable and not feasible. Shortly after, a letter from Barton reports of a revolt of Vaghers in Beyt and Okha. More details of the revolt are contained in a letter of Barton to Sir Richmond Shakespear dated Rajkot, 19th March, 1858. This report may be summarised as under:

Information was received from Majmomdar Ragoonath Rae of Dwarka that

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a body of Vaghers had seized a boat on the Navanagar Coast and had obtained the possession of the island and the fort of Beyt on the night of 14th. The fort was garrisoned by 40 Arabs, 35 Sepoys and 15 to 20 Makaranees. Most of these turned traitors and admitted Vaghers inside. The Karkuns and the Civil establishments were made prisoners and no mention was made of any fighting having occurred. It is also mentioned in this letter that the reason for this outrage was an exaggerated report of a force having been despatched from Baroda with a view to coerce them. An armed steamer was asked for from Bombay and Barton showed his intention to proceed to Mandawi in Kuch and await the steamer.

In another letter dated 20th of March, 1858, Barton threw more light on taking of Beyt by Vaghers. There was a garrison of 108 men but the whole place was taken in an hour by 50 to 60 Vaghers. Barton considered the negligence and cowardice and treachery of the Gaekwad force as disgraceful. In this very letter he advised the Residence to be mindful of Amreli as the fort of Amreli was in a neglected condition. The Rathies and Mool Grassias had as strong an aversion to the Gaekwad's rule as the Vaghers.

A letter written on the next day from Rajkot confirms the report of the occupation of Beyt. The manager Govindrao Dewaji had handed over the fort of Jodha Manik and had taken his abode in a monastery on the Goomti. The Vassai Vaghers had established a semblance of Government, hoisted their flag, prohibited plunder and kept Govt. officials of the Gaekwad under surveillance but not in strict confinement. Barton feared that one steamer may not be enough to crush the rebellion but he deferred to ask for more at that juncture.

The action of the Govt. of Bombay was immediate. According to a letter of Barton dated 30/3/58 from Camp Mandvee the steamer *Prince Arthur* arrived in Mandvee at 2 p.m. on the 29th March. The attack was proposed to be made on 31/3/58. At the same time there was another offer from "Falkland". As this steamer was admirably adapted for the purpose of attack Barton awaited its arrival.

By this time the Vaghers were in possession of the whole of the north of the main land in Okha Mandal and those in the south also attacked the troops sent for help. In spite of the early reserves the Gaekwad could ultimately be successful against the Vaghers due to the keen interest shown by the Govt. of Bombay and the Baroda Residency. By the end of 1859 the Vaghers were well within the control of the Gaekwad. A *Yadee* from Sakharam Poorshottam touching on the subject of the victory achieved by the force of Gaekwad Govt. over the Vaghers of Vassai on the 24th of December, 1858 may here be summarised. The last of the three battles fought against the Vaghers is described in this letter.

Then at last being excessively tired and harassed with the loss of altogether 50 to 60 men on their side the rebels were obliged to comply with the Gaekwad Govt. requisition and agreed to the following conditions:

"1. The rebels of Vassai according to their own writing made over to us what remain in balance of the plunder of Govt. guns etc. in Beyt.

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2. According to their agreement the work of cutting down the Thor (cactus) hedges around, has commenced from this day.

3. Recoveries are being made of the Korees (⅓ rupee) that were forcibly taken from the Ryots by the Vaghers out of the Govt. revenue as per their agreement to refund.

4. The work of pulling down the Konti Mendee (a kind of fortress from where they are accustomed to discharge their artillery) has been commenced as per their agreement.

5. The pulling down of Vuzeree (a sort of Bastion) near the village gate has been commenced.

6. They have passed in writing to give "satisfactory security" to Govt. against their treasonable and rebellious conduct in future and due arrangements will be made at the time of taking and settling about the securities.

7. For the full enforcement of the above stipulation, their brothers and children have been taken altogether 4 in hostages, as prisoners.

8. Hurry Kondaji and Rugoonath Rae Bhayee have rendered efficient aid in carrying out military operations.

9. Arrangements are being made to prevent the supply of provisions etc. to rebels, by those who were hitherto in any way connected with the task of supplying them.

10. The work of erecting buildings etc. must be commenced at once in Dwarka, Beyt and Wurwalla at the Govt. expense.

11. The wounds of the Govt. sepoys etc. (altogether 20) which were received in the above 3 engagements are slight—a list of this has been sent separately.

12. The people of Auggers have joined the rebels of Vassai, documents connected with which are produced by the latter. They have also shared the booty as will be shown afterwards.

13. Sepoys of Jaffer Jamader, in number 25 are stationed at Wufee (presumably Vassai). He is a very able man."

This document is dated the 26th of December, 1858. The treaty which was ultimately forced upon the Vaghers at the end of 1859 was in a line with the above document. The able-bodied Vaghers fought to the bitter end and Jodha Manik died of a jungle fever in Gir. His nephews were kept as prisoners in the Rewa Kantha Jail in Baroda. They escaped to Kathiawad in 1862 and raised another revolt in 1867-68. This revolt was not as serious as that of 1858-59.

To return back to the aftermath of the revolt of 1858-59, a fitting culmination can be had in a letter in original of Lt. Barton dated 14/1/1860 addressed to His Highness acknowledging a receipt of H.H.'s letter of 2nd assuring that Barton would be mindful of the interests of His Highness's subject in the Okha Mandal. This promise could not be carried out inspite of the fact that Khanderao Gaekwad (1856-1870) had received a Kureet expressing thanks and warm sentiments of the Govt. of Bombay in appreciation of his services at the time of the mutiny. After the revolt an officer of the Bombay Political Department resided at Dwarka under the immediate orders

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of the Resident of Baroda. In addition to his political duty he had exclusive control over the Vaghers from 1851 to 1920. The affair of Baroda as well as of the maritime territories of the Gaekwad passed into the hands of the Bombay Govt. though the Baroda Durbar continued its relation with the Central Govt. The experiment of the Govt. of India stepping in from 1854 to 1860 proved a failure.

AN INTERESTING CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF THE COMPANY'S EDUCATIONAL POLICY

DR. HARI RANJAN GHOSAL

Students of Indian history are familiar with the general educational problems which faced the Company's Government during the early thirties of the last century and with the controversy that raged round the question of the introduction of English education in our country. One of the issues which pressed for decision in Calcutta at the time was: "Should the filtration theory be adopted and all available funds be applied to securing the education of the upper classes through the medium of English?" It is worthy of note that before any final decision could be taken to end the controversy, the Government took steps to make an experiment with the filtration theory in the Bengal Presidency by proposing to give the rudiments of English education to all their male wards as far as practicable. Considerable light is thrown on the subject by a number of unpublished documents which have been found in the record room of Muzaffarpur Collectorate.

A Miscellaneous Department circular letter from the Secretary, Sadar Board of Revenue, to the Secretary, Revenue Department, dated 27 June, 1837, narrates the following interesting facts relating to the correspondence which passed in 1830 and 1831 between the Revenue Board and the Government on the education of Government Wards. On the 19th August, 1830, the Board's opinion was asked on the practicability of having all the male wards educated in Calcutta. The Government suggested that the Hindu wards might be instructed at the Hindu College, in the neighbourhood of which a boarding house might be established, and the Muslim wards at the Mahomedan College. "It is to be admitted," it was said, "that the necessity of imparting education to the children of the land-holders is more urgent than that of communicating tuition to any other class. The zemindars residing in the interior are remarkable for their general want of instruction, for their ignorance, their prejudices and their resistance to everything like improvement. An education in Calcutta, it is to be hoped, would not only be the means of supplying them with useful knowledge, but would liberalize their feelings, enlarge their minds and qualify them to become the instruments of much agricultural and social improvement."

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Accordingly a circular letter was issued by the Board to the commissioners of divisions ; but it appeared from the commissioners' answers that public feeling was "much too opposed to the plan to admit of its being adopted". The reasons usually urged were, (*i*) the separation of the wards from their mothers ; (*ii*) the distance and unhealthiness of Calcutta ; (*iii*) association with youths of low caste ; and (*iv*) the "infidel principles imbibed at the Hindu College." Two of the commissioners, Messrs W. Money and Stockwell, observed that a Calcutta education "would indispose the young land-holders to a country life and increase the evil of absenteeism." Thereupon the Revenue Board proposed that means be adopted to educate the wards without requiring them to be sent to Calcutta either by appointing duly qualified private tutors or by establishing Government seminaries at the headquarters of each district. Lord Bentinck entirely approved of the proposal and recommended to the Vice-President in Council that the Committee of Public Instruction be consulted as to the best means of carrying it into effect. "Should the funds already at the disposal of the Government be insufficient for the purpose," he further suggested, "that the magnitude of the advantages which may be anticipated from the proposed scheme for extending education be set forth in a letter to the Honorable Court and that they be solicited to afford it such further pecuniary encouragement as may be calculated to ensure its success."

The above proposals received no further attention from Bentinck and his Government apparently because they were, during the next few years, confronted with the problem of education in its wider perspective. The intense rage and the violent discussions which characterised the proceedings of the Committee of Public Instruction, the enactment of the Charter Act of 1833, which declared in favour of the employment of Indians in public services, and finally the arrival in 1834 in Calcutta of Thomas Babington Macaulay, and his appointment as President of the Public Instruction Committee, immensely added to the importance of the problem. It was no longer a question of educating only the children of the zemindars, but one of imparting instructions to a larger community which should be afforded every opportunity to compete for the public service, though it was still admitted that it was impossible to think in terms of mass education.

It is too well-known to require mentioning that after the issuing of Macaulay's famous minute of February 2, 1835, the Governor-General expressed his entire concurrence with it, and that after a heated discussion in Council it was decided on March 7 that "the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India". However, more than two years after this, the question the wards' education was taken up again. And it is clear from the aforesaid circular letter of the Secretary, Sadar Board June 27, 1873, that the filtration theory had strong advocates still. Thus the Sadar Board expressed an opinion that if a good education could be given to the sons of zemindars, "their superiority to their fellowmen must in time become apparent and the standard of mental cultivation be raised throughout this important class of the

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community." The Board also hoped that the mental improvement thus extended would lead in time to this powerful and opulent class actively assisting in the education among the rest of their countrymen.

Meanwhile the Education Committee had established Government seminaries at the head stations of several important districts. There were by 1837 such seminaries at Patna, Bhagalpur, Murshidabad, Rampur-Boalia, Dacca, Chittagong, Gauhati and Midnapur. The Sadar Board suggested that, wherever possible, Government wards be admitted to these seminaries, and that, where that was not possible, steps should be taken to educate them with the help of duly qualified private tutors appointed from among the teachers of those seminaries. The Commissioner of Cuttack stated in a letter to the Sadar Board that two Government wards under him had been sent to the public seminary at Midnapur and that two others were receiving private coaching at Balasore. He was happy to remark that these boys showed good progress in health as well as in studies, and were contented with their situations being well looked after by the collectors.

The apparent success of the scheme led the Revenue Board to propose the following rules for the guidance of the commissioners and collectors in the performance of this important part of their duties:

1. Every ward should be sent to receive his education in a Government seminary, unless there were sufficient reasons against this mode of instruction. He must reside under the care of his nearest relatives or of some other persons duly appointed "within a sufficient distance of the seminary to allow of his daily attendance, and it will be the duty of the Principal or Head Master to send a half year report of his progress to the Collector".

2. If any valid reason be offered against any ward being sent to a Government seminary, a qualified tutor must be appointed who would be nominated by the nearest relatives and approved by the Collector ; and army difference of opinions regarding the appointment of the tutor must be referred for decision to the Commissioners, and ultimately, if necessary, of the Sadar Board of Revenue. The tutor must make half-yearly reports of the progress of his pupil to the Collector ; and at the close of each year the ward must be examined by the Collector.

3. Every Collecor should make a report at the end of each year to the Commissioners for transmission to the Sadar Board of Revenue of the progress of the wards in his district.

4. During the course of his annual visit to a district the Commissioners should cause all the wards of that district to be assembled at the station. He should then examine them, and confer honorary rewards consisting of books and scientific instruments on those who were distinguished for good moral conduct and proficiency in learning.

With regard to the kind of education to be given to them, it was proposed that the wards should receive instruction in those branches of knowledge which would help them in the independent management of their estates on their attaining majority. A familiar acquaintance with Arithmatic and power of reading and writing the English and Vernacular languages with facility

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were deemed necessary for this purpose. An elementary knowledge of history, geography and science, "particularly of those parts of science which have a reference to agricultural improvement," was also considered useful. The Revenue Board, however, felt that the wishes of the nearest relatives of the wards ought to be consulted in determining the kind of education to be given in each particular case. Above all, the Board considered it a duty "to cultivate the minds of the wards, and to imbue them with correct moral feelings"—an obligation which was admitted by section 27 of Regulation X, 1793.

The Secretary, Revenue Department, in his reply to the Revenue Board, dated July 6, 1837, a copy of which is available among the records of Muzaffarpur Collectorate, intimated that the Governor-General approved and sanctioned generally the plan proposed by the Board to ensure the better education of the wards. "Every endeavour must be made," he wrote, "to secure, if possible, the willing acquiescence of the mother or other near relatives of the minor ; and influence, not compulsion, should be the means used in all instances to induce such parties to allow the ward to enter as a pupil in the Government seminary". In the same letter it was said that permission had been given in several cases to the wards being educated at home by duly authorised private tutors.

SOME LIGHT ON THE THIRD ANGLO-MYSORE WAR FROM FRENCH SOURCES

Dr. R. C. Mitra

The operations of the Third Anglo-Mysore war have formed the subject of so many contemporary memoirs and of subsequent discussion that an excursion with this object into the records of the French in India can be undertaken only with the hope of finding little beyond corroboration or elucidation of facts already known. The French having remained neutral in this war, it was but natural that the reports of the French Governors to the ministers at home bore mere casual references to the war and touched only upon some of its stray and exciting phases. The information on which French reports were based was not just slipshod gossip. The neutrality of the French gave them a privileged position in this respect and enabled them to collect news alike from English officials and journals, as well as from the various agents whom the French maintained in the courts of the Indian potentates. Besides, the French were often served in India with confidential reports of military adventurers of their own nationality, like Vigie, Lamots Delasalle and the more celebrated Raymond, who took active part in the combat on behalf of Tipu Sultan or the Nizam ; and hence their observations can generally be credited with a greater measure of truthfulness and impartiality than the account of English officers in the war. Though the

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paucity of such reports precludes the possibility of reconstructing a connected account of the war from purely French sources, yet these may be of some help to us in illuminating certain doubtful or less known aspects of the narrative.

It is well known that the hostilities of Tipu with the Raja of Travancore served as a preliminary to the Third Anglo-Mysore war and provided the English with an eagerly sought *casus belli*. Some interesting information of the Travancore campaign is contained in the French documents. In a letter of the 19th February 1790[1] from Canaple, the Commandant of Mahé, to De Fresne, the Governor of Pondichery, colourful details are added to the story of Tipu being wounded in the attack on Travancore which he personally directed. Tipu is reported to have been present for a long time on the Travancore frontier. In the end of January, 1790, 3,000 of Tipu's men who penetrated into the terrotory of Travancore were massacred by the natives. To avenge this massacre, Tipu personally directed 7,000 of his troops against the Travancore army commanded by English officers. "Tipu Sultan lost his palanquin, his horses, and his army, and he was saved only by stripping himself of his head-gear and costume in order to avoid recognition. Almost all his soldiers perished in this engagement as the fosse dug in the very narrow space between the lines had been filled with bales of cotton." Tipu was wounded in the left arm by a musket-shot. He retired 12 leagues from the frontier of Travancore and began to make a muster of all his subjects capable of bearing arms, particularly on the west coast of his dominions. Lalée was called forth and was entrusted with the execution of this vangeance. It was also rumoured as a proof of the grim determination of Tipu that he was engaged at that time in constructing a mosque[2] which was to serve as his tomb if he were not to return in triumph from the projected expedition. It may be gravely doubted if the whole episode can be dismissed as the canard of a telltale "harkara" or if it contains a grain of truth garnished with some spicy gossip.

During the operations in the middle of April 1790, the letter of the 10th May[3] from the Commandant of Mahé informs us that Muhammad Ali sent 6000 soldiers to the relief of Travancore which was beseiged by Tipu when De Lallée was ordered by Tipu to attack Cranganore. An English squadron for the relief of the latter place was sent from Tellicheri and was composed of 10 vessels with 2 or 3 masts and 13 light ships and one bombing ship, which carried 700 Europeans and 1500 Sipahis. The French apprehended that the Dutch in Cochin might also rush assistance to Travancore even though they had not yet declared hostilities with Tipu. On the night of the 24th or 25th April, an English garrison of a few Europeans, Sipahis, and about 1000 Nairs issued out of Tellicheri and dislodged Tipu's soldiers from Courchy, a petty station very near Mahé and captured Colery Calaye. On the 27th they seized Cardour. On the 29th a greater success attended the English arms

1. Pondichery Archives, Ms. No. 4663.
2. Welks, II, p. 358. Mahibul Hasan Khan, p. 163-164.
3. P.A., Ms. 4673.

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when an English detachment of 250 Europeans, 50 artillery men and 1500 Sipahis and 2000 Nairs with 6 pieces of canon captured Arecotte which was defended only by 5000 men. Major Dow had long meditated the attack and waited for the arrival of reinforcement from Bombay. The moment of the attack was well chosen for the 6000 well armed soldiers who defended this post had recently retired to Carlaye, 5 leagues away from Tellichery. This demonstration of military strength had its effect on the discontented Nair vassals of Tipu, and the rulers of Cartenatte and Cheriquel offered to transfer their allegiance to the English. Tipu's forces were accordingly expelled by the English from the above Nair territories as well as from Calastrie and the region up to the border of Mahé was under English occupation. A small detachment was lent by the English to the king of Cartenatte to restore him to his kingdom[4] which was guarded by 2000 of Tipu's forces. The Raja's accession to power proved to be very short-lived and the English battalion of 700 Sipahis under Major Dow, sent from Tellicheri to the aid of the Raja, was beaten back by the troops of Tipu on the night of the 2nd September.[5] The Raja was expelled from his territory and forced to seek refuge in Herale. Ten petty forts situated between Mangalore and Bepour were evacuated and the garrisons were sent to strengthen Ferrok. But as the pressure on Tipu's kingdom increased in the south-east, he had to denude the Malabar coast of his forces towards the end of the year and in a letter of January 21, 1791[6] we are told of the fall of Ferrok before the forces of Atelyk (Hartley). Though the fort had been evacuated in advance, it was nevertheless defended by 2,500 to 3,000 men of Tipu. Hartley had with him 600 Europeans, 3 battalions of Sipahis and about 400 soldiers of the Zamorin and of Travancore. Cannanore also capitulated to General Abercombie of Tellicheri. In April, 1791[7] the army of Abercombie which was stationed within 10 leagues of Mahé was being gravely decimated by disease. He obtained temporary possession of Pariapatan which however he was forced to evacuate in haste at the approach of Tipu's forces sometime before the 4th of July.[8] The Commandant of Mahé was informed on the authority of the Nabab's officers that Tipu's forces were composed of 10,000 of his best cavalry and 8,000 of his best infantry men while the English possessed about 1,000 Europeans, and 3,000 Sipahis, besides 3,000 Sipahis of Travancore of which each battallion was under the command of one or two Europeans, and a force of 4000 or 5000 Nairs under the rulers of Cheriquel, Cottiate and Cartenatte and Nambiar landlords.[9] Abercombie averted a total defeat by his precipitate flight but he had to abandon his baggages, hospital stores, sick patients and a large quantity of money of the Company estimated at about 12 lacs of rupees. Abercombie left for Bombay on the 24th August leaving to Col. Hartley the command of the unfortunate army which was

4. P.A., Ms. No. 4683.
5. P.A., Ms. No. 4696.
6. P.A., Ms. No. 4736.
7. P.A., Ms. 4766.
8. P.A., Ms. 4788.
9. P.A., Ms. 4805.

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further ravaged by a deadly fever and stationed at Baliepatam. Abercombie returned to Tellicheri on the 2nd November and soon began to collect forces at Cannanore in order to make an attack on Mangalore. Two sepoy battalions were despatched to effect a junction with a Travancore battalion commanded by Migot for the defence of Coimbatore which was being hard pressed by Tipu's forces. The important station eventually fell before Tipu, and Migot was guilty of criminal negligence of duty, for at the critical moment he is said to have been away to Cochin to sell 50 slaves on his personal account.[10] The army of General Abercombie continued to be worn down by disease till he crossed the Ghats at the end of 1791. A small Travancore force of 4000 commanded by the Dewan and having Mingault and Housset as officers in command passed by Mahé to reinforce Abercombie. But the few French officers who served in the army had little faith in its efficiency.[11]

The French records are not entirely devoid of interest for events across the Ghats. At the very outset of hostilities Tipu wanted to sound the French governor at Pondichery about the possibility of French aid in the war. A letter of the 26th May, 1790 written by a French mercenary in the service of Tipu from the camp of Coimbatore[12] conveyed to the Governor of Pondichery Tipu's deep regret at the news of the evacuation of Pondichery and even assured the French of financial assistance should such a measure have been decided upon for need of funds. This generous offer must have been a pleasant surprise to the French who on various instances in the past had complained of his avarice and reluctance in payment even to his own officers. On the 28th June, Tipu reiterated his assurances to the French through the same officer in his camp at Coimbatore in more emphatic terms[13] and promised, in case of English attack on Pondichery, "to bring the largest measure of assistance, and without delay of not more than a fortnight Tipu would march in person with all his forces to help you" (the French). This was accompanied with letters to the King and to the Queen of France, letters which were far too voluminous to be enclosed in the official despatch bag, and hence Tipu begged to be excused for this departure from official usage.

On the 6th January 1791, Leger[14] acknowledged receipt of a letter from Zain-ul-abidin in which the latter, evidently under instruction from Tipu, requested the French to undertake overtures of peace with the English. Attached to this document is an extract from the original letter in which Zain-ul-abidin contends that the English having been the aggressors in the war, cannot lay claim to any indemnity, as indemnity of war can be legitimately demanded only from a party which has begun a war and begun it unjustly.

It may be observed in this connection that the French conformed to the policy of strict neutrality enjoined on them by the Minister of Marine and even issued instructions to Frenchmen in the service of Indian princes not to

10. P.A., Ms. 4830.
11. P.A., Ms. 4854.
12. P.A., Ms. 5300.
13. P.A., Ms. 1263.
14. P.A., Ms. 1342.

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participate in any engagement against Tipu. Raymond in his letter to De Fresne after the war confessed that though honour and sense of gratitude had prevented him from fall compliance with the wishes of the Government of Pondichery during the war, yet he had seized every occasion and even devised some to impress upon the Nizam the necessity of withdrawing from the war, and also indicated to him the dangers consequent on the total destruction of Tipu's power.[15]

Incidental details of some interest are found about the operations during the closing epoch of the war. Reference is made to the stubborn and unexpectedly long resistance of the garrisons of Nandydroug due to the astounding bravery of the commandant who was resourceful enough to provide for the final escape of the larger part of the garrison by a postern gate opposite to the direction from which the assault had been delivered by Meadows. It is, however, worthy of note, that far from denouncing the atrocity or any violence on woman by the victorious forces, De Fresne notes with admiration the grand proof of humanity which Meadows offered on this occasion. "Property was respected, the women did not receive the slightest insult and the chief of the fort was treated with particular distinction. This has elicited high praise from Lord Cornwallis in his subsequent thanks-giving utterance". The presence of spirit of Tipu in the midst of adversity and his intrepid activity are highly praised by De Fresne.[16] The impatience and restlessness of the Nizam and the Peshwa during the later stages of the war is brought into clear evidence by a letter of Raymond from his camp at Pakandanja. The allies of the English by this time realised that the destruction of Tipu "would necessarily bring about their own destruction" and their unwillingness to continue the war was shown by the slender assistance they then rendered to the English. The order issued by the Nizam (Raymond's master) "to the battalions under Captain Read which the Nizam had maintained from the commencement of the war to go back to Cornwallis shows positively that the Nizam seeks and ardently desires to be rid of the war and the English, two things which weigh equally on him".[17] Events proved Raymond to be very correct in his prophecy "that the war would be ended undoubtedly before 3 months (at least by the Marhattas and the Muslims" *i.e.* Nizam). The effect of the war was being felt on the finances of the English, the conditions of which was aggravated by the panic of the war with the French consequent on a naval encounter between a French and an English fregate (*The Phoenix* and *La Resolue*). A loan of 200,000 pagodes proposed by the East India Co. could not find subscribers in spite of highly advantageous terms offered. But De Fresne distinctly observes that the "troops of Tipu are paid very exactly"[18] and the best part of his treasure along with his serauaglio were removed to Nagour for safety.

The French account of the diversion made by Maxwell's forces on

15. P.A., Ms. 5303.
16. P.A., Ms. 1527.
17. P.A., Ms. 1563.
18. P.A., Ms. 1578.

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Pennagaram and Krishnagiri[19] is completely borne out by recent researches and testifies to the general accuracy of French information.

For the fall of Sevendroug (Sevanadurga), one of the strongest forts of Mysore, a very curious comment is contained in the official report of De Fresne.[20] Three days of intense firing by several batteries had effected a breach in the curtain when on the 21st Dec., 1791 at 8 A.M. Cornwallis accompanied with General Meadows made a reconnaissance of the breach, and judging it sufficient ordered an immediate assault. The place was instantly captured by a few companies of grenadiers and light-armed troops. "Such strange success can be attributed only to treachery on the part of the officers in command in the fort or to terrifying panic among the garrison and I would much rather believe the success of Lord Cornwallis to be due to the first mentioned cause."

The midnight assault on the island of Seringapatam on the 6th or 7th February is also the subject of a long and interesting report by De Fresne.

The English at the moment estimated their list of the killed and injured at 29 officers, 400 Europeans and 300 Sipahis. But De Fresne was informed from private sources that the losses were heavier. The *Madras Gazette* however is said to have subsequently published the figures as 52 officers and 500 Europeans. Tipu's losses are raised to 3000 though De Fresne estimated them to be only 1500 men. The conduct of General Meadows on this occasion provoked such a severe reprimand from Lord Cornwallis[21] that he wanted to commit suicide with two pistol shots which however did not prove fatal and the General returned after recovery to his duties at Madras.[22]

The war is said to have cost the English Rs. 125 millions of which only a part could be worked off by the 13 millions which was their indemnity to be paid by Tipu. The territories ceded to the English assured them an income of 40 lacs. Tipu's revenue which was previously estimated at 9 crores of rupees was reduced by the cessions to 6½ crores only[23].

The war had produced a terrific strain on the finances of the East India Co. The commerce of the Company as well as of private individuals had been grievously reduced. The Bank at Calcutta stopped payment for six months and its share showed a depreciation of 40%. It was apprehended that if the war had continued for another year then all the commercial firms, particularly in Bengal would have been faced with insolvency. The commercial losses were expected to be redeemed in a large measure by the extension of English trade on both coasts of the peninsula. The territory round Salem[24] would put the English in possession of the entire manufacture of coarse cloth, which were dyed blue either in the region of Pondichery or of Cuddalori and Parto Novo. The English would also acquire an absolute monopoly of the trade in pepper, sandal wood, cardamom and other products of the Malabar

19. *Ibid.*, No. 1594.
20. P.A., Ms. 1594.
21. P.A., Ms. 1660.
22. P.A., Ms. 1683.
23. P.A., Ms. 1674.
24. P.A., Ms. 1683.

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coast. The French losses would be correspondingly severe. Mahé would cease to be the entrepôt of trade and their vessels would be driven in search of merchandises to Mangalore where they feared being subjected to rigorous restrictions of Tipu and the exactions of his greedy Quilladar and Governor.

This brief summary may be closed with some observations by the French on Tipu's conduct in this war. De Fresne of Pondichery[25] is chary of praise for Tipu and finds fault with his defence of Bangalore and the state of his entrenchments at Seringapatam. He accuses Tipu of having failed to utilise his resources with greater promptitude and precision, or else the English could never have crossed the Ghats and entered into his kingdom. But De Fresne makes an ungrudging recognition of Tipu's vigour in the prosecution of the war. A fuller and more authoritative appreciation of the conduct of Tipu and his forces is contained in the remarks of the veteran Raymond to the governor of Pondichery: "Till the time of the advance on Patane (Seringapattam) I did not believe that there could be found in India troops so bold as to meet the shock of European forces as numerous as those of Lord Cornwallis. I have witnessed the divisions of Tipu Sultan forcing their way into the English line and subsequently losing terrain only because of indiscipline and defective command. After 19 days of toil and the suffering of repeated actions, the English army could not dislodge Tipu from around his enclosure, and if Tipu has known the condition of his enemies as well as I do, he could have saved much money and some fine territory." In the opinion of this expert witness, "Tipu has defended the capital in a manner truely worthy of his father, of himself, and of the nation which alone is attached to him".[26]

A SCRUTINY OF THE POLICY OF NANA FADNIS N THE NORTH INDIAN ENTERPRISE OF THE MARATHAS

S. N. ATHAVALE

During the period of twenty years from 1775 to 1795 Nana Fadnis was the sole director of the Maratha central government under Peshwa Sawai Madhavrao, who ceremonially reigned but hardly ever ruled. It was now for Nana as a regent to guide, control and also order the Marathas in their manifold activities all over India.

Territorial expansion in the North in the name of the Emperor of Delhi was one of those major activities since the days of the Peshwa Bajirao I (1720-1740). When we undertake to examine Nana's policy in this respect we should consider the situation as it was. Nana cannot be given any credit for the achievements made by his predecessors, nor can be held responsible for the mistakes of the past. For more than half a century before Nana's rise

25. P.A., Ms. 1656.
26. P.A., Ms. 5303.

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to power, the Marathas had marched into different parts of the North with a marvellous dash. However one cannot help accepting V. K. Rajawade's observations about the consolidation of the conquests and a permanent settlement in that part of the country. He says, "By about 1760 the Marathas had freed almost the whole of India from the hands of the Yavans. But between 1720 and 1760 no measures whatsoever seem to have been adopted to perpetuate their rule in the lands they had acquired. Panipat had proved to the Peshwa how unstable was his power in the North."[1] In his summary of the political situation in December, 1772 Mostyn writes, "Their (Marathas') affairs in Indostan do not altogether wear so good a face..."[2]. The ambitious young Peshwa Madhavrao I (1761-1772) struggled hard to restore Maratha power and prestige in the North. But his projects ended with him. His successor Peshwa Narayanrao was murdered in 1774. This was the beginning of a long civil war between Raghoba, Narayanrao's uncle, and the leaders of the Maratha confederacy. This domestic concern assumed an Indian importance for Raghunathrao's case was upheld by a power no less than the English. It was a golden opportunity for all the enemies of the Marathas ; and like Nizam and Haidar in the South careerists around the Court of Delhi prepared themselves to catch the fortunes by forelocks. In a letter dated 29th August, 1774 Mahadaji wrote to Nana, "Our internal disputes have awakened the Hindustanis.[3] This was the time when we could have properly dealt with the Rohillas, Jats and others and exacted lands and tributes from them. But because of our pre-occupation elsewhere the Emperor and the Vazier have succeeded in securing the same. The Vazier is marching towards Bundelkhand with an army of 200,000 and an army of 100,000 has been directed towards Marwad, Ajmeer and Jaipur. Raghoba is at present with me. If he had joined the Emperor, not only Ismailkhan, but Bhonsale and Gaikwad also would have lost no time in joining him."[4] It is significant that in this very letter Mahadaji stressed that he was the only reliable man in that part of the Empire, demanded full authority in imperial affairs and asked for an adequate financial aid from Poona.[5] It is clear here that not only the Hindustanis but Marathas like Bhonsale and Gaikawad also were going to reap all possible advantages out of the situation. Small wonder that lesser men like Balaji Tapkir in Mewad were intriguing against Mahadaji.[6] All this was quite logical, for Raghoba, one of their masters was leading them in this kind of political morale. Mahadaji remained loyal to the cause of the widow Gangabai and later the baby Peshwa, but gracefully asked the price of his loyalty, dictatorial powers and monetary supply every now and then. This was the position when it fell upon Nana to involve himself in North India politics in 1774-75.

By the way it is worthwhile to know at this stage that in his early life

1. Rajawade ; *Aitihasik Prastavana,* pp. 92-94.
2. *Third Embassy,* p. 54 letter from Mostyn to Hornby (27-12-1772).
3. It should be noted that Hindustani always meant an inhabitant of N. India, and was distinguished from an inhabitant of the lower part of India, who was termed as Dakshini, Maratha, Kannada or Telangan as the case may be.
4. & 5. *Shinde,* 6.
6. *Shinde,* 16.

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Nana had not shown any special inclination towards an understanding or a study of Imperial Politics and his implications. He had accompanied Sadashivrao Bhau to Panipat ; but from his own admissions in his autobiography it is clear that it was not for learning something about warfare and administration but for holy pilgrimages!. Under Madhavrao I and Narayanrao Nana could never rise above his office of Fandis and hence had no business to look to the North or any other direction unless he was specifically asked to do something. Mahadaji Shinde, Tukoji Holkar and other active Sardars in the open field had full information of the details of North Indian affairs, as a result of the peculiarities of their positions. For Nana Fadnis, technically the officer in charge of Audit and Accounts in the Peshwa's Secretariat, all things were to be newly learnt.

The time when Nana came to conduct the business, was not one to admit of any initiative anywhere. The urgent and pressing problem was to come successfully out of the English danger. During those years of the first Anglo-Maratha war Najafkhan held the regency of Delhi. No other course of action could have been thought of then, than befriending the Emperor, Najafkan and all potentates of India to form a united front against the foreign enemy. Nana like Mahadaji was leaving no stone unturned to effect this. He was again and again writing to Purushottam Mahadeo to urge the Emperor and Jajafkhan to join the Peshwa against the English and Purushottam Mahadeo was all along pointing out how they were giving promises after promises but not moving an inch from their footing. (May 1780 to August 1781).[7] Nana's tone many times was courteous to the extent of utter humiliation.[8] There was no difference of oppinion between Nana and Mahadaji in this design of winning over the Delhi Court to the Maratha side. Najafkhan kept promising his full support to them but remained inactive throughout. This does not mean that he had joined hands with the English. The Imperial Court had sufficient experience of the English and that had impelled the Delhi Court to turn the Peshwa, as Jadunath Sarkar puts it "with growing wistfulness but deepening doubts."[9] The English, however, caused considerable botheration to the Marathas by holding on grand shows of friendship with the Delhi Court. Purushottam Mahadeo wrote to the Peshwa in 1780 "The English assure to the Emperor money that the latter always wants. I have to this date succeeded in dissuading the Emperor from accepting money from the English. It will hereafter not be possible to bring the Emperor round unless we station some of our troops here and make promises of financial grants. The Emperor is so much afraid of the English that he does not dare issue Farmans to the rulers of Jaipur, Udepur etc. for the English may take it ill."[10] Nana wanted to extert the services of the Delhi Court to stop British advance from the North towards the South.[11] The strategical propriety in this plan of disconnecting Calcutta and Bombay cannot be questioned. Still the actualization of such

7. Delhi, 1-1, 9, 17, 20, 45, 48-63.
8. Delhi, 1-63.
9. Sarkar—*Fall* 3, p. 221.
10. Delhi, 1-5-6-7. See also *Shinde*, 69.
11. *Ibid.*

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a policy was dependent upon a satisfactory solution of the basic factor, namely financial provision. In February, 1781 Sadashiv Dinkar observed, "Najafkhan has dismissed the English ambassador. Yet he must be continuing relations with the English secretly and hoping monetary gains from them."[12] Poor Purushottam Mahadeo had to keep a watchful eye upon the Emperor and guard him from falling a victim to the English money.[13] It is interesting to note in this connection that Najafkhan was not only hesitating and shilly-shallying the matter himself, but going so far as to doubt the continuation of the Maratha stand against the English. He openly expressed his fears as to how precarious the position of the Delhi Court would be on a sudden conclusion of peace between the Marathas and the English.[14] However when Najafkhan and the Emperor did not participate in the Anglo-Maratha war they utilised the time in undertaking other imperial concerns such as the case of the Sikhs. When Nana heard of this he wrote to Purushottam Mahadeo to inform Najafkhan that the very fact that latter started hostilities against the Sikhs at this time proved his insincerity in the Maratha cause with an additional warning that nobody's estate in the imperial domains would remain safe unless the English power was once for all destroyed.[15] And on Purushottam Mahadeo's questioning about it replies from the Emperor and Najafkhan were straightforward that they gave priority to the Sikh campaign.[16] Najafkhan was moreover audacious and opportunist enough to renew the agreement between the Marathas and the Emperor in favour of the latter.[17] He was all along coolly observing the victories and defeats of both the sides with a view to do the proper thing at the proper time.[18] Nana's orders to Purushottam Mahadeo to cloak all news of Maratha defeats and exaggerate their victories sound childish. Nobody could have believed Nana's bluff that Bhonsale joining the English and accepting a sumptuous bribe from the English was just a diplomatic move of that Chief.[19] From many other sources of information Najafkhan did hear of Goddard capturing Ahmedabad (July 1780) and Camac defeating Mahadaji at Sipri (February 1781).

Though Nana and Mahadaji were in agreement regarding the general stand that the Delhi government and North Indian potentates should be won over the Maratha side, still there was serious difference of opinion between them in one particular move. It was about fixing the place of Mahadaji's headquarters. Nana was throughout urging that Mahadaji should immediately run down towards south and camp at Kondaibari to defend Peshawa's domains. Mahadaji's contention was that his camp in the North or in Malwa would check the succors of the English from Calcutta towards Bombay and Poona ; and that it would have been easier for him to take the Emperor and North

12. Shinde, 69.
13. Shinde, 135.
14. Rajawade, 12-5, Delhi, 1-10.
15. Delhi, 1-35.
16. Delhi, 1-35.
17. Maheshwar, 2-59, Rajawade, 12-31.
18. Delhi, 1-35.
19. Delhi, 1-53.

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Indian Chiefs into confidence and help the Union between English and the Hindustani Princes as one between Gohad and the English, if he were in the North.[20] Sadashiv Dinkar also opined that, that was very political stand.[21] Mahadaji therefore did not even keep his promise of seeing Nana personally to discuss the matter and deputed Ramji Patil for that.[22] As a military stategy, the wisdom in Mahadaji's view can hardly be doubted. In course of time Nana also was convinced of it, but ignorantly believed that the North can be trusted to a man even of Shivaji Vithal's calibre and position.[23] In spite of the fact that Mahadaji's policy was faultless there are reasons to doubt his bonafides. On 17th May, 1781 Sadashiv Dinkar wrote to Nana that Mahadaji had not until that date pitched his tents in the direction of the English campaign.[24] On June 20, Mahadaji in his letter to Nana himself admitted that loss of Sipri and other places was due to the timely help the English troops on the spot obtained from their Calcutta government.[25] Mahadaji failed to achieve the primary object of disconnecting the different English fronts from Calcutta. And it was as early as in August 1781 that negotiations of peace were started between Mahadaji and the English ; through the Rana of Gohad of all the persons.[26] The treaty was concluded on 13th Oct., 1781 and an end was put to all plans, schemes and also the differences.

It will be irrelevant here to discuss the nature of the Salbai treaty, and differences therein between Nana and Mahadaji. It must nevertheless be noted that the treaty was concluded with the Poona government through Mahadaji and he was the guarantee of its observation on both the sides. The treaty did little good to the Maratha world, but definitely brought Mahadaji into limelight. It gave to Mahadaji a prestige and position in the English Court. But more important than this, from our point of view, Mahadaji was promised by the English a free hand in Delhi affairs, in which they would not interfere. This was done with full knowledge of Nana.[27]

It was with more assertiveness and greater spirit of independence that Mahadaji directed his attention toward Delhi affairs hereafter. J. Sarkar writes, "After 1782 the Maratha revival that took place in the North was not the work of Poona government but the private undertaking of one of its semi-independent generals, Mahadaji."[28] It then clearly follows that, in later history Mahadaji should be given greater credit than Nana for the achievements in that field ; while at the same time he should be held much more responsible than Nana for the follies and blunders in that venture.

Death of Najafkhan on 6th April, 1782 gave rise to numberless plottings and manoeuvrings in the Delhi Court. Mahadaji kept watching. Nana was miles away from Delhi and was involved in it only when Hingane or Sadashiv

20. Shinde, 109, 110, 111, 117.
21. *Ibid.*
22. Shinde, 119, 124.
23. Shinde, 131.
24. Shinde, 160, 163
25. Shinde, 167.
26. *Ibid.*
27. Menavali, 95-5-74-75.
28. J. Sarkar—*Fall*, 3. p. 147.

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Dinkar gave some shocking reports[29] and more seriously when Mahadaji made some specific demand of money in a tone that was urging as well as challenging.[30] Nana, conscious of his ignorance and helplessness, wisely left to Mahadaji more than sufficient powers in Delhi affairs ; and instructed Govind Purushottam accordingly.[31] Nana had learnt from Govind Purushottam the Emperor's impatience at the rivalries and contests in the Court and his repeated appeals to Mahadaji, who was busy in the Gohad affair.[32] But Mahadaji's reply to any suggestion or advice from Nana was a request! for the supply of men and money from Poona.[33] And in this respect Nana was certainly cold and calculating. But in a way there were sufficient reasons for Nana to be like that. Firstly, the Peshwa government itself was bankrupt. Secondly, as the Salbai treaty was an out and out treacherry towards the government of Mysore at the head of which was now a man of Tipu's spirit, there was a serious danger to Maratha interests in the South from that corner. And thirdly, Nana quite stubbornly wanted to keep the English as far away as possible from the political footings of the Maratha. In a preparatory note by Nana for discussion with Mahadaji in April 1783, one can clearly see how Nana feared the possibility of Mahadaji joining hands with the English to safeguard his interests in North India.[34] Nana's belief that Mahadaji's friendship with the English was closer than constitutional was not altogether unfounded. It is pretty clear from the correspondence between Mahadaji and Nana regarding the clauses of Salbai treaty, the grant of Jagir to Anderson and co-operation with the English against Tipu. It is enlightening to note in this connection Mahadaji's extreme irritation at the news of Dhulap having captured English ships.[35] It is also interesting to read that Palmer felt no harm in using Mahadaji's dak for correspondence between English Officers.[36] With full knowledge and a clear grasp of the English designs in Delhi politics, Nana had expressed his dissatisfaction in his letters to Govind Purushottam and Sadashiv Dinkar with the damaging way in which North Indian politics was being handled by Mahadaji.[37] In course of time Mahadaji also realised double dealing of the English and the Emperor's secret relations with them,[38] and the consequent necessity of adopting a different policy. Nana was in a position to question Mahadaji openly as to how the English could dabble in Delhi politics inspite of the understanding in the Salbai treaty.[39] However with all this the relations between Shinde and the English were objectionably cordial is clear from the letter of Palmer to Malet in Dec., 1789.[40]

29. Delhi, 1-66, 67.
30. Shinde, 197, 201.
31. Delhi, 1-101.
32. Delhi, 1-105.
33. Shinde, 250, 297, 318 etc.
34. Satara, 2-220.
35. Satara, 2-231.
36. *P.R.C.*, 1-256.
37. Delhi, 1-101 ; 103 ; Shinde, 297.
38. Shinde, 310, 319, 339 etc.
39. Menavali, 95-5-74-75.
40. *P.R.C.*, 1-256.

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The murder of Afrasiabkhan on the 2nd of November, 1784 was the culmination of a long series of atrocities committed in the Delhi Court. After this the Emperor lost his patience and instantly called upon Mahadaji to his rescue. Mahadaji rightly asked for proper titles and dignitaries first, to begin the work in a procedural way.[41] And the Emperor had to confer upon him a title not less than that of *Vakil-i-Mutalaq*. The problem of these titles caused a serious dispute between Mahadaji and Nana. It was in this case that the high-handedness of Gwalior and weakness of Poona were clearly proved. It also illustrated the constitutional audacity of Nana asking Mahadaji to obey the order of his master in Poona in Delhi affairs.[42] That Mahadaji wanted the supreme titles for himself and that he had received them from the Emperor is beyond doubt. It is obvious from the fact of his seals of which Nana got the information from Sadashiv Dinkar[43] as well as Govind Purushottam ;[44] asserting that Mahadaji's title was definitely that of *Vakil-i-Mutlaq* and was one without any reference to the Peshwa. Nana kept on questioning the justice in Mahadaji's accepting a title that was higher than any of the Peshwa's.[45] Mahadaji in his talk with Sadashiv Dinkar first avoided replying, later said that he had asked for that title in the name of Peshawa only, but had to take it for himself due to Emperor's insistence.[46] On some occasion he said that he did it to avoid delay in correspondence with Poona government[47], while on another he defended himself by saying that it was a diplomatic move on his part to exact from the Emperor whatever he could at the moment ;[48] and ultimately he pretended that he had done the right thing of securing the supreme title for the Peshwa in the beginning only but a slip in writing the document caused the misunderstanding.[49] Sadashib Dinkar's concluding remark in April, 1785 that if Mahadaji were serious in his devotion to the Peshwa he would have done the right thing at the right time, sounds quite convincing.[50] Mr. G. S. Sardesai who generally advocates Mahadaji's stand in the details of North Indian politics has also blamed him for his trickstery in this respect.[51] Later Mahadaji could not by himself deal with the North Indian situation and had to appeal to the Peshwa for monetary and military aid. This calmed down Mahadaji's tone to a considerable extent. In June, 1792 Mahadaji arranged a grand Darbar to confer the titles upon his master coveting to win the young Peshwa on his side and outwit Nana that way. At this stage Nana could not do anything more than taking the caution of obtaining the permission of the Chhatrapati of Satara, Peshwa's master, to accept those titles.[52] This whole tussle had of course no more direct bearing

41. Delhi, 1-106.
42. Satara, 1-91.
43. Rajawade, 12-54.
44. Delhi, 1-139.
45. Shinde, 359.
46. *Ibid.*
47. Delhi, 1-106.
48. Shinde, 342.
49. Shinde, 391.
50. Shinde, 370.
51. *Marathi Riyasat Uttar Vibhag*, II, p. 104.
52. *Aitihasik Patravyahar*, 296-298.

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upon the real issues of North Indian than revealing the narrowness and selfishness of both the leaders of the Maratha world who were to shape it.

J. Sarkar rightly observes that "what Mahadaji had obtained was only two sheets of paper signed by a titular sovereign."[53] Vakil-i-Mutlaq was a very heavy responsibility. The Delhi diplomat could see that Mahadaji had to restore order in the whole of India on behalf of the Padshah, single unaided.[54] Sadashiv Dinkar also saw in March 1785 how unpleasant the condition around Mahadaji were. Most of the provinces were in a state of turbulance and did not own the Emperor's authority. Relations between the Emperor and Mahadaji were not quite cordial.[55] Even now the king had secret correspondence with the English.[56] Probably Mahadaji himself was aware of the instability and chaos of the Imperial politics. Kirkpatrick prophetically observed in June 1787, "On the appearance of Tukoji Mahadaji will insist according to his custom on his having applied every rupee collected by him since his arrival in the quarter to the payment of the army, maintenance of the garrisons etc. and he will produce fabulous accounts.....,will finally leave Tukoji in possession of all his acquisitions in Hindustan and repair himself to Poona, there to give an account in person of his administration."[57] Mahadaji left North for Poona in Jan. 1792 and Palmer proved to be one more English prophet who observed, "I shall conclude Mahadaji will never return to Hindustan, but will leave it to be struggled for by Poona government or Ali Bhadur and Holkar."[58] One cannot accept Mr. G. S. Sardesai's view[59] that Mahadaji had created "a kind of settled political order in the administration of North India ; for if it were so there would not have been so many reports about the anarchy in all parts of India after the death of that Sardar in 1794."[60] J. Sarkar accepts that Mahadaji ultimately failed in Hindustan politics and explains the failure as follows, "Stable peace and acknowledged sovereignty alone could have enabled the Marathas to organise a new administration and create a competent and honest civil service in the conquerred provinces of Hindustan and Central India. These alone could have given permanence to the Maratha paramountcy and enabled it to increase the wealth and happiness of the people in few years and growing revenue from good administration would have met the cost of defence and thus doubly ensured the imperial peace. That was the achievement of the British as regents of Delhi. The Marathas failed in this task. The Maratha government in Hindustan had no competent civil service, no stable administration and no wise foreign policy."[61] These remarks are only an elaboration of the term failure and not the analysis or criticism of that failure. Admitting unreservedly that Maratha ultimately failed, we have further to raise the point as to what were the ways and means

53. *Fall*, 3, p. 295.
54. Rajawade, 12-39.
55. Shinde, 358 (See also Shinde, 429).
56. Shinde, 369, 381.
57. *P.R.C.*, 1-108.
58. *P.R.C.*, 1-268.
59. *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. III, p. 221.
60. Delhi, 2-121, 131, 133 etc.
61. *Fall*, 4, pages 7 and 112.

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of establishing "stable peace", creating a "competent civil service" and obtaining "acknowledged sovereignty"? And what is to be understood by "wise foreign policy"? It is only in a search of answers to these questions that we can find out the meaning of the *fiasco* of Maratha politics in the North and the extent of Nana's responsibility for the same.

The basic requirement in dealing with the imperial affairs was a satisfactory solution of the economic problems. Nana was not prepared to take Mahadaji at his word in this respect and asked Sadashiv Dinkar to explain the real situation. Sadashiv Dinkar, however, submitted that Mahadaji's poverty was a fact and it was due to (1) failure to keep proper accounts and make efficient bureaucratic arrangements,[62] (2) absence of any planning whatsoever, (3) the heavy expenses of the paltans[63] and artillery, (4) famines in many parts of India, and (5) sweeping collections of revenue by Muslim officers before the coming of Mahadaji. Stating all these facts Sadashiv Dinkar concluded that Mahadaji did everything that was possible for him but could in no way help the bankruptcy of the people.[64] The new territorial possessions of Mahadaji were all barren and desolate.[65] Nana could not have helped Mahadaji directly in this concern—if at all he wished it—for the financial position of Poona government was the same if not worse. It is interesting to note in this connection J. Sarkar's criticism of Nana's selfishness and stinginess. He says, "The economy of Nana was not the unselfish guardianship of the public funds. He increased his private hoard which had in Oct. 1792 reached two crores of rupees by his own admission. No part of it was sent in strengthening the national defence or improving the people's lot. (P.R.C. ii—153, 175.)"[66] Admitting that there can hardly be any doubt about Nana's illiberal ways, we must be very clear here that such a personal generosity could never have cured the economic anaemia of the Indian society. It is in the Asiatic Annual Register of 1800 that the student of Maratha history gets a clear idea of the realities of Maratha politics that affected the economic life of the people. The Register records, "Upon the whole there is not upon record an example of any government so little calculated to give protection to the subjects, as the fluctuating and unsteady system of the Marathas, an administration formed of repacity, corruption, instability, promises but little hopes of domestic happiness or public security.....(As there is no security—) no man raises more than barely serves him and the produce of the year is just equivalent to its consumption, the consequences is that the first scarcity of rain or too great a fall of it produces a famine." Growth of wealth and prosperity were dependent upon an atmosphere of security and stability of life. This would have come to mean a policy of peace. But as the Asiatic Annual Register additionally records, "It is one peculiar feature of the Maratha government that the Empire always considers itself as in a state of war." This basic

62. See also Hingane's observations in Rajawade, 12-39.
63. According to the estimate of Sadashiv Malhar one British Paltan of 1100 strength cost 150,000 Rs. annually (Satara, 1-113).
64. Shinde, 602 ; Tipne, 5-10.
65. Shinde, 406.
66. *Fall*, 4, p. 128.

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factor was not taken into consideration by any Maratha statesman or warrior ever since they began marching northwards. Like all his predecessors Nana also failed to realise it ; nor does Mahadaji who, according to J. Sarkar, was "the man on the spot who knew by long years of experience the problem of North better than any other Maratha leader then living"[67] seem to have comprehended it. Absence of such a wide outlook on the part of Nana as well as Mahadaji led the Marathas towards the suicidal policy of exacting tributes from the various potentates under this or that pretex.

It is difficult and also irrelevant here to narrate a detailed history of Mahadaji's relations with different princes. We shall confine ourselves to a study of the general nature of Mahadaji's policy. Still more important from our point of view is a critical examination of Nana's attitude towards the tremendous transactions of Shinde.

Mahadaji was now legally entitled to dictate terms to all powers in India including the English Governor-General who was technically the Diwan of Bengal. Though an Indian ruler and the Emperor himself had built connections with the British as defensive measures each and everybody had sufficient experience of that alien power. The Marathas had themselves given a life and death struggle against the English just recently. The Marathas could have made a capital out of this English knavery that was notorious all over India. Mahadaji expressed his view of the British in bitterest words in a letter to Nana.[68] Prince of Kashi and the Sikh chiefs were making appeals to Mahadaji to co-operate with them in subduing the English. Sikhs were prepared to go as far as to loot Bengal and equally distribute the spoils. Ahilyabai also was in favour of such a scheme. But Mahadaji was not prepared to conciliate with the Indian chiefs against the English power.[69] Govind Purushottam also in his letter to Nana in 1787 pointed out the possibility of governing the whole of India includng Bengal of the British and make Delhi as titular as Satara, provided Mahadaji adopted a poicy peacefully winning the North Indian potentates.[70] Nana spoke more bitterly than did Mahadaji about the villainy of the English but does not seem to have given to Mahadaji the proper political counsel of an anti-English organization of an all-Indian nature. He had thought of such plans during the first Anglo-Maratha war; but not after the Marathas coming to hold the regency of the Delhi Empire. Whether Mahadaji would have listened to such an advice and carried out Nana's orders is a different consideration. That Nana failed to outline such a policy speaks of his want of political insight. Nana and Mahadaji both showed a lack of diplomatic wisdom to think and understand the first thing first.

Secondly Mahadaji's rising to regency of the Empire aroused a spirit of enmity in the Muslim circle against this Hindu ruler. Govind Purushottam informed Nana in 1786 how Jahangirkhan, brother of Afrasiabkhan, was writing to Mohammedan chiefs appealing to unite against the growing Hindu

67. *Fall*, 4, p. 6.
68. Shinde, 351, 354. See also Delhi, 1-235.
69. S. Chandrachand, 68.
70. Delhi, 1-238.

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power and save the collapsing Islam. Jahangirkhan was roaring to go to any length to achieve that aim.[71] The Muslim officers in the Delhi Court also were deadly against Mahadaji's supremacy.[72] Gulam Quadir had made appeals to Kabul and Kandahar to run to the help of Islam in India.[73] On 1st June, 1787 Kirkpatrick wrote to Malet, "A spirit of defection has seized the Mohammedan part of his army, and so rapidly has it already spread itself that it threatens to be very fatal before it ceased to Maratha Commander."[74] Palmer attributed the coolness of Mahadaji during the atrocities of Ghulam Quadir in Delhi to his apprehension of treachery from the Mogal Sardars.[75] Appajiram could see an organized Muslim opposition of Mahadaji in April 1788.[76] Neither Mahadaji nor Nana seems to have visualised the possibility of a Hindu organization against the Muslim danger in the same way in which they had failed to see a practicable all-India organization against the British power at the outset. It is necessary to warn in this connection that this incompetence in understanding and facing the realities should not be euphamistically described as *secularism* on the part of Nana and Mahadaji.

We have now to review the dealings of Mahadaji and Nana with Hindu rulers in the North.

Mahadaji had decided to crush all the chiefs like Rajputs, Ranag of Gohad, Sikhs etc and exact tributes from them, which they owed to the Emperor, and in many cases to the Emperor as well as to the Marathas. He gave out his plan to Sadashiv Dinkar in Feb., 1785.[77] But subduing these princes, especially the Rajputs was not an easy task. Sadashiv Dinkar expressed his fears in August, 1785 how the Rajput expedition was likely to grow very dangerous due to the coalition of Jaipur and Jodhapur instigated by the Delhi Court.[78] Mahadaji's policy of completely destroying the principalities was in no way just, not even sufficietly politic. That he was hard pressed for money can hardly whitewash his deeds. A spirit of Hindudom still dominated the minds of Rajputs. The Jodhapur prince was not prepared to tolerate any annexation of his territory, but heartily wished Hindu rule at Delhi.[79] Prince of Udepur was prepared to pay the tribute provided his lands were not destroyed.[80] Sambhaji Laxman from Sawai Jaipur wrote of the necessity of a more considerate and conciliatory policy than one adopted by Mahadaji.[81] Govind Purushottam, Ranekhanbhai, Ahilyabai now and then urged a more peaceful and less aggressive policy.[82] The English observer also opined that Mahadaji had underrated the strength of the Rajputs and overvalued his own address

71. Delhi, 1-171.
72. Delhi, 1-232.
73. Delhi, 1-350 ; 2-91.
74. *P.R.C.*, 1-115.
75. *P.R.C.*, 1-225.
76. Shinde, 518.
77. Shinde, 351, 354.
78. Shinde, 411.
79. Jodhapur Rajkarne, 3, 4.
80. Tipne, 5-41.
81. Satara, 1-214, 221 ; Tipne, 3-21, 5-9.
82. Delhi, 1-238 ; Satara, 1-121.

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as well as the fame and dread of his power.[83] J. Sarkar's remark in his review of the Khichi affair, "attempt to extinguish a two hundred years' old Rajput state produced bitter fruits in the end,"[84] is applicable more or less in all cases. G. S. Sardesai's view that blood-shed was the only way to deal with the Rajputs appears as narrow as that of Mahadaji.[85]

The Marathas experienced as equally staunch opposition from the Hindustani people at large ; and the opposition from the Hindustani army proved to be decisively ruinous to the Maratha interests. A few selected facts and remarks are given below to make this point convincingly clear.

As early as in 1775 one Gite had observed in his letter to Ahilyabai that the Rangades regard the Deccanis as absolutely unreliable and some persons like Sandhygir Gosavi made only appearances of fidelity.[86] But according to the reports of Purushottam Mahadeo,[87] Vithal Shamraj,[88] Sadashiv Dinkar[89] and others larger part of Mahadaji's army was of a non-Maratha Hindustani element. On 1st June, 1787 Kirkpatrick wrote to Malet that Mahadaji's detachments were chiefly composed of Hindustanis remarking that it would not have surprised him to learn ere long of his being deserted by the whole or greater part of them.[90] Govind Purushottam[91] and Sadashiv Dinkar[92] had already brought to Nana's notice that all North Indian, Muslims and non-Muslims from the Brahmins to the Sudras were sweet-tongued cutthroats. It is tragic to note that Mahadaji had not sufficiently realised it down to the middle of 1787. It is then that he began to express that his failure was chiefly due to his faith in the Hindustanis.[93] Appaji Ram wrote to Nana that Mahadaji, along with the members of his family at this stage remembered Nana's warnings about the enchanting ways and treacherous acts of the Hindustanis.[94] In his letter to the Peshwa Mahadaji himself attributed the sudden adverse turn in his situation to the defection of his North Indian troops and urged the Poona government to assist him at once with men and money.[95] J. Sarkar quotes *Akhbarat* to point out how in 1787 Mahadaji was deliberately working for the departure of disloyal and useless Hindustani troops.[96] The Emperor himself had warned Mahadaji that the artillery, the paltans and the North Indian troops were the chief dangers to his power.[97] Mahadaji had listened to nobody's advice and invited disaster.[98] Nana rightly blamed Mahadaji for ignoring the proportion of

83. *P.R.C.*, 1-108.
84. *Fall*, 3, p. 312.
85. *Riyasat*—Uttar Vibhag, Part 2, p. 233.
86. *Holkarshahichya Itihasachi Sadhane*, 1-70.
87. Rajawade, 10-11 (1781).
88. Maheshwar, 58 (1781).
89. Shinde, 420 (1785).
90. *P.R.C.*, 1-115.
91. Delhi, 1-79.
92. Shinde, 606.
93. *Aitihasik Patravyavahar*, 261.
94. Shinde, 503.
95. Shinde, 501.
96. *Fall* 3, p. 400.
97. Delhi, 1-229.
98. Delhi, 1-229, 235.

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the Deccani troops to the North Indian troops in his service and rashly and thoughtlessly undertaking the invasion of Jaipur.[99]

The whole situation was critically surveyed by Kirkpatrick in Sept. 1787.[100] The relevant part is quoted here: "Mahadaji forgot that he governed a country, the inhabitants of which had no reason to be fond of his administration and that he was at the head of an army, the greatest part of which in adhering to him sacrificed their feelings and inclinations only to present necessity and convenience. He forgot that those Hindustani chiefs whom he had reduced to either a state of insignificance or of vassage would probably seize the opportunity of his being engaged in distant hostilities in order to assert and recover their former independence. And he forgot that owing to his long inattention to the king's pecuniary demands the mind of His Majesty had become exceedingly indisposed towards him. (Nana too had expressed that Mahadaji should at least not let the Emperor out of his hands).[101] Or if these considerations occurred to him they at least seem to have had but little weight with him. There is reason indeed to believe that the error which he committed by embarking in the unfortunate enterprise against Jayanagar proceeded entirely from the inordinate ambition which no prudential suggestions were able to restrain." Under these conditions Kirpatrick considered that the only hope for Mahadaji was the coming Deccani army.[102] Palmer also thought that the arrival of Deccani troops would undoubtedly establish and restore the Maratha power and influence in the North[103] (1788). It is in this light that one can understand the touching appeals of Mahadaji to Nana to make arrangements immediately to direct Maratha soldiery toward him.

Nana had come to discern the nature of the situation from many sources of information. He knew that Mahadaji was short of funds. He knew that the Muslims and the non-Maratha Hindustanis had proved to be malicious. He knew that the North Indians despised the Maratha rule in general and incidentally then Mahadaji in particular. The Emperor, his counsellors in the Court, the Rajputs and all were awaiting the arrival of some other representative of the Peshwa to take charge of the Imperial administration.[104] Making due concessions to the exaggerations in Govind Purushottam's report we can fairly admit that Mahadaji had failed in his task. He felt it himself.[105]

The question remains, as to who else would have succeeded? Had any of the Maratha leaders in the last quarter of a century proved himself abler than Mahadaji? We cannot help accepting Appaji Ram's opinion that affairs in the North could not be left in charge of a man less capable than Shinde[106] (Jan., 1789). What was necessary and what could have been thought of was not a change of person but change in policy. Propriety of befriending the

99. Shinde, 509.
100. *P.R.C.*, 1-175.
101. Shinde, 509.
102. *P.R.C.*, 1-175.
103. *P.R.C.*, 1-201, 287.
104. Delhi, 1-229, 232, 238, 267, 350 etc.
105. Shinde, 536.
106. Shinde, 556.

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non-Maratha Hindus and if possible also the Muslims—princes, people as well as the troops—never struck to Mahadaji. Nor did Nana ever realise it as an elemental factor in North Indian politics and obviously therefore failed to give Mahadaji any direction to that effect. Mahadaji's roughness aroused enmity everywhere. Nana occasionally asked Mahadaji to be more polished but never outlined a definite plan to be followed and at the most suggested a policy of "divide and rule."[107] A broad outlook and a magnanimous statesmanship were wanting in both.

With the given relations between the Marathas and the non-Maratha Hindustanis the only course ôpen was to follow an aggressive policy on the strength of a solely Deccani army. Nana and Mahadaji both knew the roguery of the Hindustani troops thoroughly well. However nobody seems to have planned and executed in details any scheme of Marathization of army. Curiously enough it was not only Mahadaji who employed Hindustani mercenery troops in North Indian warfare but Nana also had Gardis and Arabs in his service at Poona. As a matter of fact a pure Maratha army fighting on all fronts in India, obtaining and retaining power was a numerical impossibility. The proper way out was to impress upon all the Indians that were to be ruled a benevolent attitude of a Hindu and at the same time be prepared with a reliable Maratha force to face those who were morbidly determined to go wrong. Nana did not prove himself to be less incompetent than Mahadaji in making such systematic approach to the problems of North Indian politics.

Moreover the fall was hastened by the inherent defects in the organization of Maratha confederacy for the reparation of which Nana had made no attempt whatsoever. It was a well-known story that the Maratha chiefs were almost independent princes who came together only when it was in everybody's interest. This being the case no Maratha chief was likely to co-operate with Mahadaji whole-heartedly and there was every likelihood of the North Indian princes like the Rajputs planning to uproot Mahadaji's power by joining hands with Tukoji Holkar or Ali Bahadur.[108] Taking into consideration the ancestral rivalry between Shindes and Holkars and Mahadaji's bitter complaints against Tukoji in the immediate past,[109] (1783), appointment of Tukoji Holkar in the North was clearly a blunder committed by Nana. Ali Bahadur was just a lad. However J. Sarkar's view that Haripant Phadake would have been the proper choice[110] is not acceptable for Mahadaji himself would not have approved of it. Mahadaji appreciated the choice of Ali Bahadur by Nana commenting that a Muslim Sardar like Ali Bahadur was more useful than a Brahmin one to influence the hetregeneous population of the North.[111] Nevertheless, Shinde was rightly afraid of the supercession of his authority by the two agents of the Peshwa.[112] Tukoji began to make all possible mischiefs in Rajput

107. Tipne, 1-3.
108. See foot note No. 113.
109. Shinde, 228.
110. *Fall* 3, p. 401.
111. Shinde, 510.
112. *P.R.C.*, 1-203.

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politics,[113] and taught Ali Bahadur to be insincere, uncompromising and dilatory.[114] That Nana himself knew Tukoji's wretchedity is clear from his letter to Sadashiv Dinkar in 1788.[115] Appajiram also complained against Tukoji pointing out that Mahadaji was quite considerate as regards the distribution of territorial acquisitions and other matters, but Tukoji could not be yoked to work.[116] Letters from Ali Bahadur to Nana contain nothing but petty complaints and trifles and hardly any political observations or promises of action.[117] The Gosavi case was an exposition of his genuine foolishness and in that Nana blamed him in cruel words.[118] Sadashiv Dinkar and Palmer, both, saw that nothing could come out of such discordant power and authorities as were by the three chiefs.[119]

Personal rivalry between Mahadaji and Nana themselves, also affected the course of North Indian politics to a certain extent. Tukoji and Ali Bahadur no doubt presumed Nana's support to them against Mahadaji.[120] Sadashiv Dinkar's letter to Nana informing how he had secretly won over Dayaram Kashmiri, the Emperor's favourite, who was dismissed by Mahadaji, illustrates only one of the cases where Nana tried underhand methods to outwit Mahadaji.[121] But in a sense it was very natural. Mahadaji was posing as an independent ruler in North India and undermining or ignoring the authority of the Peshwa in day to day administration.[122] Poona was as much a point of honour to Nana as Gwalior was to Mahadaji. As regent of the Peshwa government Nana detested Mahadaji's presumptousness and tried to do whatever he could to assert his master's authority in that part of the Empire. It is however wrong to hold like Jadunath Sarkar[123] and G. S. Sardesai[124] that Nana took deliberate and systematic measures to suppress Mahadaji and defeat his purposes. He was intelligent enough to see that Mahadaji was the man to deal with North Indian affairs. He was not the man to risk allowing Tukoji and Ali Bahadur to go beyond a certain limit. He clearly wrote Govind Purushottam in 1788 that though Ali Bahadur was being sent to the North, the charge of imperial affairs was to be retained in the hands of Mahadaji only.[125] He repeatedly asked Ali Bahadur to join Mahadaji even if it meant displeasing Tukoji Holkar.[126] In 1791 he strongly wrote to Ali to be fair in Bundelkhand issue warning that failure in that would mean a disciplinary action.[127] These facts necessitate a re-examination and adequate

113. Shinde, 517, 543, 545, 546, 551, 581 ; *Kirkol Prakaran,* 1-12.
114. Satara, 1-133, Shinde 539.
115. Satara, 1-147.
116. Shinde, 541, 542.
117. *Kirkol Prakaran,* Ali Bahadur Patra, 1-17.
118. Satara, 1-306.
119. Shinde, 529 and *P.R.C.,* 1-255.
120. *P.R.C.,* 1-266, 279.
121. Shinde, 364.
122. Shinde, 270, 375, 376, 395, 421. Jodhapur Raj, 26.
123. *Fall* 4, pp. 4-5 and 130.
124. *Riyasat Uttar Vibhag,* pp. 183-4.
125. Delhi, 1-281.
126. Satara, 1-147.
127. Satara, 1-306.

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correction of the views of J. Sarkar and G. S Sardesai. This does not mean that Nana was indifferent and dispassionate regarding his position and power. But if that was not affected Nana had no reason to go against Mhadaji. Kirkpatrick had seen the reality in 1787. He wrote to the Governor-General, "Although both Tukoji and Haripant are enimical to him (Mahadaji), yet Nana is thought to be attached to his interests. It is by no means clear however that Nana's attachment to Sindia is of this warm kind and if his situation as minister were to be seriously endangered by his adherence to him ; it is not altogether unlikely, but he would abandon his cause."[128] And it must be said here that the kind of warmth Kirkpatrick speaks of did not exist between Nana and Mahadaji. In course of time when Mahadaji decided to go over to Poona a situation of Nana's place as minister being endangered did arise. That time Nana was startled enough to write to Mahadaji that it was improper to run down to Poona leaving North Indian administration alone, on which Mahadaji informed his insistence on seeing the Peshwa personally.[129] During his stay in Poona Mahadaji captured the mind of the budding Peshwa and all including the English noted that[130] Nana and Haripant took alarm,[131] and Govindrao Kale advised Nana to compromise with or submit to Mahadaji.[132] Mahadaji did not go back to his North Indian estates and expired in his homeland in 1794. With the death of Sawai Madhavrao Peshwa in 1795 Nana was for all practical purposes thrown out of politics. Problems of the Maratha state after that year are not within the scope of the subject-matter of this essay.

To conclude that Nana miserably failed in understanding and handling the North Indian enterprise of the Marathas is admitted without any reserve. Mr. D. V. Apte's compliments to Nana that he tried to correct the mistakes of Mahadaji in Northern politics are simply understandable.[133] We agree with J. Sarkar in his view that, "Nana Fadnis ruined Maratha national interests by selfishness and want of statesmanly vision." We only refuse to accept in the fashion of G. S. Sardesai and Jadunath Sarkar[134] that there existed in Mahadaji a broad perspective, patriotism, selflessness, honesty and what not. It has been fully illustrated by now that Mahadaji and Nana both lacked that selflessness and statesmanly vision ; and the whole North Indian undertaking proved to be a huge mockery. In fact, the bankruptcy of statesmanship in this field of political activity was as old as the early days of Peshwa.[135] Nana Fadnis who did not possess a genius's originality of approach to political problems jujst continued the old order and its evils and ultimately witnessed the inevitable disaster.

128. *P.R.C.*, 1-108.
129. Shinde, 602 (December, 1791).
130. *P.R.C.*, 1-280.
131. *Ibid.*
132. Satara, 1-368.
133. Dattopant Apte—*Lekhasangraha*, p. 154.
134. Sarkar, *Fall* 4, p. 130. Introduction to Historical papers relating to Mahadaji Sindia, p. 10. Sardesai—*New History of the Marathas*, Vol. III, pp. 268-270.
135. Rajawade—*Aitihasik Prastavana*, pp. 92-94.

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ABBREVIATIONS

1. Shinde—*Historical papers relating to Mahadaji Sindia.*
2. Delhi—*Marathyanchi dilli Yethil Rajkarane* (Itihas Sangraha).
3. Rajawade—*Marathyanchya Itihasachi Sadhane.*
4. Mostyn—*Third English Embassy.*
5. Maheshwar—*Maheshwar Darabarchi Batmipatre* (Itihas Sangraha).
6. Stara—*Satara—Satara Historical Records Society* Volumes.
7. Menavali—*Menavali Daftar manuscripts* in Deccan College Museum, Poona
9. Riyasat—*Marathi Riyasat* Volumes by G. S. Sardesai.
10. P.R.C.—*Poona Residency Correspondence.*
11. Ait. P.—*Aitihasik Patravyvahar.*
12. S.C.—*Selections from Chandrachand Records.*
13. J.R.—*Jodhapur Yethile Rajkarne* (I.S.).
14. H.I.S.—*Holkarshahichya Itihasachi Sadhane.*
15. Tipne—*Aitihasik Tipne.* (Itihas Sangraha).
16. K.P.—*Kirol Prakarne* (Itihas Sangraha).

EARLY BRITISH RELATIONS WITH BHUTAN (1825—1840)

DR. H. K. BARPUJARI

In the early days of British occupation in Assam, Scott, the Agent to the Governor General North East Frontier, was so much busy with problems of internal administration, that he felt it impolitic to endanger the tranquility of the Frontier, by abolishing the rights conceded by the former Government to the neighbouring hill-chiefs.[1] Subject to the payment of a nominal tribute, by a proceeding of February 4, 1825, the Bhutan Government was allowed to occupy seven Duars in Assam besides other in Bengal:[2] of these Bijni, Chapakhamar, Chappaguri, Buxa and Ghurkola were in Kamrup, Kaling and Buriguma were in Darrang. These Duars were narrow stripes of land, varying from 10 to 20 miles, running along the Southern base of the sub-Himalayan range. "They form" in the words of Perberton,

"The most valuable portion of the Bootan Territory ; through them and from them are procured, either directly or indirectly almost every article of consumption or luxury which the inhabitants of the Hills possess. Their principal trade is with them, the priests and the higher classes of laity subsist almost exculsively upon their produce. The silk of China and the woolens of Tibet are purchased in bartar for the cotton, rice and other products of the plains".[3]

Notwithstanding this, the agreement by which Scott handed over these valuable possessions was of a 'somewhat complicated nature' and productive of the misunderstanding which soon arose between the two Governments.

1. The Ahoms, who ruled Assam prior to the British, had maintained their suzerainty even over the neighbouring hill-chiefs. As the subjugation of the turbulent highlanders was out of question, they considered it expedient to conciliate the chieftains by frequent contacts and exchange of presents and by grant of certain rights at the foot of their respective hills. In return for an annual tribute of Yak tails, ponies, musk, gold dust, and blankets the Government of Bhutan was allowed exclusive control over the Duars North of Kamrup and limited jurisdiction over those of Darrang.
2. Political Consulations Bengal, 1834 ; February 20, No. 23.
3. Pemberton: *Report on the Bootan,* p. 13.

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The tribute was payable in kind consisting mainly of gold, horses, musk, yak tails, dagger, blankets etc,[4] and as an inevitable consequence of payment of this nature dispute arose as to the value of these articles. The Sezwals, who were appointed to receive the tribute were reported to have frequently changed the article originally sent substituting others of less value.[5] These articles being sold by auction seldom realised the value at which they were appraised by the Bhutan Government ; in consequence, each years tribute fell short of the fixed amount and the revenue fell in arrears.

The Darrang Duars had also a peculiarity of alternate jurisdiction—the British Government exercise it from June 15 to October 15, and the Bhutan Government for the remaining eight months of the year.[6] While in charge, the Bhuteas were not subjected to any interferance from the British authorities and during that period the Duars were the rendezvous of the dacoits, runaways and criminals of all sorts. Inevitably, troubles began when the inhabitants of the Duars committed acts of aggression on British subjects, apparently with the connivance of the local Bhutan authorities who paid little or no attention to the demands by the British Officers for the surrender of the criminals.

Towards the clse of 1828, Doompa Raja, the Bhuteah Chief of Buriguma, entered into Chatgari, a pargana in Darrang and seized some people who were said to have been refugees from his jurisdiction and with them also the individual who gave them shelter. Later, the chief made a treacherous attack upon the police officer who was sent to the frontier to enquire into the dispute, killed some of the sepoys and carried off a number of men and women as captives. Scott referred the incident to the Bhutan Government and demanded immediate surrender of both the captives and the offenders. When the latter took no notice of his demand, he annexed the duar.[7] Almost all the captives were rescued by the detachment that was posted there. The attachment of the Duar hit the Bhuteahs hard and compelled them in 1831 to beg for its restoration, on the grounds that Doompa Raja, the author of the outrage was dead. The negotiations continued until July 1834, when Jenkins the Commissioner of Assam, having received satisfactory proof that the offender was no more, restored the Duar, on the promise of the Bhuteahs to pay a fine of Rs. 2000.[8]

Hardly had a few months passed, when in May 1835, a party of 50 men from the Bijni Duar made an incursion into British territory and carried off

4. Amounting in Buxaduar to S. R. 2015-8, in Ghurkola S.R. 734-0, and in Bijni Duar to S. R. 1434-12 ; See Pemberton: *Report*, pp. 107-8.

5. The Deb Raja complained to the Agent to the Governor General "you are probably not aware of the reason of arrears of our current Tribute . . . It was customary when we first came to collect our revenue to present you with a piebold horse (?) and afterwards with others, *but without any reference to the value of them*, as also gold, knives, musk, chooris (yak tails). Your people sell these articles at such a very low price that we must necessarily fall into arrear . . . you must know that the Raja gave up these Doours for Pan Tamool for the Dhurm Raja". Eden A., *Political Mission to Bootan*, pp. 10-11.

6. Political Consulation India, 1839 ; November 13, No. 73.

7. Pemberton: *Bootan*, pp. 15-17.

8. Political Consulations Bengal, 1834 ; August 14, No. 71.

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eleven captives. The sepoys who were sent against the marauders succeeded in rescuing a few individuals and also seized the Bhuteah chief who admitted, that some of the captives were surrendered to Tongso Pile, the Governor of the Duars on the Assam frontier.[9] The existence of mutual understanding between the offenders and the different Bhutan officials, who offered them protection in their respective jurisdictions was suspected in another attack from Kalling Duar in November, 1835.[10] Not less than three daring dacoities were committed in February, 1836 in the North of Kamrup ; all were supposed to have been committed under the express orders of Bura Talukdar, the Bhuteah officer in charge of Buxa Duar.[11] "So great was the terror excited by these repeated incursions," reported Pemberton, "that the villages on the border were entirely deserted by our subjects and a general feeling of insecurity was rapidly extending along the whole line of frontier".[12]

The early British relations with the Bhutan officials on the Assam frontier were marked by extreme forbearance. Not only were these chiefs allowed the full enjoyment of their former privileges but even their arrears of tribute, repeated acts of aggression, and the murder and abduction of British subjects could not impel the Government of India to resort to arms. A rupture with Bhutan was felt likely to be highly injurious to the interests of the Government. "The first evil" as Robertson pointed out[13]

"Is the suspension of all the measures now in progress for the improvement of the internal administration of Assam and probably the loss of a year's revenue from that portion of the country lying north of the Brahmapooter. The Assamese dread the Booteahs and the first system of hostile inroad from the hills would throw the population of the plains into consternation and put it for a season to flight."

"There would also be an indirect loss sustained by the cessation of that commercial intercourse whence there is every reason to hope that great benefits may soon accrue to Assam. The Booteahs not only require the produce of the plains for their support but seem disposed to become the customers of the Assamese for various commodities which the latter can either supply by their own industry or procure from Bengal to be exchanged, among other articles for gold....."

"Years of disturbance and foreign invasion have interrupted the intercourse between the mountains and the plains but it has never been entirely broken off, and will now I trust, if not checked by any political misunderstanding, annually increase. But the inconvenience, both direct and indirect are insignificant in comparison with the expense and embarrassment to be apprehended from warlike operations, which if defensive must be confined to an unhealthy region at the foot of the hills or if active and offensive, be pursued at the imminent hazard of a war with China and without the slightest prospect of any compensatory result".

Coercive measures against Bhutan were, therefore, "Sedulously avoided". Temporarily, Buxa Duar was reoccupied, but only to be released after a

9. Political Consultations Bengal, 1835 ; June 15, No. 1 ; August 3, Nos. 5-7.
10. Political Consulations Bengal, 1836 ; January 12, No. 5.
11. Political Consulations Bengal, 1836 ; March 1, Nos. 2-3.
12. Pemberton: *Bootan*, pp. 17-18.
13. Political Consulations Bengal, 1833, December 12, Nos. 75-77.

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nominal agreement. No attempt was made to effect the commutation of the existing mode of payment and it was feared, that no communications ever reached the Dhuram and the Deb Rajas, the highest authorities in Bhutan.

Towards the close of 1836, Captain Jenkins reported[14] "we should fail in effecting any arrangement unless that Government would be prevailed upon to receive an English officer to negotiate all matters of dispute at their own court and in personal communication with all the chiefs which compose it". The Commissioner further pointed out, that the deputation of an envoy to the court of Bhutan was necessary not only for 'immediate arrangements' but generally for the extension of knowledge of a country, still imperfectly known as regards its products or political relations and particularly to remove, if there be any, the obstacles or trade with Bhutan and the Tibetan countries beyond it.[15] "There can be no doubt," he added,

"that if we could establish a perfectly free intercourse with Tibet the commerce with that country would become as valuable as, if not superior to, that carried on with any neighbouring state ; but although there may be little hope at present of placing the trade between the countries on a reciprocal footing, as regards the permission of free entry to merchants of either from the influence of Chinese policy over these states, yet some arrangements very profitable to us might probably be made for the promotion and extension of the present petty commerce, by the establishment of periodical fairs along our frontier, to which the Tibetan caravans might be prevailed to meet our merchants".[16]

Influenced by these considerations the Government of India decided early in 1837 to send an envoy to Bhutan to settle the terms of commercial intercourse between the states, and if possible to effect such an adjustment of the tribute payable for the Duars as might diminish the changes of misunderstanding arising from that source. When this decision was intimated to the authorities in Bhutan, they attempted to discourage such a measure.[17] The Government, however, determined on the despatch of the mission ; it was to be under Captain Pemberton, accompanied by Dr. Griffith and Ensign Blake. Towards the close of October 1837, the mission left Calcutta *en route* for Bhutan.[18]

In the meanwhile, the situation on the Bhutan Frontier continued to deteriorate while the Tribute remained unpaid in the Duars oppression, plunder and murder of persons even those in authority or of responsibility had become affairs of constant occurrence. In January 1839, Gambhir Uzir, the officer in charge of Kalling Duar was treacherously murdered, his property looted and his family carried off to the hills. The reason for this outrage was that he had prohibited the entry of criminals into his jurisdiction.[19] Towards the close of April of the same year, some chiefs[20]

14. Revenue Letters from Bengal, 1830 ; December 6, No. 12.
15. Political Consultations India, 1837 ; June 12, No. 58.
16. *Ibid.*
17. Political Consulations India, 1837 ; April 10, No. 113 ; April 17, Nos. 68-74.
18. Political Consulations India, 1837 ; August 2, No. 71 ; *see* details Pemberton, *Bootan*, pp. 36-40.
19. Political Consultation India, 1839 ; March 27, No. 18.
20. Political Consultations India, 1839 ; May 13, No. 113.

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of Koreapara,* known as the "Sath Rajas" murdered Madhu Saikia, the collector of Orung, on account of his insistence upon a new arrangement in tribute recently introduced by the Government. A few months after, Joradea Moholea, a Thankuria of Buriguma was plundered and reduced to beggery on the grounds, that he had aided against the orders of the Bhutan officers the capture of a gang of dacoits.[21] Despite constant representations made by the local authorities, the Government of Bhutan remained practically indifferent and showed little inclination to deliver up the criminals nor to liquidate the arrears of tribute.

Pemberton was deputed to the Court of Bhutan in the belief that the Deb and the Dhurma Rajas were kept in ignorance of the proceedings in the Duars by the frontier officers. Unfortunately, while Pemberton was on his way to the seat of the Government, revolution took place in Bhutan which enabled the then Deb to seize power by expelling his predecessor. But a counter revolution was already in preparation. The authorities in Bhutan then felt so insecure, that they did not venture to accede to even minor arrangements if a person of importance thought fit to object to them.[22] Describing the manner in which they attempted to evade his proposals, Pemberton reported:

"In many protracted discussions held with the Ministers of the Deb, every argument was used, the most detailed explanations were offered, to arrest the attention of the Government and to show the extreme hazard incurred by the misconduct of its officers. Various propositions were submitted and discussed and the Draft Treaty was at last prepared with the avowed concurrence and approval of the Deb and his Ministers, who repeatedly admitted, both in private and at the public durbars, that its provisions were unobjectionable ;.....the Deb to the last admitting that he had no valid objection to offer and that it was calculated to benefit his country by removing many existing causes of dissatisfaction.....and yet he avowed that he dared not sign it, as the Tongso Pilo objected."[23]

Consequently, so far as the immediate objectives were concerned the mission achieved nothing. Pemberton, however, acquired a mass of valuable information on the geography, statistics and natural history of the region both by his personal exertions and through the able assistance of Dr. Griffith and Ensign Blake.[24] Furthermore, he threw much light not only on the nature of the government, but also on its resources and external relations. In particular, he revealed that the Deb and Dhurma Rajas were practically powerless and that the real authority of the country was vested in two barons —Tongao and Paro Pilos, the former governing the territories adjacent to the Duars in Assam, the latter those connected with the Duars in Bengal.[25]

*This was the easternmost Duar in Darrang ; although occupied by the Bhuteahs, its 'Suth Rajas' were dependent not on the Bhutan Government but on the Towang Raja, a tributary chief of the Government of Lhassa.

21. Political Consultations India, 1839 ; November 13, No. 73.
22. Political Consultations India, 1839 ; March 27, No. 83.
23. Pemberton: *Bootan*, pp. 94-95.
24. For details see Pemberton: *Bootan* ; Griffith's *Journal*, pp. 125-152.
25. Political Consultations India, 1839 ; March 27, No. 82.

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The failure of Pemberton's mission coupled with a belief that further negotiations under existing circumstances would be hopeless led to a resolution by the Governor General in Council in March 1839 to resume the Assam Duars, while the convulsions continued in Bhutan. Jenkins was accordingly authorized to occupy them ; should he be unable to take over all the Duars, he was instructed to select those which could be most easily held during all seasons.[26] Accordingly after the rains the Darrang Duars were not restored as usual, to the Bhuteah authorities at the expiry of four months and the remaining Duars also came under the sole possession of the British Government by the end of 1841.[27]

The annexation of the Duars, particularly at the hour of Bhutan's domestic troubles, apparently compromised the prestige of the British Government. The authorities in Bhutan, however, had no rights over the Duars except under the terms of the arrangement and the fact that they had failed to fulfil the terms of the contract through non-payment of tribute and by permitting acts of aggression had forfeited their claims. Their misgoverment desolated the Duars, which had become the rendezvous of the dacoits and escaped criminals. No individual could with safety assist in bringing them to justice nor was the government of Bhutan strong enough to control the insubordinate officials who had countenanced and supported the criminals. The British Government, as the paramount power had therefore the duty, not merely the right, to give the protection, which their vassals could not afford to their subjects.

THE REGIME OF VINAYAK GANESH CHANDORKAR AS THE DEPUTY GOVERNOR OF THE SAUGOR TERRITORY 1795—1819

G. K. TAMBE

1. The Maratha rule in Bundelkhand begins with the year 1828 when Bajirao at the earnest and urgent entreaty of Chhatrasal drove out Mohammad Khan Bangosh the Moghul Subedar of Allahabad after besieging him in the Fort of Jaitpur. The grateful old Bundela monarch treating Bajirao as one of his sons divided his kingdom and gave a third part of him. But the death of Chhatrasal shortly after and the weakness of his two sons Jagatrai and Hirdesrai again tempted the old enemy to try his chance and in 1738 he again invaded Bundelkhand. Again Bajirao came to their rescue and completely routed the invading army under his three trusted Generals, Govind Ballal Kher, Hari Vithal Dingankar and Krishnaji Anant Tambe. Govind Ballal known in Marathi history as Govind Pant Bundela ruled a portion of Bundelkher and under the mandate of Peshwa from Etawah Kalpi to Saugor

26. *Ibid.*
27. Political Consultations India, 1841 ; September 6, Nos. 69-70.

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upto the Northern boundaries of Bhopal, himself staying in the fort of Kalpi to Saugor upto the Northern boundaries of Bhopal, himself staying in the fort of Kalpi which was a place of stratagic importance. His daughter whose maiden name was Anandibai changed to Bhagirthibai on her marriage to Visaji Govind Chandorkar. Pant was appointed as his Deputy by Govind Ballal to rule at Saugor. His memory is commemorated by the erection of the Lakshmi Temple on a hill in 1740 which with its exquisitely curved tank in the rock below with beautiful stairs on every side of the oblong to reach water at all levels. Visaji was murdered by the Raja of Gurhamandla along with his collateral relative Ganesh Vithal Chandorkar in 1780-81 while conducting some military operations in the neighbourhood of Gurrha. Both were cremated together as they were killed. Moro Vishwanath Dingankar led a punitive expedition against the Gond King after reducing his three capitals Chauragarh, Gurha and Mandla, captured him and kept him in confinement in the Fort of Khurai. Shortly after this victory Dingankar also died and the Saugor Government was again left without a ruler. Visaji's widow Bhagirthibai adopted the son of Ganesh Vithal named Govindrao. But the mother of the son could not pull on well together and the quarrel very shortly assumed so unbearable proportion that the mother is reported to have resorted to black magic to bring about the fall of her son in which she succeeded. This happened about the year 1791. The Brahman community ex-communicated Bhagirthibai who shortly after overwhelmed with repentance went to Banaras, took the younger brother of the late Govind under her patronage and protection and recommended him to her nephew, the grand son of Govind Ballal, Raghunath Abasahib by name and got him appointed as his Deputy in place of the late Visaji Govind Chandorkar. Thus Vinayak Ganesh Chandorkar comes upon the scene as a ruler of Saugor territory which he held till 1819 when the British Government of the East India Company annexed the Saugor territory by virtue of the cessation of all his territorial and sovereign rights to the company in 1818 by Bajirao II.

2. Raghunath Abasahib died in 1802. His two widows Rukhmabai and Radhabai came to stay at Saugor in the Saugar Fort two years after. Vinayakrao is accused of mismanaging the government and illtreating the two widows of his boss and master. He is accused to have deprived them of a large amount of political pension and of appropriating that to himself. The papers in the Government Record do not bear out any of the charges. He is accused of mismanaging the Government. If we examine closely his efforts and measures which he was obliged to take for the protection and good Government of the territory under his charge we are first of all met with the attack of Amir Khan Pendhari who under the service or patronage of

(a) Yashwant Rao Holkar ravaged the Saugor City and creating the atrocities which he committed in Saugor are so well described by Sir John Malcoln in his *Memoirs* that they need not be repeated here.

(b) After having extricated himself and his territory from the scourge of Amirkhan he was again confronted with Daulat Rao Scindhia and his army trying to make up the loss of his prestige and territory after his defeat at

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Adgaon by General Wellesly. After swallowing weak States like Raghogarh and Gadhakota Daulat Rao ventured to try his hand on Jhansi and Saugor. He could not succeed against Jhansi, because it was ruled by a very able statesman Sheorao Bhau (1794-1814) who had entered into offensive and defensive alliance with Lord Lake in 1804 and set an example for others to follow. Nana Govindrao, the Ruler of Jalaun hesitated for a long while but in the end succeeded in securing the British protection. Vinayakrao resisted during his regime to acknowledge discretion as the better part of valor and abstained from entering into such alliance formally for a long time. He was under the impression that he being the servant of the Peshwa who had resigned his suzerainty by the Treaty of Bassin to the East Indian Company and accepted its protection, he was *ipso facto* a protegee of the British Government. Sir Richard Jenkins writing for the information of the Governor General from Saugor on 15th February, 1805 (*Poona Residency Papers*, Volume XI, Letter No. 85) "he appeared to entertain an expectation of aid from the British Government" gives a sufficient indication of the inclination of Vinayakrao. Daulat Rao Scindia demanded the evacuation of the Fort of Saugor to him. Vinayak Rao refused. The Scindia besieged the fort and opened bombardment expecting to reduce it in a day or two. Vinayak Rao successfully resisted the bombardment by a similar, if not more efficient, bombardment from his fort on the besieging army for twelve days continually. During this interval Scindia did not spare the town from atrocities of pillage and massacre. As many refugees as could be taken in the fort were taken by Vinayak Rao. But this reduced the provision and supply of food. This compelled Rao to seek accommodation by agreeing to pay two lacs and a half and relieve the scarcity in the fort. Daulat Rao left for Ruhatgarh to try his hand on Bhopal.

Very interesting light is thrown by the following incident on the relations of Vinayak Rao with the British Government and on the relations of the British Government with the allies and protegees.

The territory of Vinayak Rao and that of the Raja of Panna is contiguous to the perganah of Hutta. Some mischievous persons in the Panna Territory caused considerable defradations in the limits of Hutta. The Hutta people retaliated and damages were caused on both sides. The Panna Raja lodged his complaint with the British Government who immediately called upon Vinayak Rao to indemnify the Panna Raja. It was agreed that an inquiry should be instituted and both parties were requested to send their village accountants and experienced officers. The Panna Raja delayed the execution of the order but the peremptory requests of the Political officers brought about the meeting and the inquiry was conducted in which it was found that the loss sustained by Vinayak Rao's subject was Rs. 16423 while that sustained by Panna subject was Rs. 9342. But for the speedy payment of the latter sum the British Authorities thought of undertaking military operations against Vinayak Rao. With this view they collected information of his military strength, the number and condition of his fort and the fighting capacity and equipment and over-awed the manager of Saugor territory by marching their troops

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through his territory and thus compelling him to pay the whole sum out of which Panna was first paid off and the remainder returned to Vinayak Rao.

Vinayak Rao was obliged to make accommodation with the Pendhari Chiefs to ward off their baneful visits to his territories. The British Government did not like these moves of Vinayak Rao and often pin-pricked him for that till at last the pressure of events and circumstances were so contrived that Vinayak Rao entered into a defensive treaty preliminary to the final engagement with the British Government under the following terms:

"Where as by the treaty with H. H. the Peshwa dated the 13th June, 1817 the British Government has acquired the whole of H. H's rights of supremacy over the territories held by Nana Govind Rao and his possessions including Saugor and whereas the Province of Saugor being at present under my management, I am in consequence responsible for the fulfilment of such part of the obligations prescribed by H. H. the Peshwa's Sanad to Balaji Govind as property belonging to Saugor and whereas H. E. the Governor General has been pleased to determine that one third of tribute and military services prescribed by that Sanad shall attach to this province namely one lakh of Rupees per annum and the maintainance of 666 horse for the service of the British Government together with those of other feudatories which formerly belonged to the Peshwa.

On condition therefore of H. E. the Governor General being pleased to exempt me from these obligations and hereafter to employ his good office in effecting a satisfactory adjustment of my relation with Nana Govind Rao I hereby agree to the following articles.

IST.

I agree to surrender to the British Government one of the forts of the country (Saugor Khas excepted) situated on Western frontier to be hereafter settled by the officers of the British Government together with a space around it for the purpose of the esplanade extending to 2000 yards on all sides of fort.

2ND.

For the purpose of keeping the fort in repair and to defray other military expenses connected with the defence of the province I agree to pay the sum of 5000 rupees annually to the British Government to be commuted hereafter at the option of the British Government for a further space of land adjacent to the fort yielding an annual jamma to the amount.

3RD.

I agree to afford every necessary assistance either in constructing a cantonment or in facilitating the march of the British Government troops through the country or in furnishing them with supplies the expenses of which will be defrayed by the British Government.

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4TH.

I agree to hold no correspondence with foreign states except with the privity and consent of the British Government.

5TH.

I will submit all disputes with the chiefs to the arbitration of the British Government.

6TH.

I agree to surrender to the officers of the British Government all criminals and defaulters who may take refuge from British Territory."

This remained in force a year and half till the whole territory under Vinayak Rao was annexed and the old officers and aristocratic families were pensioned off. The pension distributed was as under:

To Rukhmabai, the widow of the last Subedar Raghunath Balaji, commonly known as Abashib	94000	rupees
To Nana Govindrao the next collateral heir and nearest relative of the above	118000	,,
To Vinayak Ganesh Chandorkar	47000	,,
To Gopalrao of Rehti	10000	,,
To Ragho Gopal Potdar	6000	,,
To Bajirao Kotwal	6000	,,
To Mafidars and other landholders	100000	,,
To Sethji Sahukar	3000	,,
	384000	rupees

This distribution entirely refutes the charge against Vinayakrao of appropriating to himself an equal share of pension alloted to Rukhmabai Sahib. Being governed by the Banaras School of Hindu Law the Baisahib not being expressly permitted to adopt a son by her husband was precluded from any share in her husband's property beyond a life interest. The whole inheritance of land fell to her nephew Nana Govind Rao of Jalaun who was paid a considerable sum by way of pension from the revenue of Saugor with a right of revertion to the amount of any pensioner who died during his life-time. But Rukhmabai importunately demanded the whole of the Saugor district as Jaigir which the British Authorities were not prepared to grant. But they alienated to her fifty-one villages in 1825. But even these she could not manage and subsequently requested their commutation in cash which was acceded to by the British Government. The villages were then given in farm to her brother Gopalrao Wakhale.

Thus Vinayak Rao emerges from this cursory examination as an able administrator who did his duty faithfully. He died in 1825 at the age of 59.

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ASSAM IN 1855

K. N. Dutt

Intruduction

In medieval times when the Turko-Afghan and the Mogul empires were being successively established and consolidated in India by conquest and subjugation of the indigenous Hindu kingdoms and principalities into which the country had been divided, the independent kingdom of Assam, lying in the north-east corner of India and representing ancient Kamrupa, proved to be a formidable menace to the Muslim conquerors. Assam is credited with the unique distinction of repelling a series of Muslim invasions and keeping her independence intact on the whole. The might of the great Moguls did penetrate into a part of Assam, as it did into the country of the Marathas in the South, but just as the Marathas turned the tide of Muslim conquest in the South, the Ahoms of Assam did so in the north-east. Lachit Barphukan was the Assamese counterpart of the great Sivaji of the south, and his exploit in defeating the Mogul army led by Raja Ramsingha of Amber is a testimony to the valour and military process of the Assamese people who treasured their independence close to their hearts.

While in the eighteenth century, the British were carving out their empire in India out of the ruins of the Mogul empire, Assam continued her existence as an independent kingdom, not quite isolated from the rest of India, but generally unaffected by the political convulsions which enabled the East India Company to pay the role of empire-builders.

Burmese and British Conquest

But towards the end of the century Assam had fallen on evil days—internecine struggle weakened her ruling power, patriotism lost its favour with her people, and factions, groups and individuals acted against her interest and harmed her solidarity. The foreigner was invited to the land with the lure of conquest and domination. The invitation came first to the British but the authorities of the Company chose for a long time to adhere to the policy of non-intervention in the internal troubles of Assam. As subsequent events showed it was an unfortunate decision both for the British and the people of Assam, for it did cost the British later a war with the Burmese and exposed the unhappy people of Assam to three successive invasions by the latter leading to the ultimate conquest of their land. The Burmese war followed. By the treaty of Yandaboo, 1826, Assam along with some other territories was ceded to the British byy the King of Ava.

Thus ended a glorious epoch of unbroken sovereignty in Assam as a result of faction, intrigue and intestive quarrel indulged in by her rulers and statesmen, and helplessness of the people in the face of conflagration brought

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about by the greed and selfishness of the nobles of the court. British supremacy was established in Assam without any premeditated action or design on the part of her seeming new conquerors—the East India Company. "It can be asserted", says Dr. S. K. Bhuyan in his monumental work *'The Anglo-Assamese Relations'*, "that upto the period preceding the Burmese war the Company had never for a moment conceived any idea of conquering Assam either for economic advantage or for prestige." Circumstances arising out of the corruptive decadence of political system that had served its purpose, and not lust of imperial aggrandisement on the part of the British encompassed the ruin of the Ahom Kingdom in Assam.

Administrative Beginnings

It took the East India Company's authorities seven years to come to final decisions with regard to the political set-up of Assam. There were proposals for restoration of the territory either in whole or in part to the old ruling families some of whose scions had become suppliants of the British. There were proposals for complete annexation also. Strategic considerations of defence and security of the north-east frontier of the British dominions in India seem now for the first time to have weighed with the authorities as they had never done before. After considering suggestions and recommendations of British officers on the spot, pre-eminent amongst whom was David Scott, the Governor-General in Council decided in 1832 to restore the Upper Assam districts to Purandar Singha, a prince of the Ahom royal family on condition of his agreeing to pay a tribute, retaining Western or Lower Assam under the direct control of the Company. A British post was to be maintained at Sadiya in the eastern frontier to keep control over the Matak country and the predatory border tribes such as the Khamptis and the Singphos. But the experiment of a Native State in Upper Assam with an Ahom prince at its head did not prove to be a complete success and the districts placed in charge of Purandar Singha were resumed in 1838 on account of his default in paying the stipulated tribute.

Meanwhile the beginnings of a provisional administration were laid in Western Assam with Gauhati as its headquarters, as soon as the Burmese were expelled from this region. David Scott was the first British administrator of Assam who worked as Agent to the Governor General of India and as Commissioner of Assam. The administration was provisional since final decision of the Government regarding the disposal of the country was yet to be made. Till such a decision was arrived at and given effect to in 1833, the old native system of administration was to continue with only such modifications as were necessary to remove glaring abuses or evil practices. The willing co-operation of the people of Assam and even of the officers and nobles of the older regime and the voluntary submission of the chiefs of Assam made the task of administration comparatively easy.

From the very inception of British rule in Assam, British officers displayed commendable zeal and earnestness in forming an objective and comprehensive

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estimate of conditions prevailing in Assam relating especially to different aspects of the administration. The reports and despatches of various officers at different times bear ample testimony to this fact. David Scott's despatches to the Company's headquarters at Calcutta contained the first official impressions of the British about Assam and the neighbouring hill tribes.

In 1835, when Captain Francis Jenkins was the Commissioner of Assam, several detailed reports were compiled by officers in civil charge of the districts directly under the Company's control relating to the resources, population, revenue, judicial and police arrangements, trade and commerce, social usages and habits of the people, and their relation with the border tribes. The districts or divisions directly under the Company's rule were Kamrup, Darrang and Nowgong comprising Lower or Western Assam. A digest of information on the resources of Upper Assam then placed under Purandar Singha was also compiled at the same time by Captain Adam White, political agent stationed at Biswanath. These reports which have not yet seen the light of day, have been resuscitated from the Record Room of the office of the Commissioner of Division at the time of its abolition in 1947, by Dr. S. K. Bhuyan, Director of the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies in Assam and have been carefully preserved in the Department's library. The reports on the districts (then called Divisions) of Kamrup, Darrang and Nowgong were compiled by Captain A. Bogle, Lieut. James Matthie and Ensign T. Brodie respectively who were in Civil charge of the districts as Collector and District Magistrate. Annexed to the reports are statements giving detailed information and statistical data on various subjects of administrative importance. The report on the district of Darrang submitted by James Matthie is the fullest and most informative on subjects of varied interest, such as population and climate, cultivated and waste lands, the Feudal revenue system under the old Assam Government, social usages, habits and customs of the people, tribes of the Himalayan border and nature of Black-mail realised by them from the plains people, the rearing of the silk worm, the gold industry, live-stock—domestic and wild, agricultural implements, education and schools etc.

Captain Jenkins who called for these reports at the instance of the Government of India and forwarded them to the latter summarised the data and the materials furnished in the different reports for specific information of Government on particular points to which his attention had been drawn by Mr. Macsween, Secretary to the Government of India. The primary object in calling for these reports was to ascertain the existing position with regard to the fiscal, judicial and police arrangements in the districts under the Company's control, but as we look into these reports after the lapse of more than a century, we find that they contain information of great historical value on various matters. Together, these reports, aptly bound up in one volume, present a remarkable picture of the political, economic and social condition of Assam in 1835 and incidentally reveal the unfolding of British administrative policy in Assam. In this short paper it will be possible only to give some idea of their contents.

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Political Condition

By 1835, the year of our present survey, British rule had taken deep roots in the greater part of India. Lord Bentinck had, as Governor General of India, completed his term of administration which was devoted to the consolidation of peace and introduction of social reforms. Assam then being only a decade under British occupation was in a state of flux. It was not until 1874 that Assam was constituted into a separate province in the light of experience gained and necessity felt during the previous period of its administration as a Division of Bengal under a Commissioner. But by 1835 a phase had been reached in the formulation of British policy in Assam. After the installation of Purandar Singha as the Tributary Raja of Upper Assam in 1853, Government adopted measures for the revision of the revenue system of Lower Assam for reorganisation of its judiciary and police. It may be mentioned that in view of the possible retention under British control steps had already been taken under instructions from David Scott to assimilate the administration of Lower Assam to the system in vogue in Bengal to which it had a great resemblance due to its being under the Muhammadans for a number of years. The revision in its final shape seems to have been based largely upon the reports compiled in 1835. The renovated system was later introduced into Upper Assam as well, after its resumption from Purandar Singha in 1838.

Politically Assam was therefore still in the melting pot in the year 1835, after she had lost her independence only a decade ago. But with the tightening of British control over Lower Assam and the establishment of a protectorate over Upper Assam and the Sadiya frontier region, the mould seems to have been cast for the transformation of Assam into a homogeneous administrative unit of the British Empire in India. The report on Upper Assam and the Sadiya frontier tract compiled by Captain White in 1835 shows increasing British interest in the affairs of these territories and in their potential resources and strategic significance. Captain White wrote, "I think it should be taken into consideration that the province of Upper Assam is valuable not so much for its present or the prospect of future revenue which it holds out, as from its possession being essential to the security of the most valuable portion of our empire, the province of Bengal. In a military point of view, Upper Assam may be regarded as a grand defile leading to this most invulnerable quarter and any expense incurred in defending the posts which command it, may be viewed, I conceive in the same light as the occupation of such posts as Gibraltar, Malta and the Cape of Good Hope, valuable to the British Government principally for naval and military purposes. Upper Assam roughly covered the present Sibsagar and Lakhimpur districts.

The Sadiya frontier tract comprised the territories of the warlike Mataks or Moamarias, and of the two marauding tribes of the north-east border, the Khamtis and the Singphos, over whom the British had to keep a vigilant eye preventing on the one hand, their depredations into the plains and on the other their complicity in the designs of their brethren beyond the frontier. The chieftains of these tribal estates undertook to maintain friendly relations

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and to furnish military contingents whose services were to be at the disposal of the British Government. The revenue of these chieftains were small and derived mainly from peasants and occasional labour of their subjects. It may be noted that the Mataks soon settled down as peaceful inhabitants and took to agricultural pursuits. The Khamptis and the Singphos were slow in giving up their predatory habits. In former times, they often took advantage of the weakness of the Assam king and raided the plains taking away Assamese captives whom they used as slaves.

In the Report on the Darrang Division Lieut. Matthie gives interesting accounts of the various frontier tribes he had to deal with in that district. These were the Bhutias, Akas and Duflahs. These mountain tribes were in the habit of collecting blackmail from the ryots in parts of the Darrang District. They usually came down in February in large parties to collect articles of produce, such as rice, sugar and clothes from each house. The right of these tribes to levy this blackmail conceded by the Assam kings in return for military aid from them had been recognised by David Scott after British conquest of the territory. Lieut. Matthie gives in his Report a graphic account of their encroachments and oppression and recommended immediate abolition of the system as he considered it to be highly objectionable, being a source of constant alarms to the inhabitants of the plains who now deserved protection as British subjects. The 'koppah choors', a tribe of the Akas are described to have from time immemorial committed the most desperate and destructive affrays' in parts of Darrang and 'their crimes were of the most barbarous nature'. Mention is made also of the Miris who settled in the forests in the eastern portion of the district. They are described as "a remarkable industrious and well-behaved tribe" which they are even to-day.

Matthie's Report also contains an account of the tract of territory on the Bhutanese 'dooars' or passes which belonged, by virtue of a grant made by the Assam Rajah, to Deb Rajah of Bhutan, for 8 months of the year, and came under the jurisdiction of the Assam Rajah for the remaining four months from Asar to Aswin. In consideration of rice and other necessaries which could not be produced in the mountains and were produced in this territory the Bhutias agreed to pay an annual tribute of articles manufactured or produced in the mountains. Officers called Zinkaffs or Rajahs invested with civil and criminal authority were appointed by Deb Rajah to hold charge of the three divisions of this tract for the term of his jurisdiction. The Assam Rajah had his own officers for these tracts who took over for four months and received the tribute from the Zinkaffs. The inhabitants of this area were generally Kacharees. This arrangement, though not free from disputes ano other attendant evils, was allowed to continue under the British Government also ; but occasional depredetations into and usurpation of British territory by the Bhuteahs led to objections being raised against this arrangement. The evolution of a cautious frontier policy, calculated to deal effectively with these mountaineers impressing upon them the superior might of the British, was a matter of moment and great political significance. Such a policy is clearly envisaged in the Reports under review.

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Economic Condition

Fiscal changes

The Reports give a detailed description of the tenures of land and estates in Assam and of different classes of the agricultural population as they were under the old Assam Government. Up to 1833 the revenue system called 'khelwaree', established by the Assam Government, was retained, but as it was found incompatible with British principles of administration, the Mouzawaree or settlement by separate villages was being substituted and it was reported to be working remarkably well. According to the 'khelwaree' system land was held not in community by the inhabitants of a village but by the members of a 'khel' or guild organised on occupational or territorial bases and in course of time members of 20 'khels' sometimes inhabited one village. Revenue was realised by a poll or capitation tax on the ryots who were known as Paiks and were enrolled as members of a 'khel'. Each 'khel' was under a superior officer called 'kheldar', generally a nobleman or persons connected with the royal family and a number of inferior officers called Boras, Saikias or Hazarees. The *kheldar* with the help of the inferior officers collected the revenue from the members of the'khel'.

The lands alloted to the ryots or Paiks was known as 'gaomuttee' or 'khelmuttee' or 'body land' and came later to be designated as 'kheraj' land as distinguished from 'lakheraj' or rent-free tenures of different categories such as 'Brahmottar', 'Devottar', 'Dharmottar' etc. consisting of endowments made to Brahmins and holy men, temples, Devalayas etc. It is evident that the *khel* system which was based upon the principle of service to the state or the king with its utility in the days of the old Assamese Government, was fast dissolving after the dissolution of the old kingdom, and was being replaced by a more modern system introduced by the British. The system had become very intricate and the khels being in course of time scattered over the whole country, the realisation of the revenue and its transmission into the treasury were attended with enormous difficulties often resulting in loss of the estimated revenue. It had been abolished in the districts of Darrang and Nowgong and new fiscal units called 'mouzas' created after 1833. In Kamrup where the Parganah system had been in existenc , the perganas were remodelled and made into compact blocks. The khel system was not working well even in Upper Assam at this time, and Purandar Singha is reported to have contemplated adoption of the British system. It was abolished in 1838 immediately after resumption of his territory by the British.

In 1835 Assam stood on the parting of the ways. New conceptions of rights in the land, of principles and rates of assessment and of estates and tenures in the land were in the process of evolution. Under the old system the land distributed amongst the ryots was considered to be the bonafide property of the Government 'neither hereditary nor transferable by sale, gift or bequest'. But under the new system the ryots were soon going to be vested with proprietory rights in the lands under their occupation, and the capitation tax was soon to be converted to a land tax. Acknowledging the receipt of the reports from Capt. Jenkins, the Secretary to the Government of Bengal wrote

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to him, "the governor is pleased to authorise you to abolish as you recommended the capitation, house or hearth tax and to direct the collectors of each Division' to throw it on the lands." The propositions made by the comissioner for periodical assessments in the districts surveyed were also sanctioned. The change was going to have far reaching effects on the entire rural economy of Assam in the Pre-Tea stage.

Population : The Reports give population figures for the different districts as follows:

Kamrup	...	...	3,00,000	Upper Assam ...		...	2,20,000
Durrang	...	...	89,519	Sadiya Frontier Tract	60,000		
Nowgong	...	...	90,000		5,000		75,000
					10,000		

The density of population per square mile was 111 in Kamrup, 69 in Durrang and 27 or 28 in Nowgong exculding the portion inhabited by the Mikir and the Naga tribes. The proportion of cultivated land in Kamrup was two tenth and in Durrang one eighth of the surface land. Vast tracts of land which were reported to be cultivable were thus lying waste. In the Report for Durrang it is stated, "There are extensive tracts of waste lands suited to various and valuable kinds of cultivation. The greatest obstacle to beinging these lands under cultivation is the scanty population and consequent want of labourers. Very few of the respectable Assamese with capital have as yet been induced to improve their estates. I think the greatest inducement we can hold out to the people to extend the cultivation is to grant long leases. The present system of renewing leases annually is highly objecionable, it harasses the ryot and operates as a most effectual check to capitalistic venture on any improvement."

The causes of depopulation of Durrang which was once thickly populated are enumerated as follows by the district officer:

1st. Kidnapping by mountaineers such as the Duflahs and the Singphos,

2nd. Emigration to other states due to oppression by previous Govts. especially by the Burmese during their temporary occupation of Assam,

3rd. Epidemics like *cholera,*

4th. Early marriage. Every maiden in the district was betrothed long ere she attained the age of puberty and most women at the age of 25 bore all the marks of old age and ugliness.

A comparison of the population figures for 1835 with those for 1951 would have been highly instructive had not the boundaries of the districts undergone considerable change during this long interval of 115 years. The population of the present districts of Kamrup, Durrang and Nowgong is more than 14 lakhs in Kamrup and 9 lakhs in Durang and Nowgong. Similar increases are noticeable in the districts of Upper Assam also.

Trade and Products : There was little means of ascertaining the extent of the trade of Assam since the Hydera custom House in Goalpara had been closed. But this had reference only to the trade with Bengal. It is evident that an active barter of products was carried on with all the tribes on both

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sides of the valley from Sadiya to Goalpara. There was no general system of *chowkees* along the extensive boundaries of the province and so the extent of trade with the hill tribes cannot be estimated.

The principal article of commerce of Nowgong division was cotton which was received from the hill tribes, Mikirs, Nagas and Kacharees in exchange for salt.

Captain Bogle's Report refers to the general trade of Assam which he assumes at 4 lakhs, export and imports. He regretted the closing of the Cuctom House at Goalpara which admitted of being the best regulated in India.

Lieut. Matthie's Report contains a statement of the quantities of the principal products raised in the Division, consumed and exported. The principal crops were rice, of which there were several varieties. Other products consisted of *moogah* silk, lac, bettlenut, sugar-cane, tobacco, opium, black pepper, mustard seed and cotton. There were no fixed market places except at the Sudar station to which the *ryots* near it resorted for the purchase of or barter for articles not produced in the country such as salt and broad cloth. The Bhutias annually brought down gold, musk, blankets, rock salt and ponies to barter for the products of the plains such as rice, broad cloths, liquor and dried fish. The only articles which the Duflahs brought down were *munjit* and a little poison. The commerce of Upper Assam is reported to be extremely limited. The amount of exports and imports probably did not exceed half a lakh either way. Salt, cloths, fine sugar etc, were imported from Bengal and exchanged for the products of the country: cotton, moogah, silk, mustrad seed, munjit etc.

Assam villages : We have the following extract from Matthie's Report on the villages of Assam:

"The sites for villages are generally well chosen being some feet elevated above the rice land and consequently seldom innundated. Every ryot has however a small enclosure of land either for the cultivation of the betlenut, pan or beetle leaf, sugar-cane, opium, mooga worm trees, fruit vegetable and some leguminous plant. This soil presents a surface of 2 or 3ft. of rich black mould which is annually manured both with cowdung and decomposed vegetable matter. The villages as well as nearly every separate house is well shaded, embedded in the rich foliage either of the betlenut plantation, bamboo, mango or jack trees." The villages in Assam retain most of the characteristics till today. Opium is however no more cultivated, its use was progressively restricted and has in recent times been prohibited. The planting of mooga worm trees is confined to limited areas only.

Condition of the peasantry : "In no part of India whatever is there a body of peasantry more independent in their feelings and more happy in every way than the ryots of the Nowgong Division of Assam"—such a remark occurring in the report on the Nowgong district would seem to show that the *khel* system did not reduce the ryot in Assam to the position of serf with which we are familiar from our knowledge of medieval European history. This reminds us also of the great prosperity of the district described by

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Mahapurusha Sankardev, the substance of which would almost amount to saying that it was a land of plenty. In the Report for Kamrup we have the following observation, "The condition of the people is nevertheless (*i.e.* though the revenue has increased) one of poverty not from taxation however but from the lawless habits and gross oppression of the upper classes, idle and extravagant habits for the time being, and utter recklessness or despair for the future, for who would sow if he could not reap?" It may be noted that these observations were made in course of recommending adherence to the new system of revenue collection though revenue contractors like that Choudhrees and Rajas had been introduced in Kamrup. Evils of like nature in the matter of revenue collection existed in Upper Assam too, and in White's Report, we have the following, 'The soil of Rajah Purandar Singha is extremely rich. But the bounty of Nature is marred by the indolence and apathy of man. The cultivator seldom looks beyond his immediate wants and makes an attempt to improve his condition." Immoderate addiction of a section of the people to the use of opium which withered their mental and physical energies was noticed to be the cause of depression in industry.

Independence of feeling of the Assamese people are borne out by the following observation of Lieut Matthie:

"The people of the country are extremely averse to take service even under their own ex-nobles and farmers, and can scarcely be induced on any terms to serve foreigners, unless purchased from their parents when children, so that a large importation both of common workmen and artifices is of pecuniary importance. The natives of the country are obliged to make advances to obtain servants who bond themselves to serve for a certain number of years or until the loan be liquidated."

Social Condition

Transition from fedual to capitalistic society : The break-up of the old fedual revenue system or the khel system under which the land and the cultivator were both considered to be the property of the state, gave a modern outlook to society. There were no persons now who could be said to constitute a privileged class, though wealth and superstition created several grades of society, the chief of which comprised persons employed in various ways under the Government. Many holders of *lakheraj* tenures were awaiting recognition of their rights and titles. Such was the position, for example, of the Rajah of Durrang whose finances were reported to be in a most deplorable state and who was therefore recommended for favourable consideration of the Government. Rajah Bejoynarayan of Durrang was made Superintendent of Police of the district. The occupational khels were disintegrating. The Murreahs or brass-makers or travelling tinkers, as they were called, manufactured under the Assames Government all kinds of brass and bellmetal pots and pans and prepared a fermented liquor from rice. As their trade was in former times very lucrative they were taxed higher than other paiks. But their trade was no longer a monopoly, the merchant imported nearly all

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brass utensils from Bengal and quantities of liquor of a better quality were also imported. The 'Sonwals' or gold washers were similarly losing or giving up their trade. Under the Assam Government there were about 25 khels, it is said in the Report for Durrang, who used to be employed in washing the sands both of the northern and southern rivers for gold dust.

Slavery : The insitution of slavery which existed in Assam in some form was on the point of being abolished. A very small proportion of the people were however slaves. In Durrang out of 89,519 persons 2,5000 were recorded as slaves and 1177 as bondsmen. The institution had however none of the inhumanity attached to it in other parts of the world. "The Assamese, it is said in one of the Reports, "are uncommonly kind to their slaves who are generally treated as one of the family, being employed about the person of one of the household." Under the old Assam Government prisoners of war, criminals who had been setenced to death and a portion of the free population used to be granted by the king to individuals as slaves. Free men sometimes mortgaged themselves for a loan of money or put themselves in bondage until they were able to repay the loan. British officers recommended gradual abolition of slavery and limitation of the period of bondage. A proclamation was issued under the orders of Government in August 1834 interdicting the sale of slaves by any court in Assam in satisfaction of decrees or for any other purposes or transactions that might originate subsequent to the date of the proclamation.

Administration of Justice : The Reports give a detailled description of the civil, criminal and revenue courts whch had been reconstituted after 1833 in the districts of Kamrup, Durang and Nowgong, and also of the nature and amount of litigation in these courts which had replaced the old Panchayet courts of the Assam king. The new courts are said to have become more popular than the former courts. The courts were guided by the spirit of the Regulations in forces in Bengal 'with a few modifications suited to the society of this province.' The officers who were in civil charge of the districts as principal Assistants to the Commissioners and Political Agent, officiated as judges, magistrates and collectors. By Act. II of 1835 the courts of the Assam districts were placed under the control and superintendence of the Sudder Board of Revenue in fiscal administration.

As regard employment of officers and assistants in the courts and the language used in the proceeding the following observations are interesting:

"The principal *amlahs* of all the courts are natives of Bengal but the inferior situations are filled by them and the Assamese pretty equally. There is reason to hope that in a few years there wil be a sufficiant number of natives of the province competant to undertake the higher duties of the offices. The proceedings of the court are all carried on the Bengali language" (Brodie's *Report on Nowgong*).

"With the exception of Roobakarees to other courts which are written in Persian, the language used in every Department in Bengali or Assamese, which is nearly the same ; the amount litigated is for the most part under hundred rupees and the Omlah employed are chiefly Bengali's particularly in the

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middle and some of the higher grades, and officers of account, the Sudder Ameen, Moonsiffs and other judicial Omlah are however all Assamese and although it has not yet been practicable to find men of the country qualified for every office, this difficulty will soon cease as the talent for the least money ist he only guide in the selection for vacant situations" (Bogle's *Report on Kamrup*). We come across similar obserations in Matthie's *Report on Durang* too. The genesis of the later controversy between Bengali and Assamese leading to the exclusion of Bengali from the schools and courts of Assam, and of some estrangement of feeling created between the two communities may be traced to the beginning of British rule in Assam.

Education : Matthie's *Report* gives us the indigenous system of education which was prevalent in Assam under the old Assamese form of Government. We learnt that public schools called 'Padhasalees' were kept up at the expense of state. Male children were educatd gratuitously and in many cases it was compulsory. In each school there was a schoolmaster called 'Adhyapak' and one or two ushers called 'ojahs'. The schoolmaster got a free grant of land and servants for his trouble. Besides the public schools there was also private seminaries where teachers were remunerated by articles of produce. Pens were made of bamboos, ink from the Silka berries boiled in cows' urine, the palmira leaf was used in lieu of paper. Female education was, as the *Report* says, not in vogue, though we have evidence from others sources that education of girls was not quite unknown. The Report says that parents were apprehensive of educating their daughters as it would tend to intrigue, and it being supposed to be most inauspicious to their spouses, no man would marry a girl if he knew she could read and write. But the Assamese females are credited with a first hand knowledge of the art of spinning and weaving, and it was an accomplishment essential for good nuptials.

In 1835 there were private schools still kept up, and a few public schools had been set up by order of the new Government but these did not meet with encouragement as the teacher's allowance was trifling. Matthie recommended establishment of public schools on large scales with a grant of 50 or 60 *puras* of good rice land to the Head School Master and 30 or 40 *puras* to an Assistant with a good supply of books and a small allowance for stationery. Hopes of employment in the public offices were also to be held out to the scholars. Bengali was accepted to be the medium of instruction. The *Report* also gives an account of the various religious establishments, temples, Dawalays 'sasters' of 'Satras' (monasteries) which were spread throughout the country and served as centres of worship and culture.

Conclusion

As one goes through these valuable documents which bristle at places with vivid accounts of the land with its hills and dales, rivers and forests, its wild life and its variegated tribes living in close proximity to Aryan or Aryanised Hindus and Hinduised non-Aryans with an admixture of Muslims and Buddhists, one would be struck with the scene of a boisterous yet even flow of life in Assam, making for a fusion of races, cultures and creeds from age to

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age. The impact of the West which had already begun transforming India politically, socially and economically had removed at ength the politica barrier which existed between Assam and the rest of India for centuries and begun forging for Assam a new destiny as an integral part of India which she is today.

ELLIOT'S EMBASSY

TARIT MUKHERJI

Warren Hasting's, soon after his elevation to the post Governor-General, found the British power in India entangled by the Bombay Government in a war with the Marathas. Raghunath Rao who had made himself Odius at Poona by his weakness and dishonourable conduct, was ejected from power by the machinations of Nana Farnavis and Sakharam Bapu. The Bombay Government, in their eagerness to acquire certain territories, entered into a convenant with him to assist him with troops in regaining his position at Poona Court, stipulating for the cession in return of Salsette and Basslin to the Company. When the Supreme Government received a copy of the treaty from Bombay they condemned the plan of suporting Raghoba, declaring the war as impolitic, dangerous, unauthorised and unjust. But before they could affectively intervene the war began. Their prophecy that it would only embark upon them an indefinite sea of troubles proved to be too true. Hastings, anxious to bring about a speedy termination of the war, opened negotiations for peace with the Poona Court. Meanwhile the Court of Directors, in their letter to the Bombay Council, approved of the latter's policy towards the Marathas and recommended that the Bombay Government should retain possession of the districts ceded. Thus encouraged by the home authorities the Bombay Government continued their convert opposition to the supreme Government. The negotiations for peace with the Poona Government were protracted upto the end of 1776 without leading to any definite results.

In November, 1777 a French adventurer named St. Lubin arrived at Poona, presented himself as the accredited agent of the Government of France and opened negotiations with the Poona Ministers for the cession of Choul. Reports of the activities of St. Lubin reached the ears of Mr. Hastings, who, apprehending a concerted attack of the French and the Marathas upon the Company's possessions on the West coast, immediately resolved to send a strong military force to defend the Bombay settlement. Two roads led across Central India to Bombay, one via Malwa, the other through Berar. The latter "though the most circular" was preferred as none of the petty powers lying between Kalpi and Berar was strong enough to obstruct the passage of the troops. Hastings wrote to Mudhoji for his sanction for the free passage of the troops, through his territories. The troops then operating in Bundel-

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Khand under Col. Leslie assembled on Jumna opposite to Kalpi. When Mudhoji's sanction was received Col. Leslie was ordered to march with his troops towards Bombay. Mudhoji Bhonsle "unsolicited wrote to Colonel Leslie.....inviting him to proceed and offering him both a free passage and the means of subsistence, at the same time he caused a large store of grain to be provided on his borders, where it lay for months waiting for his arrival".[1] Colonel Leslie was not destined to reach Berar. The Rajput Chiefs of Bundelkhand instigated by the Marathas attempted to hinder the march of the troops in various ways. Col. Leslie entered on a war with them and became involved in their feuds. The result was that in five months he could not advance more than one hundred and twenty miles. In July, Col. Leslie crossed the Jumna and in October he was replaced by General Goddard.

During the period under review, the Marathas were the only power that by virtue of its Central position could threaten the three divided English presidencies. The Maratha state was a loose confederecy of almost independent principalities. The mutual jealousies among the different chiefs and their defiance of the Central power so weakened it that it was no longer in a position to pursue as of old, ambitious projects of expansion. Madhav Rao I by his ability and foresight did much to revive it, but after his death the state again became distracted by internal dissensions. During the years between 1775-78 the skill and wisdom of the crafty Nana Farnavis brought some amount of unity and cohesion to the State. It was then that the Maratha menace assumed a more dangerous aspect. British policy in relation to the Marathas always sought a lne of cleavrage among them, in order to widen it and bring about their downfall. The Bhonsles of Nagpur came to power independently of the Peshwa and their attitude of indifference and non-cooperation towards the central government was well-known. The political insight of Hastings was not slow to perceive this. In order to counerter act the evil designs of the Poona Marathas he formed the plan of establishing a permanent alliance with the Raja of Nagpur. In this respect he had received encouragement from the friendly oertures of the Bhonsles. He had learnt from Beniram, the Maratha Vakil that Mudhoji had a claim to the Satara Raj and that an allince could be formed with him if his claims were actively supported by the British. "On a false rumour of the death of Ramraja", Hasthings employed "the agency of the Vakil to excite the ambition of Mudhoji to aspire to the sovereign authority". Though the Nagpur court gave no definite answer to his proposals, yet it continued to express its eagerness to come to some sort of understanding with Hastings. So when the Bombay Government backed Raghoba for the premiership of the Maratha state and failed, Hastings put forward his plan of setting up Mudhoji as his candidate for the headship of that Sate. It was better to support a descendant of Sivaji than to back unpopular Raghoba who had been disowned by most of the parties at Poona.

Early in 1777 in a letter to Alexander Elliot who was then in England, Hastings advocated a system of direct engagement with adjoining states "made

1. Fort William, Secret Proceedings, 1780, dated 4th Sept.

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with the sanction of the king's name". "On this footing" wrote he, "I would replace the subha-ship of Oudh. On this footing I would establish an alliance with Berar. These countries are of more importance to us than any other from their contiguity to ours, and therefore, it is of consequence to settle their connection with us before that of any other."[2] In another letter he asked Elliot to make discreet enquiries about the attitude of the home authorities towards his policy.[3] In the previous year the court of Directors had supported the action of the Bombay Council and had disapproved of the terms and conditions of the treaty of Purandhar. It is however not known what use Alexander Eliot made of these letters. All that can be said is that Elliot shortly after his return to Bengal went on a mission to Berar.

The intrigues of the French, specially of St. Lubin in the Maratha Court at Poona precipitated matters. The French in India ever since their defeat in the Third Carnatic War had been forming plans of driving out the English from Bengal and Carnat with the help of the native powers. A scheme for that purpose was formed by Lew-de Lauriston. Chevalier, the French Governor of Pondicherry, was entrusted with the task of contacting the north Indian princes. One among them was the Raja of Nagpur with whose collaboration Bengal could be invaded by an army of Maratha horsemen assisted by a few battalion of French soldiers. The plan was that the French soldiers would land at Balasore and join the army of Janoji in their march towards Calcutta. Between 1768-69 Chevalier received several letters from Janoji in which the latter sought the aid of the French for the purpose of realising Chouth from the British. "The Chief of the Marathas of Katek", wrote Chevalier, "sworn enemies of the English, had made overtures to me, in writing and had proposed to leave us half of Bengal or an equivalent annual revenue if I would furnish him men and ammunitions for the conquest of Bengal."[4] To these overtures Chevalier replied in an evasive manner but in order to maintain close relations with that power for use in future he thought it necessary to send a French Agent to the Nagpur Darbar. Visage, a Surgeon by profession, and later to enter the service of Sujauddoula was sent to Janoji at Nagpur.[5] On Janoji's death Chevalier continued to maintain close relations with Mudhoji. Nothing came out of the French intrigues, for the promises of alliance were not backed by money or contingent of troops. The activities of the French did not escape the notice of the British. A resident was posted at Cuttack and Vansittart at Medinipur was ordered to keep a close watch over what passed between the French at Chandernagore and the Marathas in Orrissa. The repeated endeavours of the French authorities in India to move the *home* Government in this matter bore fruit in 177 when Mons. Sartina, the Minister of the Marine, decided to send an agent with full powers 'to treat with such of the country powers" as would "assist the view of the

2. Speeches and Documents on Indian Policy, Vol. I, pp. 86-89.
3. Hastings' Letter to Elliot, dated the 2nd February, 1777.
4. MSS. *Fr. Nat. Archives*, No. 9366, Correspondence de Chevalier, Gouverneor de Chandernagor, dated 15th March, 1769.
5. *Ibid.*, 6th Jan., 1771.

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French, and to form alliances with them in the name of the king of France."[5] Elliot supplied Hastings with this information. St. Lubin was not the official agent whom Elliot mentioned in his letter to Hastings. The Governor-General however acted on the information that he received from Elliot and in his Minute of April 6 1778 endeaoured to connect Elliot's *discoveries* with the official accounts sent by the Bombay Council of the doings of St. Lubin at Poona. The mere suspicion of French intrigue always awakened the active vigilance of the English Government in India, the fact that an agent of French Government was in the court of the Marathas and had succeded in concluding a secret alliance with the Poona Government aroused the attention of Warren Hastings and excited considerable anxiety.

So when in July 1778 the news of the declaration of war between England and France reached India, Hastings at once decided to make an alliance with the Raja of Nagpur, the pivot of his defence against the combined attack of the French and the Poona Marathas. In the teeth of the opposition of Francis and Wheeler, Elliot was appointed "The minister and Public Agent of this Government at the Court of Mudhoji Bhonsle, Raja of Berar for the purpose of negotiating a treaty of alliance with that chiefs." Out of his connection with the English, Mudhoji, it was expected, would derive two advan tages *viz.*, the support of his pretensions to the sovereign power and the recovery of the captures made on his dominions by Nizam Ali. The English on the other hand would have a powerful barrier on the side of Orissa and at the same time the means of pouring into the Poona dominions a body of 30,000 horse supported by a regular and well disciplined infantry and thereby overthrowing the power of the Maratha State altogether. About the Chouth of Bengal a decision was reached. In no case it should be connected to the Marathas by the British.

On July 20, 1778 Elliot accompanied by Robert Farquhar, Captain Wiliam Cambell and James Anderson left Calcutta for Nagpur. On the same day the Governor-General wrote to Impey, "Elliot is gone ; a most critical service but likely to prove, the *era* of a new system in the British Empire, if it succeeds." But unfortunately Elliot died on the way. This was both politically and privately a great blow to Mr. Hastings.

The plan of Hastings as embodied in the embassy of Elliot has been adversely criticised as complicated and injudicious. Francis opposed it on the ground that an offensive alliance with Mudhoji would precipitate war with Nizam and the Poona Marathas. It should however be remembered that the plan of Hastings contained nothing new. An alliance with the Raja of Berar had been envisaged by Lord Clive in his State paper of 1767.[7] Verelst's Government in 1769 had opened negotiation with Janoji for the formation of an offensive and defensive alliance with him against Peshwa Madhav Rao I. In 1777-78 it was the French intrigue that excited the anxiety of the Governor-General and he was ready to go to any length to dissipate it. This point is made clear in the instructions transmitted to Elliot on the eve of his departure

6. Ellots' letter to Hastings, *Secret Cors.*, 2nd Feb., 1778.
7. Fort William *Select Com. Procegs.*, 16th January, 1767.

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for Nagpur. Elliot was required to conclude an offensive alliance with Mudhoji, only if he were convinced that the French menace was real. If on the other hand he received assurance from the Bombay Government or from Mostyn that the proposed Maratha French alliance had been dissolved and the Marathas did not entertain any hostile designs, he "was to regard the treaty between the Company and the Peshwa as possessing full force and abstain from any positive engagements with Moodajee Boosla which may be contrary to it."[8] Elliot however was to bear in mind that a defensive alliance with the Berar Chief was the permanent object of his Commission. There was very little difference in the policies of Hastings and Lord Wellesley towards the Marathas. But while the policy of the one in 1778 was condemned as complicated and injudicious, that of the other two decades later, was upheld as an energetic measure of public necessity. The sudden activity on behalf of Raghunath Rao made Hastings after his original plan. He urgently sent messengers after Elliot to direct him not to broach the subject and to cling only to that of an ordinary alliance and the passage of the British force through Berar.

Failure does not detract from the importance that attaches to the embassy of Elliot. It was the First Official British Mission to the Court of Nagpur, an Indian Prince. The despatch of Elliot on a mission to form an alliance with the house of the Bhonsles against the Poona Marathas was in anticipation of the later policy of subsidiary alliances.

LORD ELGIN I AND THE INDIAN RAILWAYS

Miss Brij Saigal

Lord Elgin's administration is memorable chiefly on account of the rapid material progress which India made during this period. The extension of the Railways was especially marked and it would be hardly an exaggeration to say that the progress of railways forms the most note-worthy aspect of his administration. Public works had always been a favourite subject with Lord Elgin. He had seen in America the net-work of fine and efficient Railways and he had always enthusiastically assisted in the development of necessary public works in Canada. Engineers in India were always astonished at his mastery of their technical subject,[1] and they used to say that while Lord Canning had confined himself to grasping the broad principles of their science, Lord Elgin would not be content unless he had discussed every little detail.[2] If Lord Dalhousie had planned the great Trunk Lines, it was Lord Elgin who connected all the country from coast to coast and sea to sea by miles of

8. Fort William *Secret Procegs.*, 16th November, 1778.
1. P.W.D. Railway Proceedings, Feb. 1863, No. 23, dated 7th Feb., 1863.
2. *Friend of India*, dated November 26, 1863.

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light and cheap feeder lines. What Lord Canning had begun, Lord Elgin resolved to complete. And, the result was a net-work of branch lines constructed at a fraction (one-fifth) of the cost of the main lines, and these were to be fed by private enterprise, although they were aided by the State to the extent of a thousand pounds a mile which was about one-fourth of their total cost.[3]

With regard to Railway, Lord Elgin retained that he was not in favour of a system of Government guarantees,[4] though his class-fellow, Lord Dalhousie, "had nursed the East Indian Railway and guided it through its first difficulties."[5] On February 7, 1863, at a Railway dinner given in celebration of the opening of the Railway line from Jamalpore to Benares, he spoke about the future of the Indian Railways. In this connection, he clearly expressed his opinion against the system of Government guarantees. He said,

"To what agency are we henceforward to look, if we would desire to extend as widely as possible, to all parts of India, the benefit of this potent instrument of modern civilization? I have no hesitation in affirming atonce, in answer to this question, that we must not look to an indefinite extension of a system of Government guarantees for the accomplishment of this object. In the first place, it would be wholly unjustifiabe for any one object, however important, to place such a strain upon our finances as this policy would involve. In the second place however justifiable and necessary a system of Government guarantees may be in certain circumstances, it is essentially an expensive one. Moreover, the indefinite extension of a system of Government guarantees is wholly incompatiable with the endeavour to bring private enterprise largely into play for the execution of those works, while there is an unlimited call for capital for works enjoying the protection of Government guarantees ; it is not to be expected that capital will be forthcoming to any extent for similar works which have not that protection. For the accomplishment, therefore, of the great objection to which I am referring, we must henceforward, I apprehend, look to private enterprise ; not perhaps to private enterprise wholly unaided by he State but to any rate to private enterprise not protected by Government guarantees."[6]

Thus he deprecated the system of Government guarantees as favoured by his predecessors, Lord Dalhousie and Lord Canning. About the future of the Railways in India, he said,

"I lay it down as the fondamental principle, that we ought to look to the eventual establishment of one uniform railway guage for the whole of India. But what does this resolution in favour of an uniform guage imply? It will, I think, be admitted that the main object of an uniform railway guage is to enable the several railway lines to exchange their plant in order to avoid transhipment of freight. But if the plant of the subsidiary line is to be transported along the main lines, it must be sufficiently well finshed to be fitted to travel

3. G.G.'s Railway Proceedings, Sept. 1863, Nos. 6-7.
4. G.G.'s Railway Despatch to the Secretary of State for India, No. 7 of 1863 dated 7th Feb., 1863.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 431.
6. Walrond's *Letters and Journals of Lord Elgin*, pp. 429-33.

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in safety at high speed, and if the plant of the main lines is to travel along the subsidiary line, the latter must have rails sufficiently heavy, and works of construction sufficiently substantial, to support it. Moreover, where streams or river are encountered, they must be bridged. In short, the subsidiary lines must be built in a manner which would make them nearly as expansive as the main lines ; in other words, railways must not be introduced into any part of India where we cannot afford to spend from £10, 000 a mile upon them. I am not prepared to accept this conclusion. There are many districts where railways costing £3,000 to £4,000 a mile might be introduced with advantage, although they would not justify an expenditure of from £10,000 to £15,000 a mile[7]."

On another occasion, he stated, "we must look for the further development of our railway system to bonafide private enterprise, aided, perhaps, where circumstances require it, by Government, but not the extension of Government guarantees[8]."

The progress in the growth of railways during Lord Elgin's reign was spectacular. 747 miles were added on December 31,1862 to 1,609¼ miles, which were already open for traffic, and by the end of 1863 between 800 to 900 miles more were completed, making total addition of about 3100 to 3200 miles[9].

Several feats of engineering skill were witnessed in the course of the construction of the lines opened during his regime. The ascent of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway at the Bhorghat, between Bombay and Poona, formed one of the most formidable of those. In a distance of 15 miles, the Railway climbed a height of 1,831 feet, the difficulties in the construction being surmounted by a series of cuttings, tunnels, viaducts and embankments such as was hardly to be found within the same space anywhere else in the world, and was rivalled in India on the sister incline over the Thullghat[10].

The SONE bridge on the East Indian Line was another magnificent achievement. Almost twice the length of the railway bridge over the Thames at Charing Cross, it consisted of 27 iron girders of 150 feet each, supported on brick foundations[11]. The bridges on the Baroda line over the Bassein, Taptee, Nurbudda and Khye rivers were also very remarkable works. The foundations in each case, consisted of screw piles, braced together and fixed in the bed of the river, the superstructure being made of wrought-iron girders[12].

The greatest distance traversed in a direct line without interruption was on the East Indian Railway from Calcutta to Benares, a length of 541 miles, the next greatest was the Trans-Peninsula Line from Madras to Beypore, which was 405 miles, and the next from Bombay to Sholapur, across the Bhorghat, a length of 295 miles.

7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid.*, p. 448.
9. J. Danver's Report on Railways in India for the year 1862-63 to the Secy. of State for India in Council, presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty.
10. Parliamentary Paper, Vol. 43 of 1863, H.C.
11. P.W.D. Railway Proceedings, Feb. 1863, No. 23, Feb. 7, 1863.
12. Parliamentary Paper, Vol. 43 of 1863, H.L.

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In addition to these, several other new lines were constructed and many more commenced by different branchs of Railways during Lord Eligin's Viceroyalty.

The East Indian Railway

The whole of the Bengal division of this great lines, viz., between Calcutta and Benares, a distance of 601 miles (including branches) was opened. The work on this line had been begun in 1851. The line to Burdwan was opened in Feb. 1855, to Adjai in Oct. 1858, to Rajmahal in Oct. 1859, to Bhagalpore in 1861, to Monghyr in Feb. 1862, to Patna in Nov. 1862 and to Benares in Dec. 1862[13]. In the North-western division many new lines were opened. By Feb. 1863, a line from Allahabad to Agra was completed and it was further extended from Agra to Aligarh. Another line of this Railway, a length of from 230 to 240 miles from Benares to Allahabad and from Aligarh to Delhi was opened by the end of 1863 with the exception of the Jumna Bridge at Allahabad and Delhi[14]. A line styled as "The Oudh Raliway Company" from Benares, by making a terminus opposite Buxer on the left bank of the Ganges, and going thence, via Ghazipur, to Faizabad, and on to Shahjahanpur through Bahram Ghat, placing Lucknow on a branch line from Bahram Ghat to Kanpur, a distance of about 430 miles was taken up for construction[15]. Another line known as the "Rohilkhand Branch Railway" from Khurja in the Jumna and Ganges Doab via Moradabad to Kaladoongee, the vicinity of the iron works at the foot of the hills below Nainital was also started, the contract being made with Mr. Wilson[16]. A contract for another line *i.e.* Jabbalpur line, 225 miles, was made with Messrs. Waring & Co. and it was also commenced during Lord Elgin's time[17].

Besides these a series of light Railways were constructed on this line. An experimental line of 35 miles, from Nalhati to Jiagunj opposite Berhampore was opend in May 1863 on a narrow gauge of feet. From Berhampore another local line was opened to Bhagwangola on the Ganges and thus all the rich produce of Murshidabad and Birbhum, the most important silk and indigo centers of Bengal were effectively transported[18].

Great Indian Peninsula Railway

A length of about 120 miles was added to this line by the end of 1862, making a total of 557 miles. By opening a section off Mulkapore the line was brought into immediate connection with the great cotton growing tracts of Central India, but the most important addition made to the line was the Bhoraghat incline already referred to.

In Sept. 1863, the extention of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway from Asirgarh to Indore was proposed by Mr. A. Ayron, Director of the G. I. P.

13. P.W.D. Rly. Progs., No. 3, dated 7th Feb., 1863.
14. P.W.D. Progs., Nov. 1863, No. 31, dated Sept. 1863.
15. P.W.D. Rly. Progs., Sept. 1862, No. 66, dated July 21, 1862.
16. Rly. Despatch to Secy. of State, No. 15 of 1863, dated 4th March, 1863.
17. Danver's report on Railway in India, dated May 1863.
18. *Friend of India,* dated Feb. 12, 1862.

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Railway Company on deputation to India[19] but it could no be commenced during Lord Elgin's regime owing to his untimely death.

Madras Railway

The whole of the South-West division of this line, 466 miles in length from Madras to Beypore, was opened for traffic in May 1862. The Bangalore branch approached completion and was expected to be ready by the begining of 1864. On the North-West line, 14 miles more were added to the 27 miles previously opened and a line to Cuddapah was almost completed by the end of 1663[20].

The traffic on this Railway although increasing was still small, but the raising of the third class fares from 2 to 3 pice per mile produced better results as the receipts were considerably enhanced[21].

Bombay Baroda and Central India Railway

Of the 310 miles of Railway undertaken by this Company, 185 miles were open to traffic by April 1863, extending from Par River, 125 miles north of Bombay, to the Northern terminus at Ahmedabad.

It was also proposed to connect Ahemedabad with Deesa by extending the line for another 100 miles, but it was not sanctioned by the Secy. of State for India[22].

The Southern section of this line conecting Ahemedabad with Bombay was completed by the end of 1863.

Punjab Railway

The section of this Railway between Lahore and Amritsar, 32 miles in length was opened in April 1862. The impression that the opening of this Railway produced on the local people was marvellous, and Amritsar was amazed at its success. So popular was this railway with the people that the crowds who flocked to it could not be accomodated at times. Even respectables ladies observing *purdah* used to travel freely and it was all because the Punjab authorities had wisely fixed the third class fares so low to As. 4 that the other modes of conveyance were easily superseded[23].

The same line was extended to Multan in the begining of 1863 and on the 5th May, 1863 the line was further extended from Multan to the River Terminus on the Chenab at the Sher Shah Ghat, about 12 miles in length[24].

The proposal of the Punjab Railway Company to run a train from Amritsar to Delhi was sanctioned and questions regarding the route etc. were

19. G.G's Rly., Oct. 1863 A. No. 7-8, dated Sept. 21, 1863.
20. Parliamentary Paper, Vol. 43 of 1863, H.C.
21. *Madras Examiner*, dated May 16, 1863.
22. Rly. Despatch from the Secy. of State for India, No. 55 of 1862, dated Nov. 8, 1862.
23. *Delhi Gazette*, dated April 23, 1862.
24. G.G's Rly. Despatch to Secy. of State, No. 11 of 1863, dated May 18, 1863

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settled and it was decided that instead of going through Ferozepur to Delhi, on the right bank of River Jumna, it was to proceed by the left bank and through important towns of Ludhiana, Ambala and Meerut adding 40 miles more[25].

Eastern Bengal Railway

This line, 110 miles in length, was opened in its entirety in Nov. 1862. A portion of the line, 45¼ miles in length, from Calcutta to Ranaghat was opened on 29th September[26] and the rest of it was extended to Kooshtee, a disance of 110 miles from Calcutta on the 15th Nov. 1862[27].

A proposal for the extension of this line towards Dacca, Assam and Darjeeling was considered and the work on the line was undertaken in 1863.

Besides these lines, the proposed line between Madras and Bombay via Hydrabad, instead of by Bellary and Mudgal was surveyed and it was expected that the sanction of the Imperial authorities would be given to the Hyderabad route,[28] though it was a distance of 840 miles and the Bellary route was 780 miles *i.e.* an addition of 60 miles ; but the Hyderabad route was preferable owing to political and commercial reasons.

It was also proposed to open a line from the coal districts of Ranigunge to Patna, saving 70 miles in the direct route to Bombay, another from Patna to Gaya ; another into the coal country of Singrowlee ; another from Agra to Mathura and it was also proposed to provide Gorakhpore, Orissa, Midnapore and some places in central India with Railway[29].

The total amount invested on the Railways during 1862-63 was £5,510,852 ; that in England being £1,854,289 and in India £3,956,563[30].

The Railways proved to be very popular with the Indian people and all fears regarding its non-use by them on account of caste prejudice were completely dissipated. Orthodox Brahmins and Muslims, forgetting their religious differences, soon learnt to sit down side by side, or inside the same compartment along with the low class people or untouchables. The benefits of railway travel too obvious to be ignored. Trade received an impetus, and many places hitherto unknown to merchants and where no interchange of commodities had yet been possible were now connected with the established market[31]. Many districts where there was no means of communication before were now provided with railways. The importance of those Indian Princely States which were connected by railway lines, was now greatly enhanced[32],

On the whole, Lord Elgin's Viceroyality witnessed a remarkable development of railways even though his regime was a short one.

25. P.W.D. Rly. Progs., Nov. 1863, Nos. 13-14, dated Nov. 2, 1863.
26. G.G's Rly. Despatch, No 56 of 1862.
27. G.G's Rly. Despatch, No. 63 of 1862.
28. G.G's Rly. Despatch to Secy. of State, No. 10, dated May 18, 1863.
29. *Times of India,* dated April 25, 1863.
30. Report on Railways in India for the year 1862-63 by Juland Danvers Esq., Government Director of the Indian Railways Co.
31. *Bengal Hurkaru & India Gazette,* dated November 23, 1863.
32. Walrond., Hovell-Thurlow's "The Company and the Crown".

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MARATHA AMBASSADORS DURING THE REIGN OF PESHWA MADHAVRAO I

(1761 to 1772 A.D.)

SHANKAR NARAYAN JOSHI

Government and its administration is much wider in connotation than equipping oneself with war-weapons or the actual waging of war. Along with these (weapons), the administrator has to concern himself with the different Shastras or sciences, has to see that the treasury is adequately filled up, that the forts are properly maintained and that agriculture, trade, artisanship etc. are promoted. It is to these ends that has to be directed the Shakti (strength) which forms such a large part of Raja-Danda or Raja-Shasan (Royal authority). Samartha Ramdas says:

[It is through Shakti that territory is acquired, (but) Yukti (strength and diplomacy) is (also) required for any efforts to succeed Shrimantas rejoice (or prosper) where (both) strength and strategem are employed.]

In its applications to an individual, this observation of the saint-poet, does not by the work "Shrimant" imply one who is rich in money but one who is equipped with Shakti as well as with Yukti. The Peshwas were in later times referred to as "Shrimant". This was not because they were rich in money, for, it is well-known that they were always deep in debt so much so that this debt-malady, as it was called, that is the worry as to how the debts were to be discharged, hastened their death. It must be remembered that in those days the concept of national debt was completely unknown. It was treated as personal debt of Peshwas. The idea of nation but faintly occurred in the rulers like Bajirao I, Nanasaheb, and Madhavrao I but it did not take roots in the soil. The designation "Shrimant" did not, therefore, in those days mean a moneyed person, a Sawkar or one whose treasury was overflowing. It may rather be regarded as referring to one conducting affairs of the State on the strength of Shakti and Yukti, that, is, both military power and diplomacy. The word "Yukti" in the above quotation from Ramdas, therefore, covers the taking of counsel, the proper direction of State policy, the watchfulness required of a ruler and similar other qualities.

In the RAJA-VYAVAHARA-KOSH (*the dictionary of political terms* compiled at Shivaji's command), Raghunath Pandit Hanmante while listing the Indian or Sanskrit terms for Persian words like "Dabir" "Peshwa" etc. describes his qualities as follows:—

That is, the Dabir, which means the foreign Minister, must be one adept to Yukti. This Persian word "Dabir" was changed into the "Deshi" word "Sumant" at the time of Shivaji's coronation. "Sumant" is a Deshi word. The Ashtrapradhanas and his office was one of great importance. According to the QANU-ZABTA, which defines the functions of these eight ministers,

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the Sumant was to concern himself with foreign affairs, he was to receive and to negotiate with the Vakils (ambassadors of foreign powers and to endorse "Sammat" (*approved*) on Rajapatras (Sanadapatren, page 123, and documents thus endorsed "Sammat" by the Sumant are available today. (*Shiv-Charitra-Sahitya 2 :* 396 etc.). In Abul Fazal's AIN-I-AKBARI, it is laid down that the Vakil should mark his endorsement or Farman, Varatas, Sanads etc., below that of the Musharrif, (Marathi *translation,* pp. 201-205). In short, in the Swarajya of the Chhatrapatis, that is, in the *Maharashtra Rajya,* the mention of a separate Foreign Minister is to be found since the beginning of 1657. There is also mention of Vakils who were presumably appointed by the Sumant. The "Swarastravadi" Vakil, (Representing one's nation) occupies thus a prominent position in the administration, and references to that functionary are available since the days of Shahaji and Shivaji.

(1) The two current senses of the Arabic word Vakil are not to be found during the historical period ; "Vakil" then occurs only in the sense of a Pratinidhi (*Representative*), Duta (an *envoy*), Shishta (a *counsellor*) and Madhyastha (a *mediator*). The two current meanings of the word can be described by the terms "Pararthawadi Pratinidhi" and "Swarashtravadi Pratinidhi". The former, according to the KATYAYANA SMRITI is one, who, without having any interest of his own at stake, takes sides between two disputants, supporting one and condemning the other ; the SHUKRANITI says that a person not acquainted with wordly affairs should get some expert to place forward his side. This expert is the Pararthawadi representative, that is, a Vakil, in one of the current senses. In one of the commentaries on the NARADA SMRITI he has been described as "Smartashekhar" or "Smart-Durdhar", but the only actual example of such a representative seems to be the *one* provided in one of the *Upakhyanas* there. This means that rarely was a class of persons who would act at pleasures for plaintiffs and defendants (Vadi-Prativadis or Agravadis-Paschimvadis) or even an individual Shastri or Pandit acting as "Smartshekhar", was to be found. And this was only to be expected for in those days when different kinds of suits came before a *Nayasabha,* the Shastris and Pandits constituting that *Sabha* examined both sides of the case, including oral and written evidence and customary and Shastric laws. No necessity was therefore felt, and consequently no mention is to be found of Parathavadi Pratinidhis of Vakils fighting on behalf of the parties to a suit. But here are a number of references such as Rajduta, Rajamantri, Rajapratinidhi etc., of Swarashtravadi Pratinidhis in ancient, medieval and modern history. Just as the kind was referred to as Charchakshu (seeing by the means of spies), similarly he was called Dutamukh (speaking through an envoy). The Swarashtravadi Pratinidhis have been designated Vakils throughout the history of Maharashtra. Other designations of the same functionary are 'Hebji', 'Mutsaddi' and 'Karkun'. In this paper a brief attempt has been made to treat of such Vakils during the period 1761 to 1772 A.D.

(2) This eleven years (1761-1772) constitute an important period not only of the Maratha empire but also of Indian history. And the affairs of the State as worked for in this resuscitation during the years of Madhavrao I from 16

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to 27 years of age won praise even from a contemporary Gujarati Pandit poet while Ahilyabai praised him by saying (i.e. he had maintained the State in fresh vigour).

(3) The information regarding Vakils can fall under four or five headings: (1) which territory was regarded as "Swarajya" and which "Para-rashtra" (foreign territory) and the names and number of Vakils therein, (2) The status, the entourage and the authority of the Vakils and the sub-divisions of Vakils, (3) The achievements of the Vakils, (4) The privileges of the Vakils and the restrictions imposed on them, and (5) The general policy of the Maratha administration as shown by these Vakils.

"Swarajya" and "Par-Rashtra Under the Maratha Rule

That territory was regarded as "Par-Rashtra", which did not form part of what was known as "Swarajya" during the days of Chhatrapati Shri Shivaji Maharaja, and which also did not form part of the territories entrusted to those Sardars and chiefs who during the reigns of Balaji Vishwanatha, Bajirao I and Balaji Bajirao (1713-1761 A.D.) extended and maintained Maratha rule and made their homes in Malwa, Gujrat, Madhyaprant, Bundelkhand, Karnatak etc. The territories of Karveer (Kolhapur) and Satara Mahjas, Nagpurkar Bhosala, Angre, Pratinidhi, Gaikwad, Shinde, Holkar, Pawar, some Naik-Rajas, Ghorpade, Patwardhan, Sachiv, Nimbalkar, Daphle etc. were treated as "Swarashtra". These territories and especially those in "Para-Rashtra" have been called "Samsthanas" or States. Such states were generally 44 in number, while those within the empire numbered 18. These two categories of States as shown in the two separate maps attached to this paper and a list of these states separately also accompanies.

Terms and Their Meanings

The words "Para-Rashtra" and "Swarashtra" used above are for the words "Para-Rajya" or "Para-Darbar" and *Maharashtra Rajya* and *Swarajya* respectively. These latter terms occur in historical letters. The words *Samsthana* and *Vakil* are found in various places. Similarly words like "Harkara", "Bhata", "Dabir", "Karkun", "Matbar" and "Madhyastha" are used for those who discharged duties similar to those of the Vakil. In the RAJA-VYAVAHARA-KOSH there is no equivalent given specifically for the word *Vakil,* but words like *Duta* (in the sense of Pratinidhi) and "Hejib" occur there, as follows: *i.e.,* Duta means "Hejib" (Vakil). Similarly in the "KAUTILYA-ARTHASHASTRA" the word Duta, Pratinidhi is used for Vakil (*Purbardha* 16th Adhyaya). The word *Duta* occurs in this sense in various Smritis, Itihasas and Puranas (such as the Manu Smriti, Ramayana and Mahabharata and Vishnu Purana). Though the RAJA-VYAVAHARA-KOSH notices the word "Hejib" and not the other Arabic word Vakil, the former fell out of in later times and the latter came into use.

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Classes of Vakils

According to the work that they preferred in those days Vakils may be classed under 5 heads.

These classes are:

(1) *Niropya* (mere messengers),
(2) One appointed for any particular work (known as *Parimitartha*),
(3) One who brings news from foreign states etc.
(4) A 'roving' ambassador,
(5) One permanently appointed to a foreign Court.

Appointments of Vakils

These appointments were of 3 kinds:

I. When a new ruler succeeded to a State within the Maratha Empire, the Peshwa had the right to appoint a Vakil just as he appointed a Diwan. Even though this Diwan or Vakil be already in the service of that State, still he was reappointed by the Peshwa at the time of such succession. Generally this office-bearer i.e., the Diwan or Vakil was such as had the approval of the other State officials and the new ruler, but it was clearly intended that he should carry out the policy of the Peshwa.

II. The second mode of appointing a Vakil was by promoting a *Karkun* to the post. An example occurs in RAJWADE KHAND 14, page 54 where the writer says: "I began to act as a Mutsaddi leaving aside the calling of a Karkun. I acted as a Madhyastha (Mediator))and then also as Vakil to carry out negotiations".

III. The third mode of appointment was when a *Vakil* was replaced on his committing some mistake or on his deviating from the fixed policy or on his recall being asked for by the other power because of his insolent behavious or some similar cause. *Duta* in the course of a talk may lose restraint, so that secrecy of counsel is not maintained ; these are deviations from policy and the erring *Vakil* indulges in talk that causes resentment. He therefore ceases to be useful as a ambassador and has to be replaced.

There is one point with respect to these appointments which must be noticed here. When a practically autonomous State within the Maratha Empire entered into a treaty with the Peshwa and it was agreed that both were to have representatives at a foreign Darbar, it was also decided which of the Vakils should lead and which points should be dealt with by either Vakil when deciding with the foreign power. For example, when there was a treaty between the Peshwa and Nagpurkar Bhonsala it was decided that the latter should have his *Vakils* at the courts of Nizam, the Delhi Emperor, and the British. But the restriction was laid down that the Nagpur *Vakil* must follow the lead of the Peshwa Vakil and should concern him only with "Mamlat" and not about anything else referring to the State policy (TAHAKARAR-MADAR *i.e. Treaties, Agreements and Sanads*, pp. 137-139. *Elder Madhavrao's Diary* part I, p. 155: *Aitihasika Patrakar Lekhan*, pp. 117-118.). Thus

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it was ensured that there should be no inconsistency with or opposition to the policy of the Sovereign power.

The Vakil's Functions

The main tasks of the Vakil, of course, was to watchfully safeguard the interests of his own state at a foreign court. This involved two main functions. (1) Having regard to the strength and policy of his own state, he had to see that nothing happened at a foreign Darbar against the interests of the state, and (2) had to enter into understandings with the state.

Thereafter he had to see whether the Durbar, which had entered into the treaty or understanding and to which he was accredited, acted up to that understanding or not. The Vakil had to secure information relevant to this task, had to send it on to the Home Government, had to calculate and to secure payment of any tribute fixed in treaties, had to settle instalments thereof and to get Savkars to stand surety for its payment. To start, to prolong, or to stop wars dependended upon the Vakil. If the Sardars, Solders or Revenue Officers of the State to whch the Vakil was accredited were guilty of some mischief, it was through the Vakil that an inquiry was addressed to that Durbar. Occasionally the Vakil suggested by sending a draft to his Home Government the character of the communication which he wanted to be addressed to the Government to which he was accredited. If a tribute failed to be paid at the proper time, the Vakil of the State committing the default was incarcerted as security and was released on receiving the money. One letter says that the Vakil should keep in hand all the threads of policy, it being left to a suitable occasion which threads to pursue and which to drop. A letter received from a Durbar to which a Vakil was accredited, if not accompanied by the letter of that Vakil, comparatively scanter attention, and the reply made it clear that the final answer depended on what the Vakil had to say. The communications of the Vakil checked by independent communication with some well-informed Karkun of the same place or in the light of information secured through the channels of communication of the mercantile class. When news was received through either of these two channels, but there was no communication in the matter from the Vakil, enquiries were immediately addressed to him in the matter.

Restrictions on the Vakil

Though the Vakil received protection from both sides (*engaged in a conflict*) and was allowed to move between both, yet, when it was realized that there was no possibility of an understanding between the two sides concerned, or that the Vakil was trying to gain time by dragging on the negotiations, and was using that opportunity to secure information about the other side and send it to the Home State, the guard placed for the Vakil's protection, immediately placed *restrictions* on the movements of the Vakil himself. Word was passed on to the soldiers that no information should be given to any

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person of the Vakil's party, mutual intercourse was stopped and a ban was placed even on the Vakil visiting the Durbar. The Vakil's messengers were in such cases occasionally searched and letters carried by them were examined and detained. If the Vakil returned home under such conditions, he did not of course receive respectable farewell. In one letter referring to such an occasion, the inquiry has been made: "was the Vakil given a formal farewell or did he leave in a huff?"

The Vakil's Income

This was of *two* kinds. One was received openly and in advance. This included expenses for feasts, cost of maintaining the entourage, the ceremonial dresses etc. received on the occasion of formal interviews. Besides this, certain incomes like the grant of a village in Jagir depended on the Vakil accomplishing successfully in particular task. The *Diary of Peshwa Madhavrao I* (Part I, pp. 1 and 5) records: "After Panipat two Vakils of Ahmadshah Abdali came to the Peshwa at Poona and said that if they were promised villages worth Rs. 40,000, they would secure the re-establishment of the former power of the Marathas in the Doab." The Peshwa's Vakil at Delhi had received a Saranjam of Rs. 15,000. Vakils sent for a particular task received amounts in thousands from the permanent ambassador for their expenses. Efforts were also made to win over the Vakil from the other side by giving him villages as Inam. Of course, there were occasions when these Inams were forfeited. Many instances are to be found of the Peshwa's Vakils urging for money for their expenses and complaining that they were not receiving it in time. It cannot be ascertained today that the Vakil's own share was in money agreed to in a treaty as *Durbar-Kharcha,* but it is certain that he had share. Janoji Bhonsale of Nagpur paid Rs. 1,22,500 as Durbar Kharcha. Out of this amount, the Vakil, Ramaji Ballal Gune received Rs. 10,000, while the other Vakil, Nilo Gopal got Rs. 5,000. It appears that a Vakil was allowed to receive a village as Inam from the opposite party even subsequent to the conclusion of a treaty. It was possible to tempt the Vakil of another State with the promise of a gift. In a letter (*Peshwa Daftar* 37:23) it has been said: "The Nawab of Hyderabad has made your (i.e. Peshwa's) Vakil hopeful about the receipt of a Jagir." This is a point worth noting.

The entourage of a Vakil

The Vakil was provided with a staff depending upon the distance and importance of his mission. Even as many as eight pairs of *Jasuds* (messengers) to convey news were provided. For prompted communication he was provided with a camel-rider to carry despatches. The Vakil was given a party of *Shiledars* (horsemen owning their own mounts) for protection and this was augmented if necessary. There are instances of the Vakil being provided with a palanquin also.

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CONCLUSION

Some of the information about Vakils as could be found in Historical Letters has been briefly summarized above. The accompanying list of 127 Vakils, given in alphabetical order may be considered an important part of this paper. For, such a list, which is very helpful and necessary for a student of history, had not been compiled, before. The references to the original sources of this list are too numerous to be given conveniently here, but are available with me. I could not also include such information as to where the Vakils worked in pairs.

But, still, the list given herewith is important and I conclude by presenteing that list and the accompanying maps. Out of the 127 Vakils in this list, 101 were Hindus, 5 British and 21 Muslims. Again 33 out of them were the Peshwa's *own* Vakils, 71 represented states outside the Maratha Empire, 18 represented states within the Empire and 5 came from other countries.

LIST OF AMBASSADORS DURING THE REGIME OF PESHWA MADHAVRAO I (1761-1772 A.D.)

Sr. No.	Name of Ambassador Agent, Envoy etc.	Power represented by him	Power where he represented	Period
1	2	3	4	5
1.	Aliyad Khan	Raja	. . . .	1772
2.	Anandrup	Nagpur Bhosale	Delhi, Jaipur, Prayag	1765,1769
3.	Annaji Tamaji	Savnur	Army of Peshwa	1769
4.	Apaji Jivaji	Peshwa	Pondechari	1764
5.	Apaji Raghunath	Peshwa	Hydar (Envoy)	1769
6.	Apaji Ram	Peshwa	Kota State	1769
7.	Apaji Ram	Hyder	Peshwa	1764-72
8.	Balaji Govind	Tahwarjang	Peshwa	1766, 1772
9.	Banaji Madhavrau.	Delhi	Deorao Halvai, Bangalore	
10.	Bapuji Mahadeo	Delhi	. . . .	1766, 1770
11.	Bhagvantrao	Peshwa	Nabab Hyderabad	1763
12.	Bhagvantrao Govind	Peshwa	Jath	1770
13.	Bhikaji Tryambak	Vishalgadkar	Peshwa	1770
14.	Bhojraj	Savnunkar Nabab	Hyderbadkar Nabab	1767
15.	Bijeram	Najeebkhan Rohile	Peshwa	1768
16.	Bilal Mahomed	Sujatdavala	Peshwa	1770
17.	Brahmo Pota	Jaynagar State	Peshwa	1769
18.	Brom Charles	Bombay, Madras East India Co.	Peshwa	1768
19.	Chetram	Jabitkhan Rohila	Peshwa	1773
20.	Chetsing	Kashikar Balwantsing Raje	Peshwa	1791

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Sr. No.	Name of Ambassador Agent, Envoy etc.	Power represented by him	Power where he represented	Period
1	2	3	4	5
21.	Deorao Mahadeo Hingne	Peshwa	Delhi Patshah, Sujatduvala	1769
22.	Devaji Tryambak	Mahadji Shinde	. . . .	1770
23.	Dhansing	Peshwa	Beejesing	1761
24.	Dharnidhar	Raje Bundele	Peshwa	1771
25.	Dhondo Ram	Peshwa	Nizam	1761-69
26.	Dhondo Tamaji	Peshwa	Jaipur	...
27.	Ganesh Tukdeo	Nagpur	Peshwa	1763, 1766
28.	Gangadhar Vishnanath	Peshwa	Northern India	1766, 1768
29.	Govindram Mahant	Peshwa	Marwar-Beejesing	1761
30.	Govindrao	Reja Khan	Peshwa	1767
31.	Gopalrao Chakradhar (Chakradeo)	Raghoba Dada	English	1768
32.	Govind Shivram Limaye (Khajgiwale)	Peshwa	English, Holkar, Bhonsale, Nabab Kuknudaula	1769
33.	Gulraj	Ahmedshah Abdali	Peshwa	1763, 1764
34.	Hari Amanji Pandit	Peshwa	Calcutta-English	1770
35.	Hari Narayan	Jath	. . . .	1770
36.	Hari Ram	Hyderabadkar Nabab	Nagpurkar Bhosale	1766
37.	Hari Umaji Pandit	. . . .	. . . .	1764
38.	Himmat Khan	Nizam Hyderabadkar	Peshwa	1764
39.	Husain Khan	. . . .	. . . .	...
40.	Imamjang	Adwani	Nizam of Hyderabad	1766
41.	Jairampant	Malharao Holkar	Nabab Hyderabadkar	1764
42.	Jaitram	Gohatkar Jath	Peshwa	1768
43.	Jivaji Narsinha	State Sirgupe (Lochangund)	Peshwa	1765
44.	Jogilal	Sujatdaula	Peshwa	1766
45.	Kajam Ali Munshi	Hyderally	Hyderabad	1767
46.	Kantrao Ramchandra	Ballari State	Peshwa	1765
47.	Karim Khan	Hyder	Peshwa	1766-67
48.	Karnil (Kornok Englishman)	Phirangi	Delhi	1766
49.	Kisandas	Bhopal State	Peshwa	1770
50.	Kisansing	Jath	. . . .	1769
51.	Khando Abaji	Phattesing Gaikwad	. . . .	...
52.	Kriparam	Bhopal State	Peshwa	1770
53.	Krishnaji Gopal	Raghoba Dada	. . . .	1760
54.	Krishnarao Ballal	Peshwa	Nizam	1762-70
55.	Krishnarao Jagannath	Peshwa	Arkatkar Nabab	1772
56.	Krishnasing	Navalsing Jath	Peshwa	1770
57.	Lala Tuljaram	Peshwa	English-Madras	1768
58.	Laxman Rayaji	Kasturi Rangayya Naik, Raja of Madkari	Hyderabad	1769
59.	Madhavrao Jadhavrao	Peshwa	Arkatkar Nabab & English	1770
60.	Madhabrao (Shivram)	Savnurkar Nabab	Peshwa	1769
61.	Mahadi Alikhan	Hyderally	Hyderabad	1767

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Sr. No.	Name of Ambassador Agent, Envoy etc.	Power represented by him	Power where he represented	Period
1	2	3	4	5
62.	Mahphooj Khan	Hyderally	Hyderabad	1767
63.	Mahomed Khan Khoje	Gajuddin Khan	Peshwa	1770
64.	Malappa Naik	State Harpanhally	Peshwa	1763
65.	Manko Shankar	Nagpurkar Bhosale	Peshwa	1763
66.	Manorathram	State Jainagar-Jaipuri	Peshwa	1769
67.	Mansaram Mishra	State Bundi	. . . .	1769
68.	Mastin	The English	Peshwa	1768
69.	Meghraj	. . . .	Ahmedshah Abdali	1764
70.	Mehadi Alikhan	Hyder	. . . .	1765
71.	Mehrban Khan	Ahmedkhan Bangesh Farukabad	Peshwa	1770
72.	Mehta Mokimsing	Jotpurkar	Peshwa	1772
73.	Mestar Masan Sinore	Bombay—the English	Peshwa	1768
74.	Mukund Rao	Shire	Hyder	1769
75.	Mukunkrao Munshi	Dadasaheb	Bhaganagar	1764
76.	Munirudaulla	Patshah, Delhi	The English	...
77.	Nago Shriniwas	Murarrao Ghorpade	Peshwa	1764
78.	Nandram Munshi	Ahmedshah Abdali	Peshwa	1763
79.	Narayan Krishna Patwardhan Mangalvedhekar	Patwardhan Sardar	Peshwa	1763
80.	Nayansukh	State Karoli	Peshwa	1760
81.	Nilo Gopal	Peshwa	Kalpi—the English	1767
82.	Nuruddin Khoje	Hyderally	Peshwa	1765
83.	Omkar Chintamani	State Harpanhally	Peshwa	1767
84.	Parsadiram	Najibkhan	Peshwa	1769
85.	Purushottam Mahadeo	Delhi	Ahmedshah	1763
			Abdali, Jagarsing Jath	1764
			Sujaudaulla	1770
86.	Purushottam Tamaji	State Chitradurga	Patwardhan	1766
87.	Rango Nilkantha	Peshwa Government	State Surapur	1765
88.	Rango Shankar	. . . .	. . . .	1764
89.	Raghunathpant	Nagpurkar Bhosale	The English (Bengal Muksundhabad)	1765
90.	Ramchandra Ballal Gune	Peshwa	Nagpur	1763, 1769
91.	Ramchandra Krishna	Peshwa	Advanikar Nabab	1768
92.	Ramchandra Tukdeo	Jaipur Peshwa	Holkar	1768
93.	Rango Ganesh	Nagpurkar Bhosale	Peshwa	1766
94.	Rango Tamaji	Chitradurga State	. . . .	1766
95.	Reza Alikhan	Hyder Khan	Peshwa	1767, 1769, 1770, 1771
96.	Roopram Katari	Jawahirsing Jath	Peshwa	1764, 1767, 1768
97.	Sadashiv Ballal	Sujaudaulla	Peshwa	1761
98.	Sadashib Raghunath	Peshwa	Murarrao Ghorpade	...
99.	Sahajsing	State Jaipur	Peshwa	1769
100.	Sahebrao	Patshah of Delhi	Peshwa	1771
101.	Saiphuddin Mohmed	Dehli Badshah	Peshwa	...
102.	Sakharam Naik	The English	Peshwa	1766

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Sr. No.	Name of Ambassador Agent, Envoy etc.	Power represented by him	Power where he represented	Period
1	2	3	4	5
103.	Samsherkhan	State Bhopal	Peshwa	1768
104.	Saiyad Khubulsa	State Jaipur	. . . .	1769
105.	Shamrao Gopal Narsi-purkar	Hyderally	Peshwa	1764, 1771
106.	Sherjang	Nizamally	. . . .	1768
107.	Shesho Narayan	Chhatrapati of Karwir	Peshwa	1762
108.	Shivaji Babaji Mhas-kar	State Miraj, Patwardhan	Peshwa, Poona	1764
109.	Shriniwasrao Viththal	State Balhari	Peshwa	1764, 1765
110.	Surajlal Kayatha	Nabab of Adwanikar	Peshwa	1767
111.	Suratramsi	State Jaipur	. . . .	1769, 1767
112.	Tailor	The English, Bombay	Peshwa	...
113.	Timaji Malegir	State Surapur	Peshwa	1766
114.	Trimbak Jagannath	Peshwa	Hybatrao Nimbalkar	1764
115.	Trimbakdas Khatri	Sujatdaula	Peshwa	1765, 1770
116.	Udepuri Gosavi	Janoji Bhosale	The English, Calcutta	1766
117.	Uttamrao	Advani	Peshwa	1767
118.	Venkaji Govind	Tahwarsing	Peshwa	1772
119.	Venkatrao Malhar	Peshwa Government	. . . .	1762
121.	Visaji Baburao	Peshwa	. . . .	1767
121.	Visaji Narayan Vada-dekar	Miraj-Patwardhan	Peshwa	1764, 1772
122.	Vithal Raoji	State Bundi	Peshwa	1769
123.	Vyankaji Ambaji	State Harpanhally	Peshwa	1767
124.	Vyankatrao Moresh-war	Peshwa	Janoji Bhosale	1767, 1769
125.	Yarjang	Hyderabad	Peshwa	1767
126.	Yesaji Ballal	Mahadji Shinde	Peshwa	1770
127.	Zeinul Aniddin	The English	Janoji Bhosale	...

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MINTO AND THE BEGUMS OF OUDH

SHILENDRA K. SINGH

It is curious how the destinies of Oudh and the rise of the British power in India came to be linked together since the battle of Buxar, 22nd Oct. 1764. What is obvious, however, to any student of this period is how each particular instance of British contact with Oudh from this date right down to 1857 when it was finally annexed, serves to bring out only the darker and more unpleasant traits of the characters of some of the best administrators and statesmen produced by a nation which justly prides itself on the strength of its national character. Each time there was an Anglo-Oudh diplomatic tussle, there was inevitably something or the other, always, about the Begums of Oudh. The tradition unhappily established by Warren Hastings was not allowed to die out. British interference in the affairs of the Oudh Royal Zenana always culminated in something sinister and sorbid.

To appreciate the part the Begums of Oudh played in the Anglo-Oudh diplomatic relations under Lord Minto, it is essential for us to know that during the first two months of 1802 while Wellesley was in Lucknow the Bhow Begum (also called the Begum of Fyzabad) who was the widow of Shujauddowalah, the mother of Asafuddowlah and the step-mother of Saadut Ali, offered to constitute the Honourable Company her heir.[1] Against the acceptance of this offer militated the law of the land, the law of nations and the opinion of Wellesley himself previously expressed. She had hardly any right to dispose of the property which should have been left to return to her sovereign and son, in case of her decease. But Wellesley decided to accept the legacy and had the presence of mind to put forth his own rasons for it.[2]

The earlier British Empire-builders in India were steadfast on some principles. Not the least important of these was their steady patronage, guidance and assistance to Indians—individuals and families—who had proved themselves faithful and serviceable to them.

One of the earlier despatches of Baillie from Lucknow to the Supreme Government is concerning some noblemen of Oudh and the two Begums—the Bhow Begum and the Bhabi Begum (widow of Asafuddowlah) who "consider themselves as the dependants of the British government, and as entitled to its protection and support."[3]

We have already seen how the Bhow Begum had appointed the Company as her legatee and how that position had been accepted by Wellesley. Bhabi Begum also called Shamsunissa Begum was the widow of Saadat Ali's brother —the late Nawab Asafuddowlah. There was no love lost between her and her sovereign and brother-in-law.

1. Mill's *History of British India*, p. 187.
2. Mill's *History of British India, Loc. cit.*, p. 185.
3. Oudh Papers: p. 27.

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In the troubles between the Nawab Wazir and the Supreme Government, about the Bhow Begun's affairs, the *dramatists personae* were Nawab Wazir Saadut Ali Khan, Lord Minto, Major Baillie, the resident at Lucknow, and an eunuch called Muhammad Tuhseen Ali Khan, Khaja Serai.

It was a question regarding him that provided the spark to start the blaze, in the light and heat of which Bhow Begum's troubles came to the foreground.

Of this official the greatest recommendation was that at the time of Wazir Ali's deposition he had been the Chief informant of Sir John Shore. As he was the Nazir of the Khoord Mahal (the palace where the ladies of the household of the late Nawab Shujauddowlah were housed), and as this Khoord Mahal was situated in Fyzabad, the capital of the jagir of the Bhow Begum, this dispute brought in the dirty linen of the Oudh royal house to be washed in public. One finds, looking through the original correspondence on this particular affair, that the historian can easily be made to lose his way in the labyrinth of detail or a web of intrigue and false propaganda. For an impartial assessment of the truth in this matter, however, it is essential to byepass the one and avoid the other.

At the time of his accession to the masnad in 1798, Saadut Ali had been made to grant a jagir near Fyzabad to the Bhow Begum. The jagir of Gonda he had also to give her, but that was for collection only and its yield was to be used in giving pensions to the ladies of the Khoord and Khass Mahals.[4] Upto this point all is clear. Tuhseen Ali Khan was then Nazir of Khoord Mahal, but the Bhow Begum was displeased with him. Saadut Ali, however, insisted that, after collection, the yields of the jagir of Gonda should be handed over to Tuhseen for distribution to the ladies of the palaces, and in this she acquiesced.[5] If and when there was any surplus money, after due distribution of the pensions, Tuhseen was in the habit of remitting it to the Royal Treasury of Saadut Ali, as well as submitting all accounts to him.[6] This coupled with the fact that when any ladies of the Mahal died their funeral expenses too were paid by the Nawab Wazir, convinced the latter that he was the sole guardian of the Mahals and had the authority in himself for their management.[7] That legally, as head of the family, he was their protector (Waris) there can be no doubt ; that morally he felt bound to look after the ladies of his father's household, we may be sure.[8] By 1812 a change was wrought ; the Bhow Begum considered herself a *protége* of the British power, so also did Tuhseen himself. Both of them started having the feeling of camaraderie that comes out of a common allegiance. The Nawab Wazir on the other hand was, even in his helpless and powerless way, uncomprisingly anti-British at heart. He was, naturally, also against any and all of his subjects who put their faith in British protection. Just about the same time the ladies of the Khoord Mahal raised a hue and cry against Tuhseen Ali.

4. Aitchison: *Op. cit.*, p. 121 (Engagement of 7th Feb. 1798.)
5. Oude Papers: *Op. cit.*, p. 279.
6. Oude Papers: *Loc. cit.*, p. 411.
7. Oude Papers: *Loc. cit.*, pp. 273, 279, 430 etc.
8. Oude Papers: *Loc. cit.*, pp. 447 and 453 (where the Khoord Mahal ladies ask him to respond to the call of his duty as their Warris).

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The Nawab asked Tuhseen to submit a plan for the improved management of the Mahal. This he failed to do. He was, therefore, summarily dismissed and the post was given to another person of the Nawab Wazir's selection.[9]

Baillie entered the arena at this stage as the avowed protagonist of Tuhseen. This approach to the problem was a bit too thorough. While demanding the reinstalment of Tuhseen, declaring that he was ignorant of all the charges levelled against him by the ladies who agitated to see him ousted, because they in their turn had been tutored to do so by the Nawab Wazir ;[10] he declared that the management of the Khoord Mahal was out of the province of the Nawab's prerogative and that the British as guarantors of the engagement, which secured to the Bhow Begum the Jagir of Gonda for the express purpose of the support of the Khoord Mahal, would do all they could to see her rights respected.[11]

Minto, as usual, was in complete harmony with the views of his representative. He supported him by a direct address to the Nawab Wazir, the gist of which was "Hands off the Khoord Mahal. Reinstate Tuhseen and obey Baillie."[12]

The Nawab Wazir, the Resident, and the Bhow Begum were all string-pullers in the sorbid intrigues which now followed. The actors in this *dirty* drama were, as well, the victims of their own punch and judy show. There can be no doubt that in the disgraceful events that followed, the blame for intriguing must be shared equally by Saadat Ali and Baillie.[13] They were both trying to prove the correctness of their assertions by manoevering the occurrence of incidents. Tuhseen had to be, under inevitable and unescapable pressure from the British Government, restored to his office of Nazir.[14] The ladies of the Mahal rebelled against this, decided to leave the Mahal to make some token demonstration at Golab Bari (tomb of Shujauddowlah) and to repair to Lucknow to appeal personally to the Nawab Wazir.[15] They met with persecution and insults at the hands of officers who acted under orders of the Bhow Begum, who, in her turn, took her directions from Baillie.[16] There was a storm in the tea-cup, as futile as it was nauseating. It subsided as aimlessly as it had brewed up. The net result was that Saadut Ali had to agree that he had no right in the management of the Khoord Mahal, which was the exclusive province of the Bhow Begum ; Tuhseen had to be restored and

9. Oude Papers: *Loc. cit.*, pp. 272, 280.

10. Oude Papers: *Loc. cit.*, pp. 268, 270, 273, 274-275. (Categorical assertions of Baillie about his right to interfere and Bhow Begum's right to control the Khoord Mahal management ; other allegations that disturbances are due to Saadut Ali's encouragement).

11. Oude Papers: *Loc. cit.*, p. 275 (where the Resident says "Your Excellency's power and control over any branch of your household cannot be more absolute, under the terms of the Treaty of 1798, in their nature than your obligation . . . to consult with the British Government and be guided by its Counsels"), and p. 270.

12. Oude Papers: *Loc. cit.*, pp. 285-286.

13. Oude Papers: *Loc cit.*, that they were both active intriguers, is clear from the Records. Refer pp. 257-261 for Saadut Ali's actions to incite trouble ; and pp. 447-453 on Baillie's part in the dirty occurrences.

14. Oude Papers: *Loc. cit.*, para 4, p. 299.

15. Oude Papers: *Loc. cit.*, pp. 448-453.

16. Oude Papers: *Loc. cit.*, pp. 450, 452 (the Resident therein referred to as a 'Person of Authority').

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the ladies were as miserable as ever.[17] Of this, however, one can be sure that the Nawab Wazir, true to his character, acquiesced only after seeing that there was no help, and after realising how determined the Governor General was to support each single action of his Resident. Even then he succeeded in making a fine art of his tactics of delay and evasion.[18]

In the same sequence, seeing that the Nawab Wazir had been intimidated, the grievances of the Bhow Begum against certain zamindars and Amirs of the Nawab Wazir were brought forth,[19] they were also, inspite of the feeble resistance of Saadut Ali, decided in her favour and she got some nineteen villages, which had been the bone of contention for a long time, as well as all the other advantages that she claimed.[20]

Our narrative of this none-too-happy episode cannot be complete without mentioning the death of Tuhseen. He died on August 27, 1813, of old age and exhaustion.[21] While he was on his death-bed he made a will and nominated Major Baillie as his executor. He was a Hindu-convert and a slave of the Nawab Wazir. His property, therefore, under the customary law of Oudh, was liable to eschet by the sovereign. His brother's family was not converted, they had remained Hindus. That family was represented by two small boys, the grandsons of Tuhseen's elder brother. Now he bequeathed all his property to them.

He made some grants of pensions etc. to some of his faithful servants too.[21] All this he was not entitled to do (*a*) because, under Muslim Law a person suffering cannot make from 'Maz-ul-Maut' (*i.e.*, on his death-bed) a bequest of more than one-third of his property, (*b*) because a Muslim convert cannot make his relatives who are not Muslims, his heirs,[22] (*c*) fundamentally, as a slave, he had no testamentary rights at all.[23]

Baillie, even, before Tuhseen's death, had referred the question to the Supreme Government. Minto's decision was that the better of the law was to be shelved in this case, in view of the exceptional circumstances and the meritorious services of Tuhseen. The only consideration which prompted him to take this decision was the desire to get Tuhseen's last wishes respected.[24] This decision was one of the last on Oudh affairs, made in the Governor Generalship of Minto. It shows to what lengths this nobleman could go in supporting his subordinates and those whom he considered his or his government's depen-

17. Oude Papers: *Loc. cit.*, p. 511.
18. Oude Papers: *Loc. cit.*, p. 278 (His attitude in the beginning was " . . . the discussion of such subjects as this is extremely unpleasant to me" and "it (guarantee of the British Government) cannot circumscribe or render nugatory my hereditary rights and authorities over my own household"). In correspondence pp. 278-281, 287-290, in discussions pp. 411-413, and renewed correspondence pp. 455-56, Saadut Ali was difficult to grapple, elusive, and bowed only when the extraneous pressure had brought him to breaking point.
19. Oude Papers: *Loc. cit.*, pp. 473, 474-475, 493-495, 495-497. The Amil of Bahraich, Raja Gungole of Bahraich, Luchman Persad Amin, Buhwar Sigh, Zamindar of Buhwarch etc. were particularly reported.
20. Oude Papers: *Loc. cit.*, p. 511 (Minto expresses satisfaction on the end of all these troubles, in his letter to Saadut Ali) p. 512.
21. Oude Papers: *Loc. cit.*, pp. 521-523.
22. Oude Papers: *Loc. cit.*, pp. 525-526.
23. Oude Papers: *Loc. cit.*, p. 527.
24. Oude Papers: *Loc. cit.*, pp. 526-527 (paras 3 and 4).

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dants. His successor Lord Moira, in whose times, this dispute on Tuhseen's will was settled, did not take such a vigorous and radical stand. The Nawab was alowed to resume Tuhseen's property,[25] which, one feels sure, would not have been allowed to happen if Minto was at the helm of affairs when the question came for final settlement.

In July, 1813, Baillie went to Fyzabad[26] and made some arrangements about the valuables and property of the Bhow Begum, which were remarkable, one may say unique, in character ; and we ought to have noticed them in some detail here had they been placed for ratification before Lord Minto and had we known his comments and views on the topic. As it was, Moira was at the head of the government at Fort William by the time this came up. Suffice it to say here that in this case, too, the British Government, through its Resident, became guarantor for a future arrangement for the payment of a large number of pensions, the custodian of her treasures and jewellery, and an executor of the Bhow Begum's last will and testament.[27]

If the case of the Bhow Begum was full of intriguing complications, Bhabi Begum's (*i.e.* that of Shaamsunnissa Begum—the widow of the late Nawab Wazir Asafuddowlah) was absolutely straight but full of phychological interest. She was the daughter of Nawab Intizauuddowlah, Bakhshi-i-Mumalik, Khan-i-Khannn, and the grand daughter of the famous Wazir-ul-Mumalik Asafjah Etemaduddowlah Nawab Meer Kanaruddin Khan Nusrat Jang[28] and was, herefore, considered to be "the descendent of ancestors by far more illustrious than his (Saadut Ali's) own".[29] Her marriage into the Oudh Royal House, during the life time of Shupauddowlah, had been possible only after the Emperor of Delhi, Shah Alam, had given it his imperial sanction.[30] During the reign of her husband over Oudh, while Saadut Ali was a struggling exile at Benaras, she used to receive most obsequious letters from him.[31] But now Saadat Ali was the sovereign and he expected deference from her who was not used to play her part as "a subject in a place where she possessed the rule".[32]

Against this psychological and emotional background a further development of troubles between them was but natural and easy. The Nawab Wazir went out of his way to make her realise that he was the master now, and every little wish of hers was thwarted.[33] She on her part tried more and more to rely on British protection and to show Saadut Ali that she remembered the past only too well. These troubles were slowed to develop until they were, by all the parties concerned, considered to be "totally unsusceptible of adjustment or reconciliation."[34] The Begum addressed the Resident and the Governor General on the issue of her grievances,[35] which were: (*i*) That the Nawab

25. Oude Papers: *Loc. cit.*, pp. 600-602.
26. Oude Papers: *Loc. cit.*, para 1, p. 527.
27. Aitchison: *Op. cit.*, pp. 143-157.
28. Oude Papers: *Op. cit.*, p. 461.
29. Oude Papers: *Loc. cit.*, p. 441.
30. Oude Papers: *Loc. cit.*, p. 461.
31. Oude Papers: *Loc. cit.*, pp. 437, 462.
32. Oude Papers: *Loc. cit.*, p. 431.
33. Oude Papers: *Loc. cit.*, paras 8-13, pp. 440-441.
34. Oude Papers: *Loc. cit.*, p. 413.
35. Oude Papers: *Loc. cit.*, pp. 276-277 and pp. 461-465.

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Wazir had been failing in the observance of respect due to her rank and person, (*ii*) Her father's property in Delhi, which she had inherited, had been usurped, by the Nawab Wazir, (*iii*) The pay and allowances to various classes of her servants, which were, by usage, payable from the Nawab's exchequer had been discontinued, (*iv*) Her Jagir was despoiled by the Nawab Wazir's zamindars and amirs, under his encouragement, if not incitement, (*v*) That the Nawab Wazir on every little occasion assiduously tried to hurt her feelings and injure her interests.

Her demands were: (*i*) to be given money in lieu of the victuals supplied for her table daily from the royal kitchen ; and (*ii*) to be permitted to quit the Oudh territories after handing over the management of her Jagir into the hands of the British officers, of the Hon'ble East India Company.

When things had come to this pass, Saadut Ali sincerely started wishing a rapproachment between him and his sister-in-law should take place.[36] She, however, on her part was not prepared even to see his face. Saadut Ali wrote her a very conciliatory note saying that he would personally pay her his compliments.[37] The result was that being afraid of having to face a situation in which she might have to speak with her brother-in-law, she left Lucknow, even against Baillie's advice and went to her jagir.[38] From there, in spite of all requests and entreaties to come back to Lucknow, she proceeded onwards to take up permanent residence in the Company's territories and reached Allahabad where the magistrate, under orders from above, received her with honour and *eclat*.[39]

In the meanwhile the usual negotiations between the Nawab Wazir and the Resident regarding the complaints and claims of the Begum proceeded apace. Again the same process of long files of correspondence between Saadut Ali and Baillie,[40] the direct address of Minto,[41] in support of Baille's efforts, the personal conferences between the helpless Nawab Wazir and the bullying Resident,[48] the systematic intimation of the reticement and sometimes enraged Saadut Ali, the same proposals and counter proposals and higgling[43] continued.

As could be expected, Saadut Ali was reluctant to be pushed into a corner, but the British advocates of his sister-in-law proved to be too strong for him. They usd her offer of the management of her jagir to them, as an *ace* up their sleeve.[44] At last Saadut Ali had to swallow, what he considered to be a slur upon the reputation of his house, i.e. the desertion of his dominions by a lady of the royal family. He had further to yield to grant a monthly stipend to her in lieu of the victuals that used to be served for her table while she was in Lucknow, at the terms dictated to him by Baillie.[3] The British did not want

45. Oude Papers: *Loc. cit.*, p. 517.
36. Oude Papers: *Loc. cit.*, p. 479.
37. Oude Papers: *Loc. cit.*, p. 439.
38. Oude Papers: *Loc. cit.*, pp. 310-311, 437-438.
39. Oude Papers: *Loc. cit.*, pp. 320, 475-477.
40. Oude Papers: *Loc. cit.*, pp. 277, 279, 281, 360-364, 453-455, 467, 471-472, 479-483, 516-520, 541.
41. Oude Papers: *Loc. cit.*, pp. 286, 510-511.
42. Oude Papers: *Loc. cit.*, pp. 397-398, 413, 421, 423-424.
43. Oude Papers: *Loc. cit.*, pp. 360-363, 516-520.
44. Oude Papers: *Loc. cit.*, p. 397, para 4.

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to put themselves in an awkaward, and perhaps untenable, situation by taking over the management of Shamsunnissa's jagir and so they handed it over to Saadut Ali in lieu of an yearly pension to the Begum which was equal to the net yield of the jagir—even this sum was decided by Baillie.[46] On the question of her Delhi property, Saadut Ali in the beginning remained stubborn. He said he had inherited it amongst all other belongings of his predecessor and brother Asafuddowlah.[47] But at last he had to yield to the inexorable pressure. He, however, was adament in maintaining that the Begum could inherit only such portion of it as was justly hers after satisfying the demands of her nephew Husaimuddin Khan, who was a preferential heir to the said property, under Islamic law.[48]

Minto's conduct in his relations with Oudh in general and the two Begums in particular shows clearly how radically he had broken off from the traditions of non-intervention which Lord Cornwallis and Sir George Barlow had tried to establish. The pendulum in its swing had reached the edge where it was kept by Lord Wellesley. Minto was clear that Oudh was a subordinate power and has therefore, felt justified in interfering in its affairs whenever it suited his convenience and British interests. If the Nawab opposed his wishes, in the first place he was to be persuaded to conform and obey but if necessary Minto was prepared to go full length and compel the poor potentate. The right of might could not be challenged.

COPY OF A LETTER OF TIPU SULTAN ADDRESSED TO NAWAB NIZAM ALI KHAN

Dr. Yousuf Husain

A copy of this letter of Tipu Sultan addressed to Nawab Nizam Ali Khan is in the Manuscript collection of the Central Records Office, (Daftar-e-Diwani) Hyderabad (Dn.). It is undated. But most probably it was written in Jan. 1791, before the Nizam's forces had joined the English for a joint assault on Serangapatam. The contents of the letter show that it was written after the disaster of Gurram-Konda in which Nizam's Army was involved in November, 1790.

In this letter Tipu Sultan lays blame for the Nizam's pro-English policy on his self-seeking advisers and wonders how the Nizam could rely on such untrustworthy men as Assad Ali Khan and Hafiz Fariduddin. He has appealed him to dissociate himself from the English and return to Hyderabad.

In accordance with the stipulations of the treaty of June 1790, entered into between Nizam Ali Khan and the Company, Nizam Ali Khan left Hyderabad at the head of a large force and encamped at Pangal. From here he despatched

46. Oude Papers: *Loc. cit.*, pp. 517-518.
47. Oude Papers: *Loc. cit.*, pp. 481-482.
48. Oude Papers: *Loc. cit.*, p. 546.

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a large force of cavalry under Raja Tejwant and Asad Ali Khan with order to advance in Tipu Sultan's Country and eventually to form a junction with the Company's troops. Their movements were purposely slow in order to conserve their strength, while the English and Tipu Sultan exhausted themselves by fighting each other. Moreover, the English detachment which joined the Nizam's army in accordance with the terms of the alliance, was thoroughly inefficient. However, the Nizam's Army captured the fortress of Koppal on 18th April 1791. A week later, Bahadur Benda, another strong fort was capturd. The Nizam's Army also captured the fortresses of Cumbum, Sidhut and Gunjikota. After halting at the later place, it proceeded to Gurramkonda which was besieged on 19th Sept. 1791.

Prince Sikander Jah, attended by Mushirulmulk, arrived at Gurramkonda at the head of a large reinforcement. The prince and the minister left Hafiz Fariduddin with 5,000 men and 900 horses to reduce the fortress by blockade, while they marched towards Seringapatam. But before they had proceeded 30 miles from Gurramkonda, they received the news that Fateh Hyder, the eldest son of Tipu Sultan, with 10,000 men had appeared before the fortress. Fariduddin supposing the party to consist but of a few plunderers, mounted on elephant and went out to reconnoitre, accompanied only by a few horsemen.[1] The result was that his party was cut to pieces and he himself was made a prisoner and killed.

Translation of the Letter

It is incumbent on creatures to offer gratitude and to prostrate in adoration before the Almighty, who brought them into existence and to seek help from His Prophet in times of crisis and tumult.

When Your Highness contemplated conquering the territories lying on this side of Krishna, it was repeatedly brought to your Highness's notice that such a project should not be undertaken in the interest of their amicable relations. Although Your Highness never favoured such an idea, some servants whose corrupt nature consisted of malice and villainy, and who were the secret tools of the English, led your Higness astray by their evil suggestions. Not having the good of the State before them and thinking only of their self-interest, they proceeded to involve Your Highness in this hazardous undertaking, (*i.e.* the Third Mysore (War). From the time when your Highness's army reached Pangal, in collaboration with the English, no troops were moved against it from this side, resulting in the surrender of so many fortresses belonging to this slave of the Divine Court (*bundai daragh*). By the perfidy of the governors of these forts they have been occupied by Your Highness's Officers for months together. In spite of all this, eyes were shut towards these happenings. Asad Ali khan who lost confidence here, was received with honour by the Court of Hyderabad. Qutubuddin Khan, a local Zilledar, with a few followers brought him to knees and wounded him, which should be taken as the stamp of the Sarkar which he has carried away with him. But even this did not make

1. *Hadiqatul Alam*, pp. 383, 384.

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him penitent. On the contrary he proclaimed boastfully of his courage and prowess. At Hyderabad he was honoured with th title of Muzaffarul Mulk and was sent on the expedition with Prince Sikander Jah, attended by Azam-ul-Umera, the Chief Minister of Your Higness's Government. Considering the districts to be destitute of our forces, the siege of Gurramkonda was undertaken.

When the bright sun is hidden,
The bats start showing tricks in the open field.

Hafiz Fareed who for sometime was the Vakil of Your Highness at this Court, had to be recalled to Hyderabad in view of hs reprehensible actions. He was then honoured with the title of Muidul Mulk and was bestowed the rank of 5,000 sawar. In this expedition he was made the commander of the siege of Gurramkonda. That idiot was vain enough to call himself a great soldier, in view of the recognition he had received at the Hyderabad Court. But the fact is that none of his ancestors had ever seen the face of a battle. At first our victorious armies hesitated, but later they thought it to be in consonance with the prestige and traditions of this state to let the resounding echo of their victorious march reach the ears of those who had beseiged Gurramkonda. Thereupon orders were issued to send a force under the command of a member of his family, in order to relieve the distress of the besieged. Muhammad Kamruddin also moved in the same direction at the head of his brave soldiery, by-passing the forces of Azam Khan, son of Ransat Khan of Kurnul, and the forces of Govind Kishan, son of Kishan Rao Ballal whose chastisement was not intended. In the vicinity of the fortress they encountered the detachment under the command of Raja Jodh Singh which was completely annihilated. Then came the turn of the vanguard of Hafiz Fareed, to whom the approach of dashing army was quite unlooked for. He mounted a caparisoned elephant and went to reconnoitre, full of overweening conceit and oblivions of the traditions of warfare according to which the leader of an army should remain in the rear. Our dashing army regarded him in the same manner in which a hunter regards a pray:

"When a prey is destined to be killed,
it goes straight in the direction of the
hunter."

Hafiz Fareed was surrounded by the lion-hearted warriors and was captured alive and his followers were destroyed. The Ghazis also captured a large quantity of treasure, besides a considerable supply of provisions and equipment. The victorious Gazies would have destroyed the whole army of Your Highness, but for the consideration of the Prince Sikander Jah, who then happened to be there. It was also one of the instructions of Hyder Ali (*Imai Hyderi*) before his passing away that the sprinkling of Muslim blood should be avoided at all costs, and it is deemed as a duty by this dynasty to follow this instruction and take all possible precautions in this regard. In the evening, the victorious army captured alive Monsieur Andre who had occupied the lower part of the fortress of Gurramkonda, and his men were put to sword excepting those who sought protection. Next day they were taken in service of this state, and were allotted the work for which they were suited.

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The sole purpose of this letter is to bring to Your Highness's notice that even now it is not too late and the rein of intention is still in the hands of Your Highness. Even now Your Highness may desist from giving aid to the English. The Marathas who were Your Highness's allies, may also be persuaded to do the same. The English think that they can put reliance on their army and their artillery, but very soon they will see smoke coming out for their destruction. If they persist in their evil intent they will be slaughtered like sheep on the occasion of Id Uzzuha and the vessel of their expectations will be drowned in the ocean of annihilation. They are contemplating the destruction of the Hydari State (*i.e.* founded by Hyder Ali) by force of Arms ; they themselves will be completely wiped out from the face of the earth.

How can one take away the crown and throne from one, whom God had bestowed the sovereignty and fortune. They will receive due punishment for their evil intentions and wrong-headedness.

It is our pleasure that the country which belongs to Your Highness from ancient times, including Adoni and its neighbourhood, be administered by Your Highness and the claims of Poona Court may also be intimated so that suitable adjustments may be made thereto. If Your Highness agrees to return to Hyderabad (Farkhunda Bunyad), it will be a source of strength to Islam and if the Marathas agree to return to Poona, it will result in peaceful and amicable relations between the parties. It is our heart-felt desire that the Asfia State (*Daulat-e-Asfia*) may prosper. If Your Highness is contemplating to go to Hind (Northern India) as Nawab Asaf Jah used to do, this slave of the Divine Court (*Bandoi Dargh Ilahi*) would also accompany Your Highness, and intimation may be communicated in this connection to him. I pray that the Asfia State may prosper and its existence may be prolonged.

AN ASPECT OF BRITISH-BHONSLA RELATIONS DURING THE RESIDENCY OF M. ELPHINSTONE

R. M. SINHA

The treaty of Deogaon marks an important stage in the relations of the British Government with the Bhonsla state of Nagpur. By this treaty (17th December 1803) Raghuji II (1788-1816) suffered serious loss in territory and prestige. His revenue was reduced and his government so weakened that he was always in dread of Pindari incursions which he was unable to meet. Loss of territory and revenue together with the growth of British influence at his court made Raghuji II dissatisfied with the British. War with Holkar still continued and the Bhonsla Raja was always exposed to the threats and blandishments of Jaswant Rao Holkar, Daulat Rao Sindhia and the Pindari Chief Amir Khan, to join the anti-British alliance in an endeavour to rejoin lost ground.

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The letters that passed between Elphinstone, British Resident at Nagpur, and Governors-General or other agents of the British Government from 1804-1808 refer to the dis-satisfaction of Raghuji II who was suspected of trying to undo the effects of the treaty of Deogaon.

Elphinstone reports in his letter dated the 27th August, 1804 to the Governor-General Wellesley that Amir Khan, the Pindari Chief, had moved his army to Chauragarh and that Holkar's success 'have excited general attention.' The common talk of the town and Darbar was that "the Raja is going to take advantage of this crisis and to make an effort to retrieve his affairs." There were "frequent and direct communications with Holkar's camp" facilitated, no doubt by the presence of Venkat Rao, Holkar's Vakeel, at Nagpur Court. The Raja's minister Jaswan Rao Ramchandra always asked Elphinstone "to inform him of the State of Hindostan". Elphinestone attributed this excitement to that described as "very exaggerated accounts of Holkar's success" and tried to impress upon Jaswant Rao Ramchandra with an idea that Holkar's success is entirely fortuitous and cannot be lasting".[1]

These exaggerated accounts of Holkar's success apparently refer to the debacle of Colonel Monson which encouraged the defeated Maratha powers to strike a blow at the British.

A few days after Elphinsone gave further details of the hostile trends at the Nagpur Court in a letter to Edmonstone, Secretary to the Government telling him about the correspondence between Raghuji II, Kesho Govind and Antaji Naik. Kesho Govind expressed his preparedness to "take Sambalpur and push on to Cuttack" as Sambalpur was unprotected. Antaji Naik informed Raghuji II that "not one European' was in Orissa, the British army having disembarked recently, he could recover the forts with the assistance of Hatty Raja. Raghuji II wrote to Antaji Naik that he should proceed to levy more troops, assemble the discontented zemindars and work secretly to avoid suspicion."[2]

In the meanwhile, Holkar and Mir Khan were busy trying to win over Raghuji II and Haibat Rao, Mir Khan's Vakeel, "was authorised to use both threats and promises to induce the Raja of Berar to declare himself and co-operate with Mir Khan in an attack on Nizam's territory."[3]

While not fully crediting this information, Elphinstone impressed upon Jaswant Rao the precarious condition and selfish conduct of Holkar. The Raja, he emphasised, "would risk the existence of his state" by "breaking with the British Government." The British power was unshakable and it was ready to face and "overcome the united force of all Hindostan and the Deccan."[4]

Elphinstone's suspicions were not laid at rest by repeated assurances of Raja's minister, rather they were strengthened by "increased activity of Raja's government since Sindhia's arrival at Hoshangabad and the last news from

1. Letter from M. Elphinstone to Lord Wellesley, dated 27th August, 1804.
2. Letter from M. Elphinstone to N. B. Edmonstone (with enclosures) dated 3rd September, 1804.
3. Letter from M. Elphinstone to Lord Wellesley, dated 21st Oct., 1804.
4. *Ibid.*

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Hindostan." Elphinstone felt convinced that the Raja was 'determined to unite himself with the enemy' and awaited instructions of the Governor-General regarding his conduct in the changed conditions. He was even prepared to tell Raghuji II that 'his (Raja's) destruction by the Army of the Deccan is inevitable, whatever may be Holkar's success in Hindostan," should the Raja take any precipitate steps.[5]

The situation remained surcharged with suspicion and Elphinstone's indication knew no bounds when Jaswant Rao informed him that Venkoji, brother of the Raja, was collecting troops in disregard of Raja's remonstrance. The Resident declared that ".....this.....was an end of peace between Raja's Government and the Company's." Thereafter Elphinstone called on Raghuji II in his Darbar and demanded that the force in a threatening position against the Nizam should be immediately disbanded. The Resident used strongest possible language against what he described as Raja's treachery and threatened him with dire consequences involving loss of "his capital, his whole country and every mark of dignity and command" and his reduction "to the condition of a common robber." Elphinstone further demanded that if he could not control his brother 'he must call in the English force for that purpose.' In any case, he demanded the disbandment of the army stationed in a weaning position towards Nizam's dominions and detain Venkoji at Nagpur, otherwise he would "consider him to have commenced hostilities" against the British Government. As a matter of fact Elphinstone took a most serious view of the hostile preparations at Nagpur, and as he informed the Governor-General, he was fully convinced that unless Raghuji II submitted to his demands he "must immediately quit his country....."[6]

After the foregoing conversation, Elphinstone was not quiet. Next day, he again interviewed the Raja and complained of the plunder of Nizam's territory by Raja's troops. Raghuji II admitted that the troops plundering Berar belonged to Venkoji and promised to punish him. Elphinstone, however, charged the Raja himself with violation of treaty of Deogaon and that under the circumstances "the English army must advance to punish this gross violation of faith and that I must quit this place without delay." Raghuji II tried, in vain, to pacify the Resident who demanded that the Raja should give evidence of his good faih 'by seizing his (Venkoji's) person and sequestrating his jagir.' Only on that condition Elphinstone consented to remain at Nagpur Court. Finally, Raghuji II submitted to Elphinstone's demands, including the dispersal of troops.[7]

Raghuji II seems to have been greatly perturbed by the threat of war and proposed departure of Elphinstone. So the next day *i.e.* on the 7th December 1804 Jaswant Rao Ramchandra and Jaikishan Rao, Raja's ministers, visited him late at night and assured him again of Raja's pacific conduct and informed him of the steps taken for dispersal and reduction of troops. At this interview Jaswant Rao asked Elphinstone "only for his own

5. Letter from M. Elphinstone to Lord Wellesley, dated 28th Oct., 1804.
6. Letter from M. Elphinstone to Lord Wellesley, dated 5th Dec., 1804.
7. Letter from M. Elphinstone to Lord Wellesley, dated 7th Dec., 1804.

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(Jaswant Rao's) private information whether your Excellency would agree that a British force should be stationed here." As we know, Raghuji II always resisted the imposition of a defensive subsidiary alliance ; but in this instance, perhaps, Jaswant Rao mentioned it so cautiously to show that the Raja's desire for peace was genuine. But Elphinstone refused to converse at this time "on such subjects" which could be referred to the Governor-General only after the Raja had disarmed.[8]

Elphinstone had postponed his departure but continued to harp upon it whenever he found that the Raja's efforts slackened towards fulfilment of conditions on which he had consented to stay. Finally, as he reported to Lord Wellesley in a letter dated the 29th December 1804 he felt convinced about Raja's pacific intentions when concrete steps were progressively intimated to him regarding disbandment of troops and withdrawal of the army from the Nizam's border. The Raja gave further evidence of friendship to the British by ordering a royal salute to be fired to signalise the British victory against Holkar at Deeg and by sending a party of his officers to congratulate Ephinstone publicly on "this signal triumph of British arms."[9]

From the reports of Elphinstone regarding recent events at Nagpur Court, the Governor-General decided that though Raghuji II had "entertained designs of an hostile nature against he British Government', his subsequent conduct showed a pacific disposition. On this subject N. B. Edmonstone communicated the orders of the Governor-General to Elphinstone that he should stay on at the Nagpur Court and impress on the Raja the friendly and favourable attitude of the British Government.[10] This letter further instructed the Resident to "countermand any suggestions or orders which may have been issued to the British troops for the occupation of any position of a menacing nature to the Raja's possession....."[11]

Further, while initiating a negotiation on question of compensating the Raja for loss of territories in Sambalpur and Patna, Elphinstone was instructed to combine the negotiations with an arrangement for establishing a Subsidiary force at Nagpur or any other station within the Raja's dominions."[12] The British Resident was instructed to so order his negotiations as to show that the subsidiary alliance was the result of Raja's solicitations and not one imposed by the British Government. But if the Raja showed hesitation or offered resistance the Resident was asked to insist upon it ".....on the ground of a saisfactory security against any future hostile designs on the part of the Raja of Berar."[13]

Nearly a fortnight after (18th January 1805) Elphinstone introduced the topic of subsidiary force in a conversation with Jaswant Rao and said that the former was prepared to discuss it. But Jaswant Rao replied that as Elphinstone "had declined receiving his proposals at the time the affair had been dropt and had not since been mentioned."[14] The Resident pursued this

8. Letter from M. Elphinstone to Lord Wellesley, dated 20th Dec., 1804.
9. Letter from M. Elphinstone to Lord Wellesley, dated 29th Dec., 1804.
10. Letter from Edmonstone to M. Elphinstone, dated 31st Dec., 1804.
11. *Ibid.* 12. *Ibid.* 13. *Ibid.*
14. Letter from M. Elphinstone to Lord Wellesley, dated 20th Jan., 1805.

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matter at some length and detailed to Raja's minister the manifold benefits of security, prosperity and prestige that will accrue to the Raja from such an arrangement. The Governor-General, Elphinstone said, was very liberally disposed towards the Raja and would oblige him with subsidiary force. The Resident requested Jaswant Rao to mention the proposal to the Raja and let him know the result.

Two days later (20th January 1805) Jaswant Rao visited Elphinstone and on enquiry told the Resident "that all that he had proposed on the 7th of December had originated with himself and had never been mentioned either to the Raja or to Shridhar Pandit....." Moreover, Jaswant Rao doubted if he himself had in mind the elaborate arrangements of a subsidiary alliance and "he had never meant more than that a Battalion or two like the Corps under Col. Lanj should remain on the frontier to intimidate any freebooters who might come into the neighbourhood."[15] On receiving this reply Elphinstne showed some surprise and even annoyance. He did not wish to create the impression of British keenness lest the Raja should be alarmed at their intentions, but said that failing the subsidiary alliance the Raja "would perhaps be able to discover some other mode of satisfying" the Governor-General as to his good faith and pacific conduct which had become suspected by his recent activities."[16]

In an interview with the Raja on 26th January 1805 Elphinstone again dwelt upon the benefits of a subsidiary alliance to the former but found the Raja totally unwilling. The Raja always said that he depended on the protection of the British Government. His talks with the Raja left Elphinstone to conclude that the Raja would not submit to the proposal 'except under a new pressure.'[17] In fact the Nagpur Court was totally opposed to any further growth of British influence and regarded "the Nizam as having sacrificed his independence" and Raghuji II was "very active in persuading the other Mahrattas to adhere to their ancient policy of their nation and to exclude the British from all interference in their affairs."[18]

The suspicion between the Nagpur Court and British Government continued and was reinforced by the arrival of the Vakeels of Sindhia and Holkar at Nagpur. Elphinstone reported to the Governor-General that 'the Vakeels of Sindhia and Holkar appear to be endeavouring by every means to persuade the Raja to give up the peace" by using "arguments and menaces of all sorts."[19]

The refusal of the Raja to join subsidiary alliance disappointed the Resident who was again disturbed by reports that Venkoji was levying troops and his confidential agent Govind Rao Tuttiah had proceeded to join Sindhia and Holkar. Elphinstone suspected that Raghuji II was in the know of his brother's movements and secretly desirous of his success. Raghuji II, Elphinstone reported to the Governor-General, was keeping himself "in

15. *Ibid.*
16. *Ibid.*
17. Letter from M. Elphinstone to Lord Wellesley, dated 30th Jan., 1805.
18. *Ibid.*
19. Letter from M Elphinstone to Lord Wellesley, dated 5th May, 1805.

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readiness to take advantage of any event unfavourable to us."[20] The Resident was also informed by Jaswant Rao Ramchandra about the arrival of Holkar's Vakeel at Nagpur.

In order to gather more information Elphinstone visited the Raja on the 10th July and enquired as to what transpired between Holkar's Vakeel and the Raja. The Raja informed Elphinstone that 'Holkar's Vakeel had brought pressing invitation' to him to join an anti-British alliance but that he had refused to do so and was on the side of the British Government.[21] But Elphinstone did not believe this and reported to the Governor-General about Raja's 'devotion to the common cause'. He suspected the Raja to have promised Sindhia and Holkar that 'if the confederates will move into the Deccan he will immediately declare for them and cooperate by an attack either on Berar or Cuttack."[22]

Raghuji II was in a difficult position. Due to the fear of British power he could not openly take the side of confederates ; at the same time he could not annoy them for fear of their invasion which he was unable to meet. The Raja had a mortal dread of accepting a subsidiary force. Elphinstone requested the Governor-General for orders whether he could offer British help to the Raja against the Confederates.[23]

In the meanwhile Lord Cornwallis became Governor-General and we find a decided change in the hectoring tone employed by the Resident against the Raja. Elphinstone was instructed by the new Governor-General to inspire confidence in the Bhonsla Raja and offer him British help against the Confederates if the British Government was not 'in amity with them.' But the essential policy of the British Government is contained in Edmonstone's despatch of the 13th September which says that "the Governor-General is not desirous of concluding general defensive arrangements with the Raja of Berar." In this way the question of imposing subsidiary on Nagpur kingdom was laid at rest for the time being.[24] At the same time the Resident was instructed to tell the Raja that the British Government entertained the most favourable sentiments towards him and that the Governor-General was "desirous of observing conciliatory conduct towards the Raja of Berar."[25]

Thus the forward policy of Wellesley had given place to the moderate and conciliatory policy of Cornwallis who was against enlarging British commitments. Raghuji's fears from possible invasion by Sindhia and Holkar did not abate. But the British Government flatly refused to interfere "in the pursuits and projects of other states."[26] Thus we find that the British policy of reducing the Nagpur State to a dependent status was postponed till after the death of Raghuji II in 1816, when it materiaised through the intrigue of Resident Jenkins and treachery of Appa Saheb.

20. Letter from M. Elphinstone to Lord Wellesley, dated 12th June, 1805.
21. Letter from M. Elphinstone to Lord Wellesley, dated 23rd July, 1805.
22. Letter from M. Elphinstone to Lord Wellesley, dated 12th Aug., 1805.
23. Letter from M. Elphinstone to Lord Wellesley, dated 17th Aug., 1805.
24. Letter fromN. B. Edmonstone to M. Elphinstone, dated 13th Sept., 1805.
25. *Ibid.*
26. Letter from Secretary to Government to M. Elphinstone, dated 5th Oct., 1806.

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BHOPAL DAY-TO-DAY DIARY (Sept. 1852—Dec. 1852)

K. SAJUN LAL

From my 75 pages typed Script of Bhopal Day-to-Day diary from December 1850 to December 1852, I am now placing an extract before scholars attending the Jaipur Session of the Indian History Congress.

This material is original and so far to the knowledge of the writer, no one has tapped it. Hence the writer feels that it will be of interest to scholars.

No book, nor Gazetteer on Bhopal, has given such details as the writer has placed before scholars. Neither, the *Tajul-Ikbal* by Nawab Shah Jahan Begum (translated into English by Barstow), nor, the *Gohur-i-Ikbal,* by Nawab Sultan Jahan throws light on the Day-to-Day diary of Bhopal.

The expression 'Mukhtar-i-Riyasat' stands for the regent Nawab Sikandar Jehan Begum, while 'Rais-i-Muazzama', means, heir to the throne of Bhopal, *i.e.,* Nawab Shah Jahan Begum, (daughter of Nawab Sikandar Jahan Begum).

EXTRACT

SEPTEMBER, 1852:

1st : The Begum Nawab Sikander Jahan is devoting all her time and energies to keep the bazars, streets of the city clean. She has issued orders to the sanitary officers and Adalat-i-Faujdari to spare no pains in keeping the city clean. She is also thinking of shifting the quarters of the Kakhrob, Chamar and cooly, to outside the city area where each class could remain in a mohalla or locality assigned to it.

Mian Faujdar Khan is suffering from fever for the last few days. May God give him health.

7th : The side-lights and echoes of the murder of Faqir Shah are as follows. Sometime back we have given an account of the murder. Now the Begum has suspended the guard of the city gate. The silver bangle found on the person of the accused is to be given to the relatives of the murdered boy. The price of the sword is to be given to the widow of Faqir Mahboob Shah.

9th : Kudsia Begum, (mother of Sikandar Begum), visited the Aaish Bagh with her palace-staff and ladies of Mizari Khel tribe etc.

In the night the Mukhtari-Riyasat Nawab Sikandar Jahan and Rais-i-Muazzama Nawab Shah Jahan Begum joined them in dinner.

17th : While the prisoners were demolishing an old house in Jehangirabad its roof gave away and burried a few of them.

Later news came to the effect that they are safe though slightly injured.

Those Villayatis (persons) who refused to purchase the house have been suspended and their two months' pay confiscated as penalty.

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SECTION VI

LOCAL HISTORY

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

DR. M. L. SHARMA

Brothers,

I am glad that the occasion of a Historical Congress at Jaipur has given us an opportunity to meet and deliberate on the history of Rajasthan. A systematic, political and cultural history of this State has not yet been written. Col. James Tod wrote *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* in the first half of the 18th century. It is a monumental work which he alone could write because his official duties took him several times from one state to another, and the Rajputana Princes, out of gratefulness for the sympathetic treatment he accorded them, gave him all possible facilities for his work. The annals are a pioneer work of great value. But they are full of inaccuracies and self contradictions. This is natural because Col. Tod was the first Historian of Rajputana and was writting at a time when the historical research had not made much advance and the materials to which he could get access had not been thoroughly digested and scrutinized. As the title of his work shows it was *annals* and not a systematic account of the march of events in this great province.

Dr. Gauri Shankar Ojha's work—*The History of Rajputana* in about 12 volumes—is a great advance on the *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*. Dr. Ojha was not only a historian but an epigraphist, iconographist and numismatician of great repute. His articles and papers on the various aspects of Rajasthan History are numerous and scholarly and throw a great deal of light on many historical topics. Dr. Ojha's achievement is indeed great and we should be deeply thankful to him for what he has done for the *cause* of history and more of *sources* of history. It is a mine of information on which a scholar can draw. His knowledge of inscriptions and coins of this State was wonderful and his works are based mostly on these sources.

Still, there are several sources which have not yet been scrutinized and explored, and several aspects of our history which have not yet been touched, Cultural, religious and literary facts are yet waiting to be examined and described by trained scholars. The Rajput School of Painting, the religious movements started and organised during the period of religious persecutions by Aurangzeb, the Mughal impact on the cultural and civilization of Rajputna, the Inter State Relations, the Maratha penetration and domination of this province, the development of modern administraive machinery in the last century—*these and several other topics*—have not yet been systematically studied. The *archives* of Rajputana have not yet been studied. The forts of Rajasthan have not yet been historically surveyed. The numerous battles have not yet been marked. The Khyats have not yet been collected and several other important and useful sources of history remain yet untapped.

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Let us hope that in the new political set up the importance and necessity of organising research in the History of Rajasthan would be understood and realised, and some arrangements will be made for carrying on research work, and opportunities and facilities would be afforded to scholars engaged in this pursuit.

SIROHI'S ALLEGIANCE TO JODHPUR

MM. PANDIT BISHESHWAR NATH REU

After the death of Maharaja Bijaysingh of Jodhpur in 1793 A.D. Maharaja Bhimsingh, one of his grandsons, succeeded him and the other named Mansingh took shelter in the fort of Jalore. In 1801 A.D. when the latter was hard pressed by Maharaja Bhimsingh, he proposed to send his family members to Sirohi[1] for some days. But Rao Vairsal II, the Chauhan ruler of Sirohi, who was afraid of the then Jodhpur Maharaja, did not consent to this proposal.

In 1803 A.D. Maharaja Bhimsingh died without leaving any male issue and Maharaja Mansingh, his uncle's son, ascended the throne of Jodhpur.

To avenge the refusal of his proposal mentioned above he, in 1804 A.D., sent an army under Muhta Gnanmal, etc. against Rao Vairsal. The Rao was obliged to flee towards Abu and Sirohi was taken possession of by the Jodhpur army. But as Rao Vairsal accepted the allegiance of the ruler of Jodhpur and executed a bond of pay Rs. 25001/- as indemnity, possession of Sirohi was handed over to him in 1805 A.D.

We give below the literal translation of the document, which will support the above facts and show the method of executing a bond in those times, in the Rajasthan.

TRANSLATION OF THE BOND

Rama is True

APPROVED

Written by Rao Vairsal. As Sirohi had been returned by the (Jodhpur) Darbar an unity had been restored among them both, he had accepted the following. If he went against it, it would be an act to go against *Saraneshvarji* (the God). His descendants would also abide by the same.

Rupees 25,001/- twenty five thousand and one had been settled, which should be paid on the arrival of the Kunvar (son of the Jodhpur ruler).[2] This money would be in Bhilvada currency, without any additional presents.

1. This is a state situated in the south of Marwar adjoining Jalore district.
2. Or son of the Sirohi ruler, who might have been taken as hostage.

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Kunvar Udayasingh (of Sirohi) would attend the (Jodhpur) court and remain in service there, as desired.

An elephant would be presented to Shri (Jodhpur) Darbar. The fort which had been built, would be dismantled and would not be maintained.

As regards the dispute of Kalandri, Buvada, etc. when Kunvar Udayasingh attended on the (Jodhpur) Darbar, his (Darbar's) decision (about them) would be taken as final and obeyed.

The Kunvar, with 50 horse, would always remain in attendance. Nothing would be done against it as he (the Rao) had bound himself by the oath of *Saraneshvarji* (Mahadeva). Dated *Magh Sudi* 3, 1862 *V.S.* (22nd January, 1806 A.D.).

Rao Vairsal agreed to it. The above written was correct. (*Sd.*) VAIRSAL.

Signed as *witness* by Ajabsingh Mansingh, Purohit Suratram, Pancholi Lalchand, Udaisingh Sindhal, Padamsingh. When K. Sujade Mahendrasingh .....was sent to Sirohi for settlement then witnessed and signed (*Sd.*) LALU.....

EXPANSION OF THE RATHOR STATE IN MARWAR

ANIL CHANDRA BANERJEE

In a article published in the *Proceedings* of the Patna session of this Congress I tried to reconstruct the story of the establishment of Rathor rule in Marwar and came to the following conclusions: (1) Siha died in 1273 A.D. without being able to establish a Rathor principality in Marwar. He ended his career as the loyal minister of the Brahmin ruler of Pali. (2) With the help of the political influence and, probably, wealth bequeathed by him his son Asthan occupied Khed and Idar and thus formed the nucleus of a small Rathor principality. (3) Asthan's son, Dhuhad, for whom the Tirsingharin inscription[1] gives the date V.5. 1366, occupied 140 villages and thereby increased the size and importance of that principality.

The history of the immediate successors of Dhuhad as given in the chronicles contains some obscure points which cannot be cleared satisfactorily until the discovery of fresh epigraphic evidence. As regards chronology, for instance, the Bithu[2] and Tirsingharin inscriptions provide two landmarks for the earlier period but no such unimpeachable evidence is available for the succeeding period. The chroniclers were interested merely in recording surviving traditions about heroic exploits and family feuds. They have not left for us any clear picture of the gradual expansion of the Rathor principality culminating in its emergence as a strong and consolidated State during the reign of Jodha.

That the chronicles, again, are not unanimous and preserve different

1. *Indian Antiquary*, 1911.
2. *Indian Antiquary*, 1911.

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traditions will be quite clear if we compare Tod's brief narrative[3] with the stories recorded by Pandits Ramkaran[4] and Reu.[5] As regards Dhuhad's sons and successors, Raipal, we have three exploits attributed to him in different chronicles. He is said to have taken temporary possession of Mandor from the Parihars of that place. If this is true, the long struggle for the possession of the first important capital of the Rathors begins here. Raipal's second exploit, we are told, was the annexation of Mahewa (now known as Mallani) after a single victory over the local Paramaras. Thirdly, he is said to have occupied 84 villages by killing a Bhatti chieftain named Pharara. There is no epigraphic evidence in support of any of these stories, but they are not improbable in themselves. In any case, the tradition that Raipal's 13 sons "rapidly spread" themselves "over these regions" seems to indicate that the Rathors were bringing large areas under their control. As many as ten branches of the Rathor clan traced their origin to Raipal's sons.

Raipal's eldest son and successor, Kanapal, whom Tod calls Kanhul, seems to have continued the feud with the Bhattis and, for the time being at least, it proved disastrous for the Rathors. Traditions says that Kanapal was killed in a battle with the Bhattis which took place on the bank of the river Kak. This tragic incident, however, had an important politcal consequence. That river became the boundary between the Rathor district of Khed and the Bhatti principality of Jaisalmer. Another important fact is also noted in some chronicles. The Bhattis were assisted by some unspecified Muslim allies, whom we may tentatively identify with the rulers or local chieftains of Sind. According to Pandit Reu, the Muslim chief concerned in this episode was the governor of Multan. It is possible that the Muslims of Sind did not like the rise of a strong and large State in Western Rajputana. They naturally tried to create obstacles for the Rathors by encouraging the jealousy of the Bhattis. Henceforth hostility with the Muslims of Sind became a regular feature of Rathor history.

The next Rathor ruler, Jalansi, was the second son of Kanapal. He does not seem to have made any permanent conquest, although he is said to have led expeditions against the Sodha Rajputs of Amarkot (in Sind), the Muslim governor of Multan, the ruler of Thatta, the Solankis of Bhinmal and a chieftain named Haji Malik of the Sarai Tribe whose stronghold was Palanpur. Apparently Jalansi's interest was concentrated on the west and he treated the Muslims as his principal enemy. Once again a Muslim-Bhatti alliance was formed and Jalansi was killed.

His eldest son and successor, Chhado, continued his father's policy and apparently wasted his resources in futile expeditions against his western neighbours. He is said to have defeated the Sodha Rajputs of Amarkot and the Bhattis of Jaisalmer and realised tribute from them. Obviously this tribute meant the victor's spoil rather than the suzerain's legitimate dues. Neither

3. *Annals of Marwar*, Chapter II.
4. *Sir Asutosh Silver Jubilee Volumes* (Calcutta University), Vol. III, Orientalia, Part 2.
5. *Glories of Marwar and the Glorious Rathors.*

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the Sodha Rajputs nor the Bhattis acknowledged Rather suzerainty. Chhado, we are told, was killed by the combined forces of the Sonagora and Devara Chauhans.

His eldest son and successor, Tido, is said to have "conquered the whole of Mahewa". If this statement of Pandit Ramkaran is correct, we must presume that the tradition attributing the conquest of that district to Raipal is incorrect, or that Mahewa had been lost to some enemy during the intervening period. Tido is also said to have defeated the Sonagara Chauhans of Bhinmal, taken possession of their town, obviously temporrarily, and realised tribute from them as well as from the Bhattis and the Solankis. According to Tod, "Chhado and Tido are mentioned as very troublesome neighbours in the annals of the Bhattis of Jaisalmer, who were compelled to carry the war against them into 'the land of Khed'. Rao Tido took the rich district of Bhinmal from the Sonagaras, and made other additions to his territory from the Devaras and the Balechas". It is doubtful whether these "additions to his territory" were really permanent "additions". Tido was probably a raider rather than a conqueror. He died in defending Siwana, which was then held by the Chauhans, against Muslim invaders.

What happened after Tido's unexpected death is not clear. The chronicles agree in saying that he had three sons, but there is no agreement in regard to seniority or succession. According to Tod, Tido was succeeded by Salkha. Pandit Reu seems to hold the same view, for according to him Tido was the eighth Rathor ruler and Salkha was the ninth. But he says at the same time that Kanhada (who is not mentioned by Tod) "succeeded his father", was "soon deprived of his territory by the Mohamedan army returning form Siwana," but "re-captured it and ruled there until his death". If this statement is true, it is difficult to understand why Pandit Reu does not include Kanhada in the order of succession. He says that after Kanhada's temporary overthrow by the Muslims Salkha "seized a part of Mahewa and established his rule there". Tribhuvanasi is not mentioned by Tod, but Pandit Ramkaran describes him as Tido's immediate successor. According to Pandit Reu, however, he was successor of Kanhada, but according to Pandit Ramkaran, Kanhada was Tribhuvansi's successor.

It is not posible to reconcile these conflicting traditions, but certain important points seem to emerge clearly. In the first place, the hostility with the Muslims in connection with the invasion of Siwana proved disastrous for the Rathors. The Muslims not only killed Tido and Salkha, but also occupied a large portion of Rathor territory. Secondly, Tido's successors did not offer a united front against the Muslims ; on the other hand, personal rivalry developed into a family feud and weakened the Rathor clan. This is clear from the uncertainty about the exact position of Tido's three sons. A far more serious indication of growing family dissensions is the tradition, which we have no reason to disbelieve, that Tribhuvansi was killed by Mallinath, Salkha's son, with the assistance of the Muslims of Jalor. It was indeed a bad day for the Rathors when one member of the ruling family invited Muslim assistance against another. Strangely enough, the degeneration of those dark

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days was idealised by later tradition. Pandit Ramkaran says: "He (Mallinath) is regarded as a saint and temple dedicated to him is now situated at Talawada on the Luni."

There are clear indications that during this period the Rathor State was passing through a process of disintegration. Salkha ruled in Mahewa and was succeeded there, according to Pandit Ramkaran, by Mallinath. According to Pandit Reu, however, Mallinath ruled at Khed which he had occupied from Tribhuvansi with the assistance of the Muslims. Pandit Rarkaran says that two other sons of Salkha, Jaitmal and Viram, ruled in Siwana and Khed respectively. Tod does not mention Mallinath and Jaitmal and treats Viram as the immediate successor of Salkha. Although we cannot be sure of details, it is easy to see that the Rathor State had been divided into three parts—Mahewa, Khed and Siwana—ruled by practically independent members of the royal family who were usually jealous of one another. The State had lost its integrity and the clan its unity.

From this dangerous position the Rathor State and clan were rescued by Viram's son Chunda. The circumstances leading to Viram's exile and Chunda's accession are obscure. But his victorious career began with the occupation of Mandor. According to Tod, "Collecting all the branches bearing the name of Rathor, Chunda assaulted Mandor, slew the Parihar prince, and planted the banners of Kanauj on the ancient capital of Maru". Pandit Reu, on the other hand, says that he "received Mandor in dowry in 1395A.D. form the Indas (a branch of the Parihars), who were not strong enough to hold it against the Mahomedans". Gradually he annexed Nagpur, Khatu, Didwana, Sambhara and Ajmer from the Muslims, Nadol from the Chauhans and Phalodhi from his own brother Jai Singh. The Sultanate of Delhi had lost its power and prestige, but the new-born Sultanate of Gujrat threatened the rising Rathor State. Although Chunda was not able to liquidate this new menace he put the Rathor State on firm foundations. It was no longer a State divided against itself. The period of Marwar's greatness had begun.

THE KALACHURI RELATIONS WITH BENGAL 9TH TO 11TH CENTURY A.D.

SHRIMATI PUSPA NIYOGI

The dominions of the PĀLAS and other rulers of Bengal were invaded by a number of foreign potentates in the 9th, 10th and 11th centuries A.D. The power of the Pālas began to decline from the 9th century A.D. until it was substantially revived by Mahīpāla I in the later part of the 10th and early part of the 11th century A.D. Foreign rulers who attacked the dominions of the Pālas and other Bengal rulers belonged to different dynasties namely the Chandellas, the Kalachuris, the Cholas and the later Chālukyas

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or Kalyān. With the decline of Pāla power various part of Bengal came under the control of other ruling families some of which had imperial pretensions. It was indeed a critical period in the history of Bengal, both externally and internally.

It apears that the Kalachuris were the first to attack Bengal during this period. The Āmoda Plates of Prithvīdeva of Ṭummana dated 1079 A.D.[1] mentions that Kokkalla raided the treasury of Vaṅga. According to Cunningham Kokkalla may be placed between 816-900 A.D.[2] There is another view which assigns him to the last quarter of the 9th century A.D. There is no definite information as to the political condition of Vaṅga during the time when Kokkalla may have led plundering expedition against that territory. There is, however, one inscription, namely the Chittagong C.P. of Mahārājādhirāja Kāntideva[3] which refers to his kingdom of Harikela. The Chinese traveller I-tsing refers to Harikela as marking the eastern limit of Eastern India. Generally Kāntideva is regarded as having been the ruler of a kingdom which included the region that later came under the control of the Chandra Kings of Vāṅgala. Kāntideva's inscription has generally been placed on paleographical grounds in the 9th century A.D. although Dr. Majumder points out that a few letters used in the record may require it to be placed in the 10th century A.D. It was probable that Kāntideva and his family were attempting to extend their power towards the west. Is Vardhamānapura included in his kingdom is to be identified with modern Burdwan in West Bengal? I venture to put forward the suggestion that it was Kāntideva's family which was attacked by Kokkalla. The attack could not have been more than a temporary raid, but if it is true that Kokkalla actually plundered the treasury of Vaṅga, it must have at least reduced the financial strength of the reigning family. It must have also created some political confusion—an unavoidable consequences of foreign invasion. The rise of the Chandra dynasty in East Bengal is to be attributed to a period not long after the time to which Kāntideva's inscription has been ascribed. It is not, therefore, improbable that Kokkalla's invasion produced a situation in Vaṅga ultimately proved favourable for the establishment of the Chandra dynasty in that territory.

It further appears that the Kalachuris had definite policy against Vaṅga-Vāṅgala. This is evidenced by the fact that not only Kokkalla but a subsequent ruler of the Kalachuri family is credited with achievements which included the bringing about of the political disintegration of Vāṅgala. The Goharwa Grant of Lakshmī-Karṇa mentions among other things that Lakshmanarāja (2nd and 3rd quarter of the 10th century) was *skilled* in causing the breakdown of Vāṅgala (*Vāṅgala-Vānga-nipuna*). There cannot be any doubt that during Lakshmanarāja's time the Chandras had already established their power in East Bengal. The expression "Vanga" which has been used in this inscription shows that Lakshmanarāja's skill was employed in des-

1. *E.I.*, Vol. 19, p. 75.
2. *A.S.R.*, Vol. IX, p. 103. There is a proposal to place him in the period *c.* 840-855 A.D. *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XVII, p. 117 ff.
3. *Modern Review* 1922, p. 612.
4. *E.I.*, Vol. XI, p. 142.

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troying the solidarity of the state engaged in unifying a territory which might have otherwise split up into a number of principalities. His attempt fairly succeeded in bringing about the intended disruption.

The history of the Chandras has many features which have not been satisfactorily explained. The opinion generally held is that the Chandras came from Rohtāsgarh in Bihār. But the suggestion made by N.K. Bhattasali that Rohitāgiri mentioned in the Rāmpāl C.P. of Śrīchandra as the original home of his family is to be identified with the neighbourhood of Lalmai hills in Tippera (East Bengal) has proved to be a reasonable guess in view of the discovery of an ancient site in this region during the World War II. The inscriptions of Śrīchandra give a line of rulers but its connection with neither Layahachandra of the Bharella Nartheśvara image Ins., Tippera[5] nor Govindachandra of the Tirumalai inscription has yet been ascertained. Nor do we know definitely whether Layahachandra and Govindachandra were connected by any family tie. It is clear, however, that these Chandra rulers were more or less connected with an identieal territory. Govindachandra flourished in the first quarter of the 11th century A.D. The exact date of Layahachandra cannot be fixed, but he has been tentatively assigned to the period 900—1000 A.D. Śrīchandra's line may have come to close towards the end of the 10th century A.D. It has been suggested that his power may have met with a sudden collapse.[6] It may be presumed that the net result of Lakshmanarāja's attack on Vāṅgala was the blow it gave to the power of Śrīchandra's family which had effected political unification of Vāṅgala. If this suggestion *is* accepted some information regarding the ancestry of Govinda will be available. Govindachandra was alive in 1021 A.D. when the army of Rajendra Chola attacked his dominion Vāṅgala-deśa. On the basis of old Bengali ballads it has been sugested that Govindachandra's father was king Mānickachandra. After the fall of Śrīchandra's family which may have been hastened by Lakshmanarāja's expedition the family of Govindachandra may have risen to to power. We have seen that Layahachandra may also be placed in this period, thus the fall of Śrīchandra or his line seems to have been followed by the rise of two lines of rulers, the one represented by Govindachandra and the other by Layahachandra. Govindachandra may have removed his rival subsequently as he was the only ruler of Vāṅgala-deśa when the Chola army invaded it.

The reason why the attention of certain contemporary rulers fell upon Vāṅgala was not merely that the Chandras were a growing power but also that there was possibly a potential danger from the eastern frontier of India in this period. Evidence of certain Chandras reigning in Arakan has been found[7] and the relations between Paṭṭikerā in Tippera and Burma got complicated in the 11th century A.D.[8] It may be quite possible that the Kalachuris were conscious of a potential danger and they may have tried in their

5. *E.I.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 353-55.
6. N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 11.
7. B. C. Sen, *Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal*, p. 374.
8. R. C. Majumdar, *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 258.

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own way to show that there was a strong power capable of checking any advance from the Eastern side.

The Kalachuris could not check the ardour of the Chandras of Vāṅgala or Govindachandra seems to have extended his power to areas which were not known to have been comprised in the kingdom of Śrīchandra's family.

The Varman dynasty which was established in Bengal in close succession to the Chandras appears to have worked in alliance with the Kalachuris. It may be noted in this connection that there is a good deal of similarity between the accounts of the legendary origin of the Yādava-Varman rulers of Bengal and that of the Kalachuris. The reading of Aṅga in the Belova C.P. of Bhojavarman of the Yādava family though doubted by some scholars[9] has been generally accepted as correct. Gāṅgeyadeva, the father of Lakshmi Karṇa, according to the latter's Goharwa Plate defeated the ruler of Aṅga. The Piawan rock inscription shows that he was already on the throne in 1038 A.D.[10] It is not known who was the king of Aṅga claimed to have been defeated by Gāṅgeyadeva. Aṅga had been attacked by the Chandella King Dhaṅga some time between 954 & 1002 A.D. It is to be noticed that neither Kokkalla nor Lakshmanarāja is known to have made any attempt to attack the western part of Bengal.[11] Attempts were now made by the Kalachuris to establish their sway in different parts of Bihar (Aṅga, Mithila) and Benares as available evidence regarding Gāṅgeya's career will show. After the defeat of the Aṅga king Jatavarman may have been installed as its ruler by Gāṅgeyadeva. The suggestion that Karṇa may have been responsible for the end of Chandra rule in East Bengal does not appear to be probable. There is no conclusive evidence to show that the Chandras reigned in Vāṅgala-deśa up to at last 1041 A.D. when Karṇa appears to have ascended the throne. Dated inscriptions of Govindachandra have been found, but as we do not know the date of his accession, we are not in a position to assert that the date contained in these inscription must be assigned to the period following the Choḷa invasion in about 1021 A.D. In view of this uncertainty it may not be reasonable to hold that the Chandra Dynasty reigned at least for about twenty years after the Choḷa attack to have been finally overthrown by Karṇa. It cannot be asserted on the insufficient evidence of the Rewa inscription[12] which does not specify the eastern region whose ruler may have dealt with by Karṇa or that reference is to be supplied by his alleged operations against Vāṅga-Vāṅgala. The Bherghat inscription,[13] says that a king of Vaṅga trembled before him. This need not be regarded as indicating any decisive military engagement. If the Vaṇga king was really killed by Karṇa,

9. B. C. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 409.
10. H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II, p. 772; *A.S.R.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 112-113.
11. Lakshmanarāja's father Yuvarāja I is said to have made himself with the women of Gauḍa, *E.I.*, Vol. II, p. 307. It has been suggested (H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II, p. 760) that the Gauḍa King who may have been attacked by Yuvarāja was probably Gopāla II. But the above mentioned statement regarding the Kalachuri does not definitely prove any military victory or engagement on his part.
12. *E.I.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 112.
13. *E.I.*, Vol. II, p. 11.

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there is no reason why it should not have been explicitly stated in the Bheraghat inscription. In these circumstances it will be reasonable to hold that it was Jātavarman whose sway extended from Aṅga to Kāmarūpa was able to include the territory of Vaṅga in his dominion at a date nearer to the time of the Choḷa invasion than to 1041 A.D. when Karṇa succeeded his father Gāṅgeyadeva. His marriage with a daughter of Karṇa shows that he was not an enemy of the latter and as this has been mentioned in panegeyrical style in the Belova inscription of the Yādavas it may be inferred that he was proud of this connection. About such a ruler the statement that he was afraid of the power of Karṇa as made in the Bheraghat inscription may not be regarded as very exaggerated.

ZALIM SINGH AND THE MARATHAS FROM 1761 TO 1818

Miss R. P. Shastri

Rajrana Zalim Singh was the most prominent figure in the latter half of the 18th century and the first two decades of the nineteenth. There was hardly an important event in history of Rajputana during this period with which he was not directly or indirectly connected. But the most important role played by him was his dealings with the Marathas in respect of the states of Kota and Mewar. Zalim Singh's ancesters from Madan Singh to Himat Singh had weilded great influence in Kota from Maharao Ram Singh to Maharao Kishore Singh and all of them except Madan Singh had held the then most important office of Faujdar who in power and influence was an officer next only to the ruler.

Zalim Singh came to prominence first in the year 1761 when he was chosen by the ruler of Kota as a Commander of the State Forces which were sent against the forces of Jaipur to fight the fateful battle in the field of Bhatwara.

Born in the year 1740 and adopted by his uncle as a son Zalim Singh was a youngman of only twenty one years, when this important task was entrusted to him. He had to fight against the state of Jaipur which in power and influence was four times higher than the state of Kota and whose methods of fighting were unscrupulous. He commanded the forces with remarkable sagacity and dash and won laurals against heavy odds. The reception which the Kota ruler accorded to this young victor at the capital, heightened his prestige immensely and his name became renowned in the adjoining states of Bundi, Jaipur, Udaipur. etc.

It was in 1761 before the conflict of Bhatwara took place that Zalim Singh came in actual contact with Malhar Rao Holkar. Both Kota and Jaipur sought the assistance of Holkar who exhausted and exhaspirated had left the battle of Panipat and was not in a mood to participate in any fighting.

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He, therefore, watched the battle of Bhatwara from a distance and must have appreciated the dash and valour exhibited by young Zalim Singh! This was the heightening of Zalim Singh's political relations with three generations of the house of Holkar beginning with Molhar Rao Holkar. His ancestors had negotiated with the Marathas and have saved Kota from their depredations as early as 1735. Kota came in first contact with the Marathas when several Rajput princes including Kota headed by Khan Dauran tried to resist the further expansion of Marathas near Rampura.[1] The Rajput princes had to purchase peace by an agreement effected at Kota in the early summer of 1735, according to which they paid tweny-two lacs of rupees in cash. The local tradition says that Baji Rao for his first dash in Delhi in 1736[2] entered the Mukandara pass and passed through the Kota territory. During his march the ruler of Kota supplied him rations in return for which Baji Rao seized the fort of Nahargarh and presented it to the Kota ruler.[3] In Baji Rao's letter to his brother written from Jaipur on the 5th April, 1737 quoted by Sardesai there is no mention of this event probably because it was too minor an affair to be mentioned.

In 1739 took place general massacre of Delhi by Nadir Shah and the prestige of the Mughal emperor practically disappeared ; but even after this Kota continued formal political relations with the Mughal emperor. However in about 1742 a Maratha Vakil was functioning in Kota and tribute had begun to be collected from the state though we do not definitely know the amount.[4] Thus Zalim Singh was born when Kota had become a feudatory state of the Marathas. Its boundary touched the two important Maratha states—Gwalior and Indore.

During his boyhood Zalim Singh must have witnessed several Maratha raids, depredations, political manoeuvrings, and negotiations with them, and must have imperceptively imbibed the intriguing spirit of the period. Thus nurtured and brought up in what we may call unorganized university of polical plots and machinations, Zalim Singh, though untaught and untutored, became not only a sagacious general but an astute politician second to none in Rajputana and Central India. His remarkable victory at Bhatwara put him on a pedastal from where he could now survey the political situation in his province and use it to his own advantage.

Kota had begun to feel the brunt of the Maratha invasion in about 1761. Soon after 1761 Zalim Singh agreed to pay to Malhar Rao Holkar Rs. 1,52,280/- and in the course of next two years he had again to be bought off thrice[5] by paying him a sum of Rs. 51,000/-, again an amount of Rs. 13,757 and yet

1. वंश भास्कर भाग २३२७-२८ ; ओझा राजपूताने का इतिहास भाग ३, पृ० ९३९ ; वीरविनोद

2. *Kota Archives*, s. 1793.
3. Tod, *Rajasthan*, 2. 559.
4. Shindeshahi, *Itibasachin Sadhana*, Introduction.
5. Selections from Peshwas Daftar 13, No. 27 ; वंश भास्कर Vol. IV, p. 3104 J. G. Daff, *A History of the Marathas*, Vol. I, p. 426.

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again an amount of Rs. 35,558.[6] The fear of the Maratha invasions continued to increase and for the purpose of defence Zalim Singh built a strong wall round the city of Kota at enormous cost. Between 1761 and 1764 he sent his representatives to meet and negotiate with Kedarji Scindia, and Mahadaji Scindia when they were carrying on their plunder in Marwar and Jaipur.[7] In the following year the representatives were sent for the same purpose to the border of Kota State touching Gwalior where Scindia was then encamped.[8]

Maharao Shatrushal expired in 1764 and was succeeded by his brother Guman Singh. The Marathas continued to harass the Kota State and Zalim Singh alone could negotiate with them successfully but differences arose between him and the new ruler of Kota and Zalim had to seek fortune in Mewar where Maharana Ari Singh was in great difficulty created partly by the Maratha depredations and partly by the local factions.[9] Zalim Singh was readily taken in service and served his new master with remarkable loyalty and in the battle on the banks of river Kshipra near Ujjain, while fighting with the Marathas on behalf of Mewar was wounded and captured in 1769 and was ransomed by a Maratha friend Inglia by paying an amount of sixty thousand of rupees[10] Maharao Guman Singh soon realized that Zalim Singh was indispensable. The pressure of the Marathas was ceaselessly increasing. They besieged the fortlets of Kota, took the fort of Bakani notwithstanding its heroic defence and then invested the fort of Suket which also was recapitulated though the garrison faught gallantly. Maharao Guman Singh now started negotiations with the Maratha invaders and simultaneously sent Lalaji Balal to Mewar to persuade Zalim Singh to return to Kota which the latter readily did.[11] On his return he patched up a treaty with the Marathas and saved Kota fro mfurther rapacity.[12]

Guman Singth died in 1770 and was succeeded by his 12 year old son Umed Singh who ruled for half a century. During this period Zalim Singh was the *defacto* ruler of Kota and Umed Singh was only a titular chief.[13]

An agreement had been reached in 1768 regarding the *mamlat* which Maharao Guman Singh had to pay to Tukoji Holkar for the years 1761 to 1768. A lump sum of eleven lacs of rupees was to be paid to Holkar. The amount included an indemnity of three lacs and eleven thousand for the resistance offered by Kota at Suket and Bakani. Another agreement was made by Zalim Singh in 1769 between Holkar and Scindia on one hand and

6. *Kota Archives*, s. 1818.
7. *Kota Archives*, s. 1818.
8. *Kota Archives*, s. 1822.
9. वीरविनोद
10. *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, pt. I, p. 500. वंश भास्कर—३७३०-४९ वीरविनोद—१५४६-५८
11. वीरविनोद १४१९
12. वीरविनोद ; *Kota Archives ;* Phadke
13. *Kota Archives*, s. 1827 ; Tod, part II, p. 569.

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Zalim Singh on the other. According to this Kota had to pay a sum of Rs. 15,57,340/- to Holkar, Scindhia and Pawar as follows:—

Holkar	...	...	Six lacs of rupees.
Sceindhia	...	...	Do.
Pawar	...	...	the rest i.e. Rs. 3,57,340/-[14]

Zalim Singh considered the indemnity imposed too heavy and unbearable and claimed reduction on the plea that the Maratha forces by entering the Kota territory had caused damages amounting to two lacs and fifty thousand which amount should be deducted from the sum as agreed to be paid according to the agreement. Holkar and Scindhia both agreed to this but the demand of Marathas for money was ceaseless with their accounts most complicated.

Lalaji Balal, the Maratha Vakil, stationed at Kota was given a Jagir in Urmal pargana and Mondola with the income of Rs. 7000/- in Barana pargana by the Maharao. Holkar's *dewan* Nanaji held Julami as Jagir of which the income was Rs. 1000 and his other *dewan* Shankaraji held Ratawod and Rampura as Jagirs. Several other Marathas were also Jagirdars of Kota.[15] These Maratha Jagirdars were a great help to Zalim Singh in political work. They enjoyed the same rather greater respect and honour in the State than the Rajput Jagirdars. On the birthday of the ruler and other important festivals they were presented serapous and valuable presents.[16] No bhaint, begar, jjamadari and nyota etc. were charged from these jagirs of the Marathas. These Maratha Jagirdars at times served the Kota state. Tantya several times commnded the army sent against Sheopur, Indragar, Karwad and Khatoli.[17] Their importance decreased after the downfall of the Maratha power. The value of the Jagirs used to be deducted from the tribute payable to the Maratha chiefs. In 1782 as many as 71 villages were held by 39 Maratha Jagirdars. The total value of these Jagirs was one lac and twenty eight thousand of rupees.

The payment of tribute brought no immunity to Zalim Singh from the Maratha attacks. In the year 1777 Jivaji Appa threatened to enter and ravage the Kota territory but Zalim Singh succeeded in persuading him to turn back. Zalim Singh dealt with Scindhia and Holkar with great tactfulness and used most fullsome flattery in his letters to them. When Jivaji Appa succeeded his father, Zalim Singh sent presents to him consisting of an elephant, horses and valuable ornaments and cloths.[18]

Zalim Singh had to deal not only with Scindhia and Holkar but with several other Maratha free booters who used to hover about on entire Kota territory. They had either to be beaten off or bought off. Prominent among them were Narhar Rao Pandit and Khanderao.[19]

The tribute payable to the Marathas was distributed first among Scindhia,

14. अनुखदान; Tod, Part II, p. 568. Phaeke-Shindeshani, *Itibasachin Sadhana* letters 75, 76 and 77.
15. *Kota Archives.*
16. *Kota Archives,* S. 1838.
17. *Kota Archives,* S. 1833, 1812.
18. *Kota Archives.*
19. *Kota Archives,* S. 1834.

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Holkar and Pawar, later among Scindhia, Holkar and two Pawars and still later among Scindhia, Holkar and three Pawars and later on still Pēshwa and Ram Chandra were added to the list.

Kota had become the tributary state of the Marathas and Zalim Singh was under their heals but he was considered by them a chief of great importance and they all tried to maintain good relations with him.

In 1774 Regunath Baji Rao wrote to him a very flattering latter couched in most polite language and requested him for military air.[20] In 1893 Zalim came in first contact with the British when he lent troops to Col. Monsson who was marching via Kota through Mukandara pass to Malwa to resist the advance of Holkar. The Kota troops suffered heavily and their commander was killed along with Lt. Lucor while dtefending the retreat of Monsoon. To punish for the military aid rendered to the British, Holkar invaded Kota and reached the capital but he was persuaded to meet Zalim Singh personally. The meeting was friendly, cordial but Holkar demanded 10 lacs of rupees as fine, of which three lacs had to be paid immediately. This was the last payment made by Zalim Singh to any Marathas, who now began to decline ; but Zalim Singh apparently maintained friendly relations with him till 1813.

Malhar Rao Holkar addressed a letter to him requesting him to render troops to his son Parshuram in capturing the fort of Rampura but Zalim Singh now knew that the Maratha power was now waning. He, therefore, sent troops to keep Mewar and to expell the Marathas. The combined forces of the two states recaptured Neemahera, Nikump and Jeerun from the Marathas and inflicted a crushing defeat to them at Jawat. In the last Maratha war of 1812 Zalim Singh sided with the British and in 1817 he accepted the British alliance.

NEW LIGHT ON THE CHĀHAMĀNA HISTORY

U. C. Bhattacharya

During my annual exploratory tours as Curator, Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, I found out a few interesting and hitherto unknown inscriptions of the time of the Chāhamāna kings of Ajmer and the present note is intended to explain the importance of one such stone inscription as throwing new light on the Chāhamāna History and Chronology. The inscription in question is on a black stone slab measuring $16\frac{1}{8}'' \times 8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 1''$ and has 13 lines of neat and clean writing, each line being broken at the end. It was discovered at a village called Bārlā in the State of Ajmer situated about 7 miles to the east of Ajmer city. At present it is on exhibition in the Inscription Section of the Rajputana Museum under No. 1067.

The purpose of this epigraph was to record the construction of a Vāpī (वापी) during the reign of Prithvīrāja III of the Chāhamāna dynasty. As

20. *Kota Archives*, S. 1841.
21. *Kota Archives*, S. 1834.
22. Letter of S. 1831.

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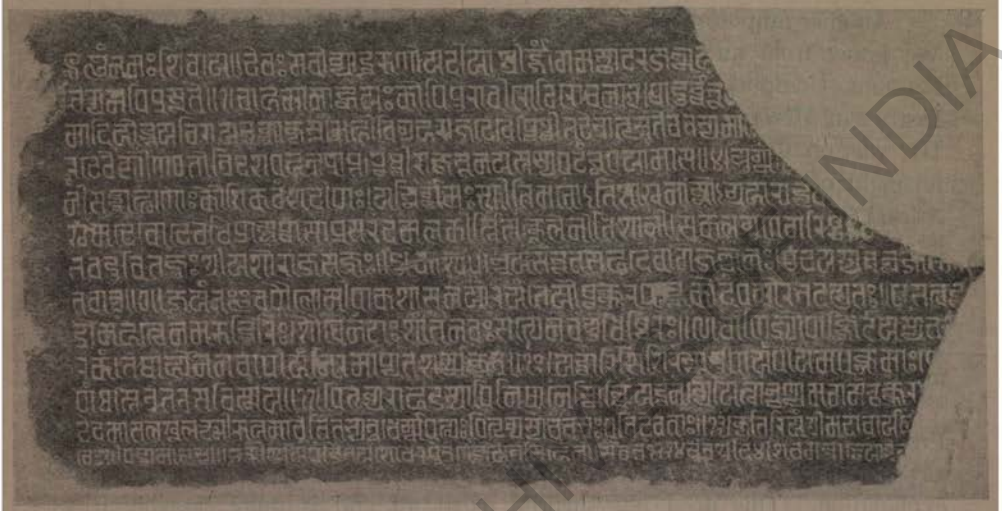
the date is given quite distinctly in the 13th line as "Samvat 1234 Chaitra Sudi 4 (संवत् १२३४ चैत्र सुदि ४) *i.e.* the fourth day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra Samvat 1234 (*vide* photograph of inscription), I shall try to show in this paper that this epigraph is really the earliest known inscription of the reign of Prithvīrāja III of the Chāhamāna dynasty.



In the inscription under consideration verses 2-4 are devoted to the genealogy of the Imperial Chāhamānas. It starts with Chāhamāna who is called a hero of yore springing from Virochana चाहमाना हृदय कोपि पुरा वीर विरोचमात्. After the mention of Chāhamāna in 2nd line from whom the Chāhamāna dynasty apparently had its name, there is a break in the inscription. Thereafter in the third line we come across the name of Vigraharāja-deva. His brother's son named Prithvībhata is referred to next. It is a well known fact of history that sometime after the reign of Vigraharāja IV (1153-64) A.D., his brother's son Prithvībhata (Prithvīrāja II) ruled over the Chāhamāna kingdom. The portion of the inscription containing the name of the next Chāhamāna King has been broken but fortunately the fourth line begns with *radeva* रादव which clearly indicates that the name Someśvara-deva who came to the Chāhamāna throne just after Prithvībhata or Prithvīrāja II was really meant. He was followed by his son Prithvīrāja i.e. Prithvīrāja III during whose time the inscription discovered from Bārlā dated Saṁvat 1234 is assignable.

For the reign of Prithvīrāja III there are already the folllowing important inscriptons ranging in date from Saṁvat 1236 to Saṁvat 1245.

(*a*) Lohāri (now at Udaipur Museum) stone inscription dated Saṁvat 1236 Āshāḍha-Vadi 12 (*vide* No. 391 of *Bhandarkar's List of Inscriptions of Northern India.*)

(*b*) Bājṭa (Ajmer District) Gaṇeśa image inscription of the time of Pithimadeva dated Saṁat 1245 (Prithvīrāja III according to Dr. G.H. Ojha,

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vide page 2, Item No. B (1) of the *Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum*, Ajmer, for the year 1911-12).

The discovery of this inscription from Bārlā proves beyond doubt that Prithvīrāja was even reigning on the fourth day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra Saṁvat 1234 i.e. even about two years earlier than the date recorded in the Lohāri stone inscription dated Saṁvat 1236 Āshāḍha-vadi 12.

Another important point should be specially noted in this connection. We know from an inscription (at present on display in the Victoria Hall Museum, Udaipur) engraved on a Sati pillar from Ānvaldā (in the Jahazpur District of Mewar) that Maharājadhiraja Someśvara, the father of Prithvīrāja III, was on the Chāhamāna throne on Friday, the fourth day of the bright fortnight of Bhādra Saṁvat 1234 (*Saṁvat 1234 Bhādra Sudi 4 Sukra-dine*). Atleast in the present state of our knowledge of the Chāhamāna history there is absolutely no date available which may lead us to the conclusion that the father and the son were both reigning in Saṁvat 1234 conjointly. On the other hand we know on the authority of the Prithvīrāja-vijaya that when Someśvara died his eldest son Prithvīrāja III was still a minor and Queen mother Karupuradevi acted as a regent (*vide J.R.A.S.*, 1913, page 277).

Now the mention of Chaitra Sudi 4 as regnal date for the son (i.e. Prithvīrāja III) and Bhadra Sudi 4 Sukra-dine of the same year (i.e. Saṁvat 1234) as regnal date for the father (i.e. Someśvara) requires a special explanation. This need not surprise us at all and is quite possible if we simply remember that in many parts of Rajasthan it is well known that the year starts from *Srāvana* (*Srāvanādi*). Thus if it be taken that Saṁvat 1234 started from the month of Srāvana, the above noted difficulty disappears. In that case the Ānvaldā inscription dated Saṁvat 1234 "Bhadra Sudi 4 Sukra-dine" may be regarded as the last known inscription of the Chāhamāna monarch Someśvara whereas Bārlā stone inscription dated "Chaitra Sudi 4" as the earliest known epigraph of the time of his son Prithvīrāja III. Thus the *inter-Megnum* between Someśvara and his son and successor Prithvīrāja III narrows down to just seven months only from about two years and three and a half months. Indeed the discovery of the epigraph under consideration proves beyond doubt that Someśvara's reign ended before the "fourth day of the bright fortnight of the month of Chaitra, Saṁvat 1234" and not some time before the 12th day of the dark fortnight of the month of Ashādha Saṁvat 1236 as was generally held by all historians (*vide* page 1082 ff. of the *Dynastic History of Northern India* by H. C. Roy) prior to the discovery of this hitherto unknown epigraph of the Chāhamāna period. The Bārlā inscription can thus be taken as the earliest known record of the time of Prithvīrāja III whose reign started some time after "Friday of the bright fortnight of Bhādra Saṁbat 1234 and surely beore the fourth day of the bright half of the month of Chaitra, Saṁvat 1234. The date of Prithvīrāja's succession to the Chāhamāna throne is thus pushed back to more than two years and should be rightly looked for within the period of about seven months beginning from the date of the Ānvaldā inscription i.e. "Saṁvat 1234 Bhadra Sudi 4 Sukra-dine" (सम्वत् १२३४ भाद्र सुदि ४ शुक्र दिने)।

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KĀNHAḌADEVA CHAUHĀN

DASHARATHA SHARMA

Rājasthān is the cradle of heroes, of peoples, races and individuals who have fought and laid down their lives for the freedom of their country and preservation of its culture. Its "poet-king" Bīsaladeva prided himself on having freed the land from aliens and turned Northern India once again into a real Āryāvarta, the sacred land of the Āryas from times immemorial.[1] Pṛithvīrāja III died fighting for his country. His proud descendant, Hammīra of Raṇthambor, preferred death to violation of the sacred laws of hospitality and sanctuary ; and perhaps no less high and envied is the place occupied in the *niche* of glory by Kānhaḍadeva Chauhān of Jālor with whose life we deal in this paper.

About V. 1253 (1296 A.D.) Kānhaḍadeva became associated with his father, Sāmantasiṁha (V. 1339-1362) in the government of Jālor. And this was high time too ; for never has Indian culture perhaps stood in greater peril than during the years 1296-1316 A.D. Five years earlie, in V. 1348, even the weak-kneed Firūz Khaljī had advanced as far as Sānchor, an important city of the kingdom of Jālor, and retired only on Sārangadeva Paghela's rushing to the aid of his neighbour.[2] In V. 1353 the ruler on the throne of Delhi was Alāu-d-dīn Khaljī, perhaps the greatest of the Sultāns of Delhi, whose avowed ambition was to end all Hindu principalities and kingdoms, and who perhaps wished also to reduce all his Hindu subjects to a state of *abject* servility.[3] Sāmantasiṁha of Jālor, obviously, was not the man gifted or fit enough to fight against such a redoubtable adversary. It was good that he realized his own limitations, and acting perhaps on the advice of his people[4] put, from V. 1353 onwards, the real direction of the affairs of the state into the hands of Kānhaḍadeva, then perhaps a young man of twenty-five years or so.

Kānhaḍadeva had not to wait long for a chance to prove his mettle. In the third year of his reign, i.e. 1298 A.D., Alāu-d-dīn decided to conquer Gujrāt and destroy the temple of Somanātha. As the best route for his army lay through Jālor, he despatched a robe of honour to Kānhaḍadeva and desired that he should permit the Khaljī forces to pass through his territory. Worldly wisdom dictated instant submission to the order. But to the brave Kānhaḍadeva *svadharma* mattered more than worldly pleasures, or a kingdom or even own life. He therefore sent back the blunt answer, "Your army would, on its way, sack villages and towns, molest women, oppress Brāhmans

1. See his *Delhi Siwalik Inscription of V. 1220,* verse 1.
2. *Vividhatīrthakalpa,* Singhī Jain Granthamāla, p. 30.
3. Barni's *Tārīkh-i-Firoz Shāhī, Elliot and Dowson,* Vol. III, pp. 171 and 183.
4. *Kānhaḍade Prabandha* shows that all the important decisions of Jālor government emanated from the King-in-Council.

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and slay cows. This being against our *dharma,* we cannot accede to your request."[5]

Alāu-d-dīn took no immediate steps against Jālor. The Khaljī army commanded by Ulūgh Khān and Nusrat Khān passed instead through Mewāṛ.[6] It soon conquered the whole of Gujrāt and destroyed the temple of Somanātha, inspite of the opposition offered by Jeṭhavā, Valā, Bājā, and Chūḍā-sāmā Rājpūts.[7] And then on the way back to Delhi, Ulūgh Khān, either on his own initiative or acting on instructions given beforehand by Alāu-d-dīn, decided to punish Kānhaḍadeva for the affront to Khaljī authority. He marched unpermitted through Jālor territory, daring Kānhaḍadeva to do what he could.[8] Kānhaḍadeva accepted the challenge.

Nor did this decision prove inopportune. The huge spoils of Gujarāt had whetted still further the greed of the Khaljī commanders. Not satisfied with the returns of the loot submitted by their soldiers, they tried to take away from them all gold, jewels and valuables by means of kicks, blows and various tortures. These drove the men to desperation.[9] Neo-Moslems specially resented this behaviour ; no bonds of hereditary loyalty or even hereditary religion bound them to the throne of Delhi. So when Kānhaḍadeva's general, Jait Devaḍā, led a night-attack on the Khaljī army encamped at Sakarāṇā, a village nearly 18 miles from Jālor, -they joined the raiders readily enough. It is even likely that the two parties might have settled the details of the attack beforehand. Nusrat Khān's brother, Malik Aizu-d-dīn and a nephew of Alāu-d-dīn were slain. Ulūgh Khān barely escaped with his life. Probably some of the Gujarāt spoils also fell into the hands of Kānhaḍadeva's Rājpūts. But what they themselves valued most was the rescue of an idol of Somanātha which was being carried to Delhi "to be troden under the feet of the faithful".[9a] Kānhaḍadeva had its five fragments installed respectively at Prabhāsa, Bāgaḍa, Ābū, Jālor and his own garden in the last of these localities. This rescue of Somanātha forms in the popular mind Kānhaḍadeva's greatest title to greateness.[10]

5. *Kānhaḍade Prabandha,* Book I, vv. 30-33.
6. *Ibid.,* verse 50. Samarasiṁha was, at the time, the ruler of Mewār. The same fact is mentioned also by the *Vividhatīrthakalpa,* p. 30.
7. *Kānhaḍade Prabandha,* Book I, vv. 57-96.
8. *Ibid.,* v. 115.
9. *Tārīkh-i-Firoz Shāhi, Elliot and Dowson,* Vol. III, p. 164.
9a. *Ibid.,* Vol. III, p. 163. See also the *Vividhatīrthakalpa,* p. 130 and *Kānhaḍade Prabandha,* Vol. I, v. 98.
10. *Kānhaḍade Prabandha,* Vol. I, vv. 252-4. *Nainsī's Khyāt,* Nagarī Prachāriṇī Sabhā edition, Vol. I, p. 159. It must be mentioned that Muslim histories do not speak of the Rājpūt raid. They ascribe the death of Aizu-d-dīn etc. merely to the neo-Moslem mutiny *near Jālor.* Padmanābha, on the other hand, describes only the Rājpūt raid on the returning Muslim army, though the place of Ulūgh Khān's unexpected discomfiture is the same, *i.e.* Sirāna ,a village near Jālor. Nainsi, though a later writer, gives us, in my opinion, the right version by saying that in their night-raid on the Muslim Camp, Kānhaḍade's Rājpūts were assisted by the neo-Moslem leaders, Muhammad Shāh and his brothers. He speaks also of their beings at the court of Kānhaḍadeva for some time after the raid, before they went away to Hammīra of Raṇthambhor. Barni merely states in this connection that the *'amīrs* and horsemen of the Neo-Moslem dispersed ; *"those who had taken the leading part in the disturbance fled, and went to join the Rāis and rebels."* The nearest Rāi and rebel, obviously, was Kānhaḍadeva of Jālor.

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For nearly five years Alāu-d-dīn slept over this insult to his authority, as far as the Rājpūts were concerned.[10a] Perhaps he had affairs more urgent than this to attend to. But after the reduction of Raṇthambhor (1301 A.D.) where the Neo-Moslem leaders, Muhammad Shāh and his brothers, sold their lives dearly ; of Chitor made famous by the *jauhar* of Padminī ; and of the forts of Ujjain, Māndū, Dhārā and Chanderī, the Khaljīs appeared again, in 1305 A.D., before the walls of Jālor. Kānhaḍadeva, who was now the sole ruler of Jālor, must have been in a fix as to whether he should resist or submit. The question was decided for him by the Khaljī commander, 'Ain-ul-Mulk Multānī, who was not only a good general but also a man of learning and great tact. His conciliatory attitude induced Kānhaḍadeva to visit and enroll himself among the Khaljī allies.[11] Like Shivājī who repaired to Delhi under similar circumstances in Aurangzeb's reign, he perhaps wanted to see whether he could have peace with honour ; and like Shivājī he soon realized the impossibility of such a peace. It was impossible for this proud-spirited Rājpūt to stay long at the court of a ruler who boasted in the open court that there was no ruler in India who could withstand his forces. Kānhaḍadeva returned to his territory, determined to belie the Khaljī Sultān's boastful assertion.[12]

Thus began the second round of the struggle between Alāu-d-dīn and Kānhaḍadeva. The Khaljīs marched first against Siwānā, a strong fortress at the distance of nearly thirty miles from Jālor. Its governor, Sātaladeva, a nephew of Kānhaḍadeva, anticipated the attack by a raid on the Muslim camp at Maṇḍor.[13] But the Khaljīs still marched on and duly besieged Siwānā. Hardly had they settled however, in their new quarters, before Kānhaḍadeva was on them with a large cavalry force. Simultaneously, Sātaladeva led out a powerful sortie which took the enemy in the rear ; and in the melle that followed the Delhi force lost its commanders, Nahar Malik and Khāṇḍādhara Bhoja.[14] It was no small reverse for the Khaljī arms. But thanks to the iron will of Alāu-d-dīn, Muslim forces still poured in from month to month and year to year "without being able to injure half a brick of the fort",[15] till at last in June, 1310 A.D. Alāu-d-dīn himself, getting weary of the inordinate delay, marched against Siwānā with a huge force, perhaps the biggest that he had mustered so far.[16]

Even then Sātaladeva faced the besiegers with his wonted intrepidity and courage. He sent out frequent sorties, bombed the enemy with stones from *Maghribīs,* and threw down the enemy's ladders every time they tried to escalade the fort. Ultimately finding no other means of getting in off Suvarṇa-

10a. For the Muslim and Neo-Moslem rebels there was no mercy. On returning to Delhi, Nusrat Khān ordered the wives of the assasins to be dishonoured and exposed to most disgraceful treatment. Wives and children of other mutineers were, by Alā-u-dīn's orders cast into prison (*Elliot and Dowson,* Vol. III, pp. 164-165).

11. *Tārīkh-i-Firishtā,* Vol. I, p. 361 (Brigg's English translation).

12. *Ibid.,* p. 370. See also *Naiṇsī's Khyāt,* Vol. I, p. 370.

13. *Kānhaḍade Prabandha,* Vol. II, p. 42.

14. *Ibid.,* vv. 49-57.

15. *Dawal Rānī,* English translation by Prof. Muhammad Habīb ; *Khaz-āinul Futūh,* p. 55, footnote 2.

16. Habib, *Khaz-āinul Futūh,* p. 53 and *Kānhaḍade Prabandha,* Vol. I, vv. 82-93.

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giri, Alāu-d-dīn constructed a huge *Pāshīb* reaching up to the highest summit[17] ; and probably form there, guided by a traitor named Bhāyalā, he defiled the main tank of Siwānā with cows' blood.[18] Thus deprived of their only source of water supply, the Rājpūts became desperate. They consigned their women to the flames and themselves rushed probably to the head of the *pāshīb*, determined to kill and to be killed.[19] Even Amir Khusrau, the fulsome panegyrist of the Khaljī Sultān, has to admit that "the besieged were brave and haughty" and "did not fly even when their heads were cut into pieces."[20] One party of the Rājpūts tried to get away to Jālor, but was ambushed and destroyed.[21] On the morning of Tuesday, the 23rd Rabi-ul Awwal, Kamāl-ud-din Gurg took the dead body of Sātaladeva to the Sultān.[22]

From Siwānā Alāu-d-dīn despatched a force westwards. It captured Bāhaḍmer,[23] sacked Satyapura,[24] and burnt Bhīnmāl, then perhaps the greatest centre of Vedic learning and culture in Mārwāṛ.[25] A wave of resentment and horror passed through every Hindu breast, as the tales of the Khaljīs' misdoings filtered down to the countryside. Feeling that their hearths, homes and culture were all in danger, Rājpūts of all clans flocked to Kānhaḍadeva's standards ; and one detatchment of theirs, operating from Jālor, surprised the Muslim camp and effected the release of the Brāhmans captured at Bhīnmāl.[26] Sālha Chauhān of Sānchor took a prominent part in this raid.[27] Elated by their easy victory, he, his heir-apparent Sobhita and some others undressed themselves to bathe in a tank not far from battlefield, while the majoirty rushed back to Jālor to give the good news to Kānhaḍadeva. One of Sālha's men, in his over-weening confidence, or should we say folly, sounded even a drum captured from the Muslims, before he entered the tank. Little did he know that it would be his last bath. The Khaljī commander, Malik Nāib, who was away on a hunt with the main body of the Muslim army, when his camp was attacked and plundered, and was till then quite ignorant of the real situation, took the sound of the drum as summons for himself. Imagine therefore his surprise when on rushing back he found that his camp had practically disappeared and the enemy were bathing unconcerned near by. Naturally he gave them no quarter, nor was perhaps any quarter expected. Four thousand Rājpūts soon lay dead on the field, and Jālor, instead of rejoicing, as it might have done, lay plunged in sorrow that night.[28]

Nothing could now prevent the Chauhān capital from being besieged by

17. Habib, *Khaz-āinul Futūh*, p. 53.
18. *Ibid.*, pp. 53-4 ; *Kānhaḍade Prabandha*, Vol. II, vv. 139-156.
19. *Kānhaḍade Prabandha*, Vol. II, pp. 163-169.
20. Habib, *Khaz-āinul Futūh*, p. 53.
21. *Ibid.*
22. *Ibid.* The date corresponds to August 19, 1310.
23. *Kānhaḍade Prabandha*, Vol. III, v. 20.
24. *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, p. 30.
25. *Kānhaḍade Prabandha*, Vol. III, vv. 22-31.
26. *Ibid.*, vv. 34-88.
27. The Sānchor inscription of his great grandson, Pratāpasiṁha, gives Sālha high praise for having liberated "the people taken captive by the Turushkas at Śrīmāla" (*E.I.*, Vol. IX, p. 66). The Turushkas of the epigraph, obviously, are the soldiers of Alāu-d-dīn Khaljī.
28. *Kānhaḍade Prabandha*, Vol. III, pp. 89-114.

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the Khaljīs. But the first siege was raised after some time, owing to a great conflagration in the Muslim camp, caused perhaps by a violent thunderstorm the like of which few had seen.[29] Equally good causes perhaps were the night-raids of the Rājpūts who burnt stackades, filled up ditches and cut off stragglers.[30]

The retiring Khaljī army suffered considerable losses at the hands of Kānhaḍadeva's mobile forces. At Mokalānā, a village not far from Meṛtā, they cut down a detatchment commanded by Shams Khān, perhaps a son-in-law of the Sultān, and took him captive along with his wife.[31] This was certainly success, but it was also the surest means to recall Alāu-d-dīn's forces to Jālor. Alāu-d-dīn never failed to pay off old scores ; and the score of Jālor had by that surely mounted high enough.

An army, more numerous and better equipped than the last one, marchd against Jālor.[32] Kānhaḍadeva sent two Rājpūt armies to arrest its progress. One commanded by his younger brother, Māladeva, operated from Vādī ; the other led by Kānhaḍadeva's son, Vīramadeva, had Bhādrājan as its head-quarters. But the Muslims still moved on, though at very slow speed, sustaining heavy losses, and inflicting losses equally heavy on their enemies.[33] By this time they had learnt their lesson ; they understood Rājpūt tactics and knew how to meet them. Their defensive measures had improved ; they not unoften threw Rājpūts off the scent also by their unexpected movements.[34] Finding this time the Rājpūt guerilla warfare was only a partial success, Kānhaḍadeva recalled both Māladeva and Vīramadeva to Jālor. The former was sent out again to operate from Āmer against the Khaljī line of communications ; but Vīramadeva stayed behind to assist his father.

The siege began once again in right earnest. The Khaljī commander this time was Kamāluddīn Gurg,[35] the reducer of Siwānā, Jaisalmer, and many other forts of Rājasthān generally deemed impregnable. He neither permitted anything to be moved into the fort, nor anything to come out of it, hoping thereby to starve the garrison into surrender. New reinforcements also continued to pour in from Delhi. Alāu-d-dīn's oft-repeated order were that everyone should hold on to his post and duty until the fort reduced.[36]

Kānhaḍadeva stood the seige well. Timely rains and the *mahājanas'* offer to replenish the stocks of food and grain that might go bad removed every fear of starvation,[37] and inspite of Kamāluddīn's vigilance, Kānhaḍadeva sent out a sortie which destroyed the Khaljī out-post at Uddalapura held by an officer named Malik Nizām-ud-dīn.[38] Māladeva, on his side, did good

29. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, vv. 167-170.
30. *Ibid.*, vv. 161-163.
31. *Ibid.*, vv. 177-185.
32. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, vv. 61-88.
33. *Ibid.*, vv. 106-107.
34. *Ibid.*, vv. 115-119.
35. *Ibid.*, v. 145. See also *Tārīkh-i-Ferishtā.*
36. *Kānhaḍade Prabandha,* Vol. IV, vv. 137-149.
37. *Ibid.*, vv. 125-135.
38. *Ibid.*, vv. 152-162. Is this Malik Nizāmu-d-din, the Shāhīn of *Tārīkh-i-Ferishta,* said to have been killed personally by Kānhaḍadeva in a sortie? Kānha Ulīchā, the slayer of Nīzāmu-d-din, might have been turned into Kānhaḍadeva by Ferishta.

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work, hampering not only the enemy's movement but also looting his territiry.[39] Alāu-d-dīn's reply to these Rājpūt successes was despatch of further reinforcements to Kamāl-ud-dīn. He himself too moved on towards Āmer and compelled Māladeva to retire to Vanādrā.[40]

Even then Jālor might never have been reduced but for the treachery of Bīkā, a Dahiyā Rājpūt, who lured on by rosy dreams of being made the ruler of Jālor on its reduction by the Khaljīs brought them in by-path which the defenders had left unguarded. The traitor did not live to profit by his treachery. His own wife, the brave Rājputānī Hīrādevī, killed him and was the first person to report to Kānhaḍadeva the news of the Muslims' entry into the fort.[41]

Kānhaḍadeva's *sāmantas*, Kāndhal, Kānha Ulichā, Jait Devaḍā, Jait Baghelā, Lūn Karaṇ, Molhaṇ, Arjun Baḍāwalā and many others, who deserve to be remembered equally, sacrificed their lives in a vain attempt to dislodge the enemy. On the fifth day of the fight the Muslims reached very near the shrine of Kanhasvāmin. Deeming it better to be dead and gone than seeing with their own eyes the destruction of the image, their tutelary deity, Kānhaḍadeva and his surviving *sāmantas* performed their last purificatory ablutions, and with sandal-paste on their foreheads and *tulasī* rosaries round their necks rushed against their enemy, dealing as well as courting death with reckless despair.[42] One thousand five hundred and fifty four *jauhar* fires were lighted during these five fateful days ; so of women too, belonging to all castes, thousands must have perished.[43]

Thus in V. 1371 (1315 A.D.)[44] ended the career of one of the most heroic sons of Rājasthān.

Kānhaḍadeva was a man of character ; on questions of principle he yielded to none. He must have been gifted also with sterling qualities of leadership to have retained to the last, inspite of the privations brought about by a protracted siege, the loyalty of not only his own people, but also of others who flocked to his standard to fight against Alāu-d-din. As general he was second to none of his contemporaries. To have kept on fighting against Alā-ud-din, almost throughout his reign, inspite of the immense resources of the empire of Delhi, was in itself a feat. None else equalled or surpassed it. Brave, intrepid, generous and sincerely religious, Kānhaḍadeva represented Rājpūt chivalry at its best. It is no wonder therefore that not

39. *Ibid.*, vv. 144-145.
40. *Ibid.*, vv. 162-3, 165-170.
41. *Ibid.*, vv. 202-206.
42. *Ibid.*, vv. 250-252.
43. *Ibid.*, 231-243.
44. This is the date given by the *Kharataragachchha paṭṭāvalī*, a contemporary work of great historical value. Naiṇsī and Padmanābha give the date as Wednesday, the 5th of the bright-half of Vaiśakha, V. 1368, which may be rejected in view of the unambiguous statement of the *Paṭṭāvalī* just referred to. One thing more may be mentioned in this connection. According to Padmanābha, even, Alāu-d-dīn died eight months after the fall of Jālor. If this be a correct statement, the fort could have fallen ony in V. 1371. Naiṇsī perhaps erred on account of borrowing the date from the *Kānhaḍade Prabandha* itself or some other secondary service indebted to the *Prabandha*.

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long after his death, he was deified and regarded by succeeding generations as an *avatāra* of Vishṇu, the protector of the virtuous and dstroyer of the wicked, specially of *asuras*, the enemies of Ārya culture.

RAJA MAN OF AMER

N. S. Solanki

It is one of the cruel ironies of our history that the early life of such an invincible Mughal field Marshal, a capable administrator and a shrewd diplomat as Raja Man Singh has passed unrecorded by the trust-worthy contemporary chroniclers. Fulsome *khyats*, which are not of one accord on any event, and adulatory poems of later dates have done great harm to our history by recording false and hearsay accounts without taking the least pain to ascertain the grains of their truth.This unreliable bardic literature misled European historians and the learned Dr G. H. Ojha about the parentage of gallant Raja Man, whom they call as the adopted son of Raja Bhagwan Das.[1] But their assertion does not find collaboration in the Persian sources, which, on the contrary, record him as the son of Raja Bhagwan Das[2] ; even the emperor Jahangir records him as the 'full' son of Raja Bhagwan Das[3]. Raja Bhagwan Das and Raja Bhagwant Das were not the two brothers as Dr Ojha holds ; they were mere variations of the same name[4]. Moreover, Bhupat and Madhu Singh were termed as sons of Raja Bhagwan Das[5]. It is wishful to think that Raja Bhagwan Das adopted all the sons of his fictitious brothers. Finally the whole riddle of this controversy is solved by Khwaja Nizam Uddin who emphatically rerords, "As Bhagwan Das died, Kunar Man Singh who was true son," received the title of Raja[6].

This olive complexioned, short-statured prince, the guardian angel of Hinduism, was the living embodiment of progressive and dynamic currents of Hinduism. His sound education[7] and polished manners have ridden him of general narrow-mindedness, bigotry, superstition and short-sightedness that beset our Rajasthan. Akbar's imperialistic designs and his slavish devotion to the fanatical *sadar-i-sudur* Shaikh Abdu-Nabi, the Shaikh-ul-Islam, who was notoriously famous for the persecution of the Hindus[8], warned this promising boy-prince that the Rajput princes, as inveterate foes of the young Mugul Emperor, had little chances not only of preserving their independence

1. Ojha's *Hist. of Rajputana, Fasciculus*, IV, pp. 738, n3.
2. Abul Fazl's *Akbar Nama*, Vol. II, p. 244 ; Lwe's *Al Badaoni*, Vol. II, p. 144 ; De's *Nizamuddin*, Vol. II, p. 630.
3. Rogers's *Tusuk-i-Jahangiri*, Vol. II, p. 16.
4. Akbarnama, *Muntkhab-ut-Tawarikh*.
5. Lowe's *Muntkhab*, Vol. II, p. 146 ; *Akbar Nama* tr. by *Beverige*, Vol. III, pp. 40, n1.
6. *Tabakat-i-Akbari* tr. by De, Vol. II, p. 630.
7. Mishra's *Bandhu Vinode*.
8. S. Ram's *Religious Policy of the Mughals ;* Raychoudhari's *Din*.

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but also of surviving as Hindu dependencies ; their only hope lay in establishing friendly relations with the ambitious Emperor.

Consequently, in concert with the experienced Raja Bihari Mal and the sage counsellor[9] Raja Bhawan Das, through the intercession of Bihari Mal's former friend Chaghtai Khan, Kr. Man paid his homage to the Emperor, who was on his way to Ajmer to pay his first visit to the shrine of Khwaja Muin, at Sanganer[10]. On his way back to the capital the Emperor gratified Raja Bihari Mal's wish by marrying his 'eldest daughter' at Sambhar. This Rajput Mughal matrimonial alliance opened a new chapter of cordial relations between, not the Rajputs and the Mughals only, but the Hindus and the Muslims in general. Filial devotion of Jodha Bai and the dogged fidelity of Kr. Man softened the religious fanaticism of Akbar, who, within two years, proclaimed his intention of becoming National Emperor by abolishing the much-hated *Jaziya*. Kr. Man's keen initiative and active vigour, which he exhibited in bringing about this remarkable marriage had early attracted His Majesty's attention towards him[12]. At Ranthambhore, where Raja Biharimal's party was to take leave, "Man Singh, the son of Raja Bhagwan Das.....was then exalted by the auspicious ray of His Majesty's Glance,"[5] and was enrolled as his *aide de camp*.

The rebellion of Ibrahim Husain in Sarnal so infuriated Akbar that he determined to lead the van against him. Unflinching devotion of faithful Kr. Man could not withstand the Emperor's horrid intention ; 'at his special request and prayer',[13] the Emperor reluctantly consented him to lead the van. With the aid of chivalrous Raja Bhagwan Das and the gallant Kr. Man Akbar hotly pursued the fleeing rebel upto Surat, which easily fell into his hand.[14]

Here at one night in a select drinking-party a tale of Rajputs' heroic indefferentism to their lives insighted Akbar to excel their heroism.In a frenzy of intoxication he fastened the hilt of his sword into the wall and placed its pointed end on his chest. A terrible awe fell upon the topers and none of them dared to dissuade him from his dangerous folly. While he was about to outdo Rajput valour, Kr. Man, who was also present there, could no longer witness the perpetration of this ghastly tragedy ; he rushed towards the Emperor without caring for the consequences of the imperial wrath and "with the foot of fidelity" flung the sword with a blow from the chest of his liege ; thus Kr. Man's fealty saved Akbar from untimely suicide.[15]

Akbar on his way back from Gujrat to the capital, in May 1573 commissioned this young captain to reach the capital via Idar and Mewar, with the express orders to show favour to chiefs who accepted the imperial allegiance ; but the recalcitrants and "the disobedient were to be punished."[16] The first to resist the imperial army was the chief of Dungarpur, who was cruelly

9. *Akbar Nama*, Vol. III, p. 863.
10. *Akbar Nama*, Vol. II, p. 242.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 243.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 244.
13. De's *Tabakat*, p. 378.
14. De's *Tabakat*, Vol. II.
15. *Akbar Nama*, Vol. III, p. 44.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

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defeated and was compelled to accept the imperial suzerainty.[17] When the imperial army approached the outskirts of Mewar, Rana Patap hastened to welcome Kr. Man and escorted him to his place "as his guest."[18] Kr. Man tried to persuade his host to enter into a friendly relation with the autocratic Emperor. But the polite refusal of the Rana was that "his well-wishers would not suffer him to go"[19] to the Emperor for paying homage, silenced Kr. Man, who regarded the Rana as his racial superior, and worthy enblem of Rajput independence. Their parting was quite cordial and friendly.[20]

Dr. Ojha, relying on *khyats* and a poem *"Rajprashasti Mahakavya"*, which is written one century after the event, believes in the veracity of the banquet-anacdote.[21] "Veer Vinode" also holds the same view.[22] But when the truth of the anacdote is weighed against historical events, it dwindles into obscrity. It is nothing but a post-concocted story by some Mewari bard, who wanted to cast a halo of glorious patriotism round the obstinate Rana and to cast ignoble slur upon the fair name of Kr. Man. Rana Kika could not have been so folish as to antagonize a friendly Mughal field marshal, who had a considerable well-equipped army at his command in the very heart of the town, and the express orders to punish the hostile recalcitrants. Suppose, even if the Rana cut that sanile insult, which was unworthy of the Rana, with Kr. Man, what was there to prevent him from inflicting a bitter vengeance upon the Rana at once when he had resource to do so? One really fails to understand Dr. Ojha's assertion that this insult goaded Kr. Man to invade Mewar in June 1576.[23] The spirit of vengeance does not wait for three long years when one has resources to execute it immediately. Kr. Man, instead of provoking the Emperor to send an expedition against the presumptuous Rana, falsely told the Emperor that the Rana gladly accepted the imperial khilat.[24] This convinces that Kr. Man adored the Rana's praiseworthy patriotism ; his sole aim, as this fabrication shows, was to divert his master's greedy eyes from Mewar, and his plan proved successful for the time being.

While Akbar was at Ajmer in March 1576, the Rana's "disobedience and presumption" invited Akbar's hungry eyes. "Wisdom, loyalty, (and) bravery" of Kr Man sorted him out as a proper instrument for this enterprise. Cunning Akbar "introduced Man Singh . . . into the burial place of the saint Muin and . . . showing him great favour, presented him with a robe of honour, and a horse with all its equipments and ordered him to proceed"[25] to Gogunda.

Kr. Man's position became dubious ; his celebrated devotion to his master

17. *Ibid.*, p. 57.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 57 ; Todd, vol. I, p. 391 ; he wrongly substitutes Sholapur for Sidhpur where Kr. Man parted from Akbar.
19. *Akbar Nama*, Vol. III, p. 57 ; Tod, Vol. I, p. 391 ; Ojha's *Hist. of Raj. Fas.*, Vol. IV, p. 738.
20. *Akbar Nama*, Vol. III, p. 57.
21. Ojha, *Hist. of Raj. Fasc.*, Vol. IV, p. 738.
22. *Veer Vinode*, Vol. II, pp. 146-47. Todd, *Vol.* I, p. 392.
23. Ojha, *Hist. of Raj. Fasc.*, Vol. IV, p. 739 ; *Veer Vinode*, Vol. II, p. 147 ; Todd, Vol. I, p. 392.
24. *Akbar Nama*, Vol. III, p. 57.
25. Al Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, Vol. II, p. 233 ; Nizamuddin, *Tabakat*, Vol. II, p. 485.

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impelled him to lead this unpalatable expedition ; mythical glamour of the Rana's superior blood deterred him from taking vigorous and energetic initiative against the leader of the Rajput clan. He chose a middle course and resigned his initiative to his deputy Asaf Khan.

The two forces met on the memorable field of Haldi Ghat in the scorching heat of June, 1576.[26] Mughal vanguard led by chivalrous Raja Loon Karan of Sambhar "ran away like a flock of sheep" towards the rear of the imperial army at the first sally of the Rana's desperate vanguard."[27] Raja Loon Karan, who had won the title of Rai Rain for his heroic exploits and chivalrous military feats, was not the man to cast an oddium of cowardice upon his untarnished fame unless his moral conscience did not allow him to fight rigorously against the demigod of the Rajputs. On account of the half-heartedness of the Rajputs on the Mughal side victory seemed to lie with the Rana ; but the timely arrival of the Mughal van and the rumour of the Emperor's advance towards the battle-field encouraged the Mughals and the scales were turned.[28]

The excessive heat, the fatigue of the battle, and the fear of the Rana's attack in the defile prevented the imperialists from pursuing fleeing enemy.[29] How could a fleeing enemy attack a pursuing army when they fled to save their own lives? Moreover next day the imperial army occupied the Fortress of Gogunda wihout least resistance. Kr. Man, who, a decade later, conducted a successful but perilous expedition against the incurably hostile Jalala Afghans in the snow clad gorges and defiles between Pesh Bulaq and Ali Masijid in Jalalabad district in December,[30] was not the general to leave the roued enemy unpursued had he taken a vigorous action against the Rana. But this conspiracy of halfhearted action against the Rana was so ingenuously conceived that even the biggoted Al Badaoni failed to note it. Artful Kr. Man to alay his master's right suspicion of his inactivity, constructed barricade, dug trench and erected a high wall around the Mughal cantonment[31] so that imaginary attacks of the Rana might not disturb sweet dreams of the imperial army. He deliberately refused to move beyond Gogunda on flimsy excuses.

Dr. Ojha wrongly ascribes the scarcity of food in the imperial cantonment to its encirclement by the Rajputs and the Bhills.[32] "Owing to narrowness of the roads, little grain arrived" and Kr. Man prohibited his army from "plundering and devastating Kika's country."[33] Kr. Man had regular communication with the imperial headquarters at Ajmer as is evident from the arrival of robes of honour for the victorious generals and the departure of Al Badaoni.[34] Inaction of Kr. Man did not remain concealed

26. Al Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, Vol. II, pp. 236-40 ; Nizamuddin, *Tabakat*, Vol. II, pp. 485-89 ; *Akbarnama*, Vol. III, p. 259 ; Todd, Vol. I, pp. 393-96 ; Ojha, pp. 745-53 ; *Veer Vinode*, pp. 152.
27. Al Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, Vol. II, p. 237.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 238 ; *Akbarnama*, Vol. III, p. 246.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 247 ; *Muntakhab*, p. 239.
30. *Akbarnama*, Vol. III, p. 780.
31. Al Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, Vol. II, p. 240.
32. Ojha, *Hist. of Raj. Fasc.*, Vol. IV, p. 755.
33. Nizamuddin, *Tabakat*, Vol. II, p. 493.
34. Al Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, Vol. II, p. 241.

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from the meticulous eye of the wily Emperor longer. Kr. Man and his deputy Asaf Khan were recalled to Ajmer where they were disgraced for their duplicity.[35] But after much entreaties and vows of fidelity "the pen of forgiveness was drawn across his offences."[36] About October 11, 1576, the Emperor himself led the expedition on Mewar. Kr. Man Singh and Bhagwan Das led the vanguard in "hollows of the hills and to lay hands on the villainous dweller in ravines." But the unwilling horses cannot be made to take water. After fruitless efforts to capture "the dwelller in the Ravines" Akbar returned to Fatehpur Sikri.[37]

After minor expeditions Akbar fitted out a mighty expedition under Shahbaz Khan in October, 1578. Raja Bhagwan Das and Kr. Man were despatched to aid Shahbaz ; but instead they hampered Shahbaz's action against the Rana, which irritaed Shahbaz Khan, who sent them back to the Emperor.[38] Their departure was followed by the conquest of Kumbhalmer. These considerations lead one to the conviction that Kr. Man morally helped the Rana to continue his war of independence with varying success till his demise.

Strenuous services—diplomatic and military—waited for the indomitable Kr. Man in Panjab and Multan. Kr. Man and his father paid homage to the Emperor, who was hunting at Bhera at the bank of Indus, on May 9, 1578,[39] On his return journey Akbar appointed Kr. Man as governor of one of the zones of Panjab and Multan, where he applied himself to administration in equitable manner. Here he prudently received diplomatic missions in befitting manner and conducted them to the court.[40] Mirza Hakeem's hostile intentions towards Hindustan made delicate situation in the zone of Indus. Inroad of Nuruddin in December, 1580 in that zone devolved its management upon this invetrate warrior Kr. Man in recognition of "his foresight and skill" which he showed in managing his zone.[41] Nuruddin's failure was immediately followed by another expedition under the formidable foe Shadman, "the sword of his (Hakeem's) army."[42] Our irresistible Hannibal rushed to Attock where his van had inflicted a crushing defeat upon Shadman who shortly after died in the vicinity of Indus.[43]

This irreparable catastrophe infuriated Mirza Mohammad Hakeem, who, at the head of countless horde, set out for Panjab and encamped in the environs of Lahore and besieged the fort.[44] Beleaguered Kr. Man, Raja Bhagwan Das, and Saeed Khan, who were strictly forbidden to make sorties upon Hakeem,[45] gallantly defended the fort with the help of batteries and with their wisdom. After twenty days' fruitless efforts to capture the fort Mirza Hakeem, at the news of the Emperor's rapid arrival, abandoned the seige and fled towards

35. Nizamuddin, p. 493 ; Al Badaoni, p. 247 ; *Akbarnama*, p. 250.
36. *Tabakat*, Vol. II, p. 493.
37. *Akbarnama*, Vol. III, p. 269.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 339.
39. *Akbarnama*, Vol. III, p. 348.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 409.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 493.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 494.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 494 ; Al Badaoni, Vol. II, p. 299 ; *Tabakat*, Vol. II, p. 54.
44. & 45. *Akbarnama*, Vol. III, p. 508 ; Al Badaoni, p. 299 ; *Tabakat*, p. 544.

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Kabul.[45a] In recognition of their heroic services the Emperor confirmed them as the Governors of their respective Zones, and returned to Fatehpur Sikri.[46]

"'As counsel had no effect on slumbrous ears'' of Mirza Hakeem he continued to ravage the frontier of Hindustan. The Emperor, on being driven to extremity by flagarent hostility of his brother, sent his son prince Sultan Murad in June, 1581 against him and ordered this all-powerful warden of marches (Kr. Man) to form the Prince's van.[47] The imperial army arrived at Attak Banaras (Attock) without encountering difficulty. Here the deep-set conservatism of Hindus made Kr. Man and other principal officers unwilling to cross the frontier of their beloved country.[48] But the timely arrival of the shrewd Emperor at Attock coerced them to proceed towards Zabulistan.[49] Kr. Man's van cleared way by valorous military feats for the Emperor. At the outskirts of Kabul gallant Kr. Man and the Prince routed the last Zabuli army, and Zabulistan lay prostrate at Akbar's feet.[50] Akbar magnanimously restored Zabulistan to his repentent brother and returned to Hindustan.[51]

On his return at Attock in September, 1581, Akbar once again entrusted the "guardianship of Indus province" to Kr. Man, who set himself to the task of civilising the province.[52] Four years of his strenuous administration rendered it peaceful.

At the sad demise of M. Hakeem Kr. Man, at Akbar's order, hastened to Kabul in July, 1585.[53] Faridun, one of the followers of Hakeem, tried to create disturbance ; but tactful Kr. Man, "by openhandedness and sweet words", won the sympathies of the Zabulis.[54] After a brief stay of four days he handed over the charge of administration of that country to his son Jagat Singh and Khwaja Samsuddin, and he escorted Mirza's family and the principal "country leaders to the sublime threshold at Rawalpindi,"[55] from where he returned to his province of Indus.

While Kr. Man was planning to suppress recent rising of the nomad Tarikis, who had made the Khaibar impassable, ruthlessly, he received a royal farman to help Todar Mal in chastising barbarious Afghans of Bunar and Swat.[56] Kr. Man, whose name struck terror into the hearts of the Afghans, seized their exit of Bunar ; while Raja Todar Mal took their other exit, Swat. Brave soldiers from either exits hemmed the Afghans who were compelled to submit. After their submission Todar Mal returned to court on March, 11 1586. Kr. Man busied himself in chastising Yusufzais, who were assuming formidable shape in the hills of Kabul.[57]

45a. *Ibid.*, p. 508.
46. *Akbarnama*, Vol. III, p. 509.
47. *Akbarnama*, Vol. III, pp. 518-19 ; Al Badaoni, p. 301.
48. *Akbarnama*, Vol. III, p. 522.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 528.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 537.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 542.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 545.
53. *Ibid.*, pp. 704, 5, 12, and 13 ; Al Badaoni, p. 359 ; *Tabakat*, p. 605.
54. *Akbarnama*, Vol. III, p. 713.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 713 ; Al Badaoni, p. 359.
56. *Akbarnama*, Vol. III, p. 487 ; Al Badaoni, p. 364.
57. *Akbarnama*, Vol. III, p. 739.

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Maladministration of Kabul compelled the Emperor to send skilful administrator Man to manage the affairs of Zabulistan.[58] Kr. Man with his skill and experience administered that land efficiently ; but the Afghans resented his arrogant demeanor. They charged him of injustice and of high-handed-policy. Clever Akbar, who deemed Kr. Man's work completed, transferred him to chastise Yusufzais, who have become powerful,[59] and assigned him his fief in Bihar, which had become a problem-province.

But this transfer on charge of injustice displeased Kr. Man, who could not tolerate blame. He remained inactive against the Tarikis, and passed his time at Jamrud.[60] Censure of Akbar awakened him to his duty, and he whole-heartedly applied himself to the chastisment of the Afghans. But shortly after the censure he was recalled to court to proceed to Bihar, which had been practically lost to the Empire, to "develop it."[61]

Kr. Man belonged to the *Vallalbhi Sampradai*, the cult of Krishna. When one sees frescoes of religious places on the walls of his dinning room in the palace of Ajmer, one is easily led to the conviction how deep was his religious sentiment that he could not take his meals without casting a glances at those frescoes. In a drinking-party, on the eve of his departure to Bihar, Akbar tried to persuade him to accept Din-i-Ilahi. Kr. Man unreservedly answered that if it meant fidelity he had given ample proofs of his loyalty and was prepared to be tested ; but if it "refers to religion, surely I am Hindu." If the Emperor wanted him to convert into Islam he might say it clearly.[62] This repartee silenced Akbar who never again talked about religion to him.

Having taken charge of Bihar in 1589, he inflicted a cruel defeat upon the refractory Raja Puran Mal of Gidhaur, who accepted submission by marrying his daughter to Kr. Man's brother.[63] After the submissions of Raja Sangram Singh of Kharagpur and Anant Chero of Gaya, Bihar once again came into Mughal fold.[64] At Patna Kr. Man received the sad news of his father in November, 1580.[65] The Emperor conferred the title of Raja upon him and created his Panch-Hazari.[66]

Indefatigable Raja Man set out for the conquest of Orissa[67] in April, 1590, "being reinforced by the Bengal artillery on the way."[68] Qutlu Khan, the Afghan ruler of Orissa, inflicted a torturing defeat upon "the inexperienced youth" Jagat Singh at Raipur.[69] But untimely death of Qutlu pressed Khwaj Isa, the vazir of Orissa to accept submission by ceding the temple of Jagannath at Puri to Raja Man. After taking tribute from the Afghan boy-king Raja Man returned to Patna.[70]

58. *Ibid.*, p. 745 ; Al Badaoni, Vol. II, p. 364 ; *Tabakat*, p. 614.
59. *Akbarnama*, Vol. III, p. 790 ; Al Badaoni, p. 370 ; *Tabakat*, p. 622.
60. *Akbarnama*, p. 520.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 525.
62. *Ain-i-Akbari*, p. 215 ; Al Badaoni, p. 375.
63. *Akbarnama*, p. 872.
64. *Akbarnama*, p. 876 ; Al Badaoni, p. 4000 ; *Tabakat*, p. 646 ; Stewart, *Hist. of Bengal*, p. 207 ; Sarkar, *Hist. of Bengal*, Vol. II, p. 207.
65. & 66. *Akbarnama*, p. 863 ; Al Badaoni, p. 384 ; Nizamuddin, p. 630.
67. 69. & 70. *Akbarnama*, p. 759 ; Al Badaoni, p. 399 ; *Tabakat*, p. 646 ; For detailed accounts of Raj Man read Stewart's *Hist. of Bengal*, pp. 206-17, and *Hist. of Bengal*, Vol. II, by Sarkar, pp. 207-15.
68. Sarkar, *Hist. of Bengal*, p. 209.

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After the death of word-abiding Isa the unruly Afghans revolted and seized the temple of Jagannath.[71] This breach of faith enraged Man who hastened against them on November 3, 1591. Raja Man conquered the country upto Jaleshwar, and routed the enemy on April 10, 1592. Inspite of envious Saeed Khan[71a] of defection the resourceful Raja subjugated Cuttack. With the submission of Ram Chandra of Khurda, who was an ally of the rebellious Afghans, the fort of Sarang-garh, which was the last strong-hold of the Afghans, capitulated. With Raja Man's marriage with Ram Chandra's daughter in January, 1593 conquest of Orissa was completed.[72] Abul Fazl has paid a living tribute to the keliediscopic genius of Raja Man in administering his fief of Bihar and Orissa: "The Raja united ability with courage and genius with strenuous action ; he administered the province excellently ; the refractory became obedient."[73]

Raja Man, "whose ability and loyalty was conspicuous, was made *Ataliq* (guardian, of Child-prince Khusrau) and his maintenance jagir was allotted to him in Bengal."[74]

Afer laying foundation of Akbarnagar, the new capital of Bengal, he set out to chastise the uncurably refractory Afghans on December 7, 1595.[75] His son Himmat Singh drove the rebels into Mymensingh and plundered their territory.

Lakshmi Narayan, the Raja of Kuch Bihar, on being attacked by his cousin in alliance with the Afghans, sought Raja Man's protection. Man Singh hastened to Anandpur to rescue him ; Lakshmi Narayan welcomed him and gave him his sister in marriage in December, 1596.[76] With the Afghan leader's submission peace once again reigned in Bengal.

Saddened by the loss of his two brilliant sons in Bengal he retired to Ajmer in 1598. But his absence resulted into the Afghan revolt ; his deputy could not cope with the situation and the North Orissa was lost to the Afghans. Raja Man Singh hastened to Bengal and punished the Afghans. But approaching death of his master summoned him to court. His third viceroyalty of Bengal, under the Emperor Jahangir, was short and uneventful. Though Jahangir disliked him and called him one of "the hypocrites and old wolves" yet he honoured him for his experience and ability.[77]

Raja Man was called to court from Bihar to proceed against Malik Ambar in the Deccan, where icy hand of death was waiting for him. After paying visit to his beloved town of Ajmer after long absence, this war veteran proceeded towards the Deccan, where he passed away as a broken heart at the end of June, 1614. Thus ended the life drama of a warrior administrator, who knew no rest in life.

71 & 71a. Stewart wrongly calls him deputy of Man, he was Viceroy of Bengal.
72. *Akbarnama*, p. 968 ; *Tabakat*, p. 646.
73. *Akbarnama*, p. 576.
74. *Ibid.*, p. 999.
75. *Akbarnama*, p. 1042.
76. *Ibid.*, p. 1068.
77. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, p. 138.

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RAWAL JAITRA SINGH OF MEWAR: A SURVEY OF HIS FOREIGN POLICY

M. L. MATHUR

Of all the Rajput dynasties ruling in Northern India during the first half of the 13th century of the Christian era, the Guhilots of Mewar under their ruler Rawal Jaitra Singh alone represented fully the independent spirit of the Hindus who would not submit once for all to the foreign domination of the Turks. Jaitra Singh ruled at least from[1] 1213 to 1256 A.D., but the history of the reign of this remarkable prince for want of historical material remained more or less obscure so much so that even his name was unknown to the bards as well as to Col. Tod and Kaviraj Shyamaldas, the pioneer writers of our times. On the basis of inscriptional data brought to light recently we propose to give here a brief survey of his foreign policy and an estimate of his millitary achievements.

ILTUTMISH'S DEFEAT AT THE HANDS OF RAWAL JAITRA SINGH

It may be recalled here that since the event of Rawal Samant Singh's (*c.* 1174-92) defeat and expulsion from Mewar at the hands of Kitu Chauhan, a feudatory chief of Bhima Deva II of Gujrat, Mewar passed under the subjugation of the Solankis and the rulers of Mewar from Kumar Singh to Padam Singh continued to rule as vassals of Bhima Deva II. But in the early years of his rule Jaitra Singh seems to have shook off the allegience to the Solankis of Gujrat most probably during the confusion that prevailed in that kingdom after its ruler Bhima Deva's discomfitures at the hands of the Turkish general Qutubuddin when most of his nobles and feudatories usurped his power. And though Bhima Deva continued to be king of Anhilwara till 1241 A.D. the real authority passed into the hands of Baghela chieftain Lavan Prasad and his son Vir Dhaval of Dholka. Not only the Guhilots of Mewar but other rulers of the south-west Rajputana viz., Dharavarsa of Abu, Udai Singh of Jalor and Nadol and Som Singh in Marwar also regained their independence. Even the Parmars of Malwa to avenge their former defeats, about these very times begun attacking Gujrat under Raja Subhatvarma and his successors. Such were the affairs in the declining kingdom of Gujrat when it was simultaneously invaded by Singhan, the Yadava Raja of Deogiri from the south, by the Musalman forces of Delhi from the north and by Devapala, the Parmar ruler of Malwa from the east. The occasion proved most critical for Lavan Prasad, Bhima's powerful general and chief minister and his son Vir Dhaval, who were then the virtual rulers of the Solanki kingdom. How this great

1. The former date is given in the earliest epigraph of his reign and the latter is available from a Jain manuscript *Paksikavritti* written in his life-time at Ahara. See *Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions of Kathiawar*, p. 96 and Peterson: *Report on the search for Sanskrit MSS.*

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calamity on Gujrat was averted forms the theme of a historical drama, *'Hammirmadmardanam'*, composed by Jaya Singh Suri, a Jain Acharya of Broach.[2]

In this work we get a clear evidence for the statement that in the early part of his reign Rawal Jaitra Singh of Mewar, an independent ruler, had to face a terrible attack of the Muslim army of a Dehli Sultan, who intended to invade Gujrat by this route. The third Act of this drama gives the following story:

King Vir Dhaval of Gujrat is anxious to get the news about Hammir (*i.e.* Amir or Sultan of Delhi), who was to begin hostilities against the Mewar king Jayatala (*i.e.* Jaitra Singh) who priding himself on the strength of his own sword had not joined him (*i.e.* Vir Dhaval). Then enters the spy Kamalaka, who relates how the whole of Mewar was burnt by the soldiers of the enemy and how people were filled with dismay by the entrance of ruthless 'Malechha' warriors into the capital and the people through terror preferred to die at their own hands. Kamalaka further says that he being unable to bear the sight, announced that Vir Dhaval was coming with his forces to save the people. Hearing this the 'Turuska' warriors were seized with panic and fled away.[3]

It is clear from this narrative that the Muslim army on its way to Gujrat entered Mewar, devastated a part of the state and even attacked its capital Nagda. But the initial advantages of the Muslims did not prove lasting and soon they had to take recourse to flight. Kamalaka, no doubt, represents the brave repute of his own king as the factor that inspired terror in the invaders' heart and thus ascribed the victory to Vir Dhaval and not to Jaitra Singh who in fact opposed and dispersed the Turkish forces of the Delhi Sultan. But as Jaya Singh Suri wrote this work for celebrating the fame of Vir Dhaval, the generous patron of his religion, it was natural for him to be partial to his hero. This very fight is alluded to in the Chirwa stone inscription[4] which says that in the war with the Surtran when Nagda was destroyed Talarkash Yog Raj's eldest son Pam Raj was killed in a battle which took place at Bhutala' (or Untala) a village near Nagda. This makes us almost certain that after some preliminary reverses Jaitra Singh encountered the Sultan's forces and offered such a tough fight that the enemy at last gave way and was put to flight. The Chirwa and Ghaghsa inscriptions say that 'even the Sultan could not humble him' (Jaitrasingh) and the Abu stone inscription adds that he was the sage Agastya for the ocean like armies of the Turaskas.[5]

It remains to consider as to who this Sultan was and what could be the probable date of this conflict. Our authorities do not give his name. The Chirwa epigraph calls him 'Surtarana' and the *'Hammir-Mad-Mardana'* refers

2. Ed. by C. D. Dalal in *Gaekwad Oriental Series.*
3. *Ibid.*, Act 1-2 and Act 3, pp. 25-33.
4. नागद्रहपुरभंगे समं सुरत्राणसैनिकैर्युद्ध्वा। भूतालाहटकूटेपमराजः पंचतां प्राप ॥१६॥
Vienna Oriental Journal, Vol. XXI, pp. 155-162.
5. *Indian Antiquary* Vol. XVI.

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to him as 'Milacchhikara'. This second designation may give us a clue to his name. Dr. Ojha[6] thinks that the term 'Milacchikara' is a Sanskritised form of the word 'Amir-i-shikar' which according to the *'Tabakat-i-Nasiri'*[7] was Iltutmish's title and post in Qutbuddin's days. Iltutmish, was of course a contemporary of Jaitra Singh.[8] And Vastupal, who according to *'Hammira-mad-mardan'* played an important diplomatic part on the eve of this calamity on Gujrat, became the minister of Vir Dhaval of Dholaka in 1219 A.D.[9] As the latest date for the composition of this drama could be 1229 A.D.,[10] this expedition of the Muslim Sultan on Mewar must have taken place in some year between 1219 A.D. and 1229 A.D. Again an inscription of Jaitra Singh's reign discovered at the Surya Temple of the village of Nadesama[11] hints that Nagda was not destroyed till the year 1222 A.D., the date of this record wherein Rawal Jaitra Singh is mentioned as ruling there, this invasion must have taken place between the years 1222 and 1229 A.D. It is quite probable, therefore, that Iltutmish was the 'Milacchikara' who carried an expedition into Mewar before 1229 A.D. The Muhammaden[12] writers while they mention his other expeditions in Rajputana ranging in dates from 1215 to 1228 A.D. do not refer to it for the obvious reason that it was not a victory, but a defeat.

It may also be pointed out that the destruction of Nagda, the then capital of Mewar, was so complete that Rawal Jaitra Singh had to abandon it for ever, and since then the seat of his Government was transferred to Chitor. At the same time it should also be remembered that Iltutmish met with such a crushing defeat at the hands of this Guhilot prince that he never again dared to invade this mountainous region during the rest of his reign. Since then the state of Mewar for its unaccessible hills and impregnable fortress was considered a hard nut to crack by most of the Turkish Sultans of Delhi.

Jaitra Singh and Jalaluddin Mangbarni of Khwarizm

Again a verse in Rawal Samar Singh's Abu inscription[13] states that he also routed an army of Sindh. It seems to refer to an incursion of the

6. Ojha, *Hist. of Raj.*, Vol. II, p. 467.
7. Raverty (*Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*), pp. 603-604.
8. Dr. Barnett and H. C. Ray, following him, consider this identification as very improbable. They are of the opinion that the Muslim expedition referred to in this drama is one which Qutbuddin led against Gujrat in 1197 A.D. in which 'Rai Karan' and 'Daravarsa' participated. But they adduce no reason for their assertion. The chronological considerations about this event definitely expose the futility of such suggestion and support Dr. Ojha's identification.
9. Ojha, *His. of Raj.*, Vol. II, p. 467, note 2.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 467. The date of the composition of this drama on the MSS. of it found at Jaisalmer is as follows:—

'संवत् १२८६ वर्षे, आषाढवदि ९शनौ हंमीरमदमर्दन नाम नाटकं ।'

11. Nadesama stone inscription (unpublished), Ojha *His. of Raj.* Vol. II, p. 470, foot note 3.
12. H. 612 (215 A.D.) Expedition on Jalor (*Ferishta ;* Briggs, Vol. I, p. 207) ; Ranthambore in 1226 A.D. (Raverty: *T. N.*, p. 611) ; Mandor in 1227 (Raverty: *T. N.*, p. 611) ; Siwalik (including Ajmer, Lawa and Sambhar) in 1228, (Raverty: *T. N.*, p. 728.)
13. *Ind. Anti.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 349-50, verse 43.

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Khwarizm troops into Gujrat. Nasiruddin Qubaicha after Qutbuddin's death was holding the province of Sindh when in 1221 A.D. the storm of Chingiz Khan's invasion burst upon India. The Mongols under him came down from central Asia to India in pursuit of Jalaluddin Mangbarai, the Khwarizmi crown prince, but after a stay of forty days at Multan, luckily for India, he withdrew to Ghazni. Jalaluddin proceeded towards lower Sindh, defeated Qubaicha in the battle of Uchch and established his rule over Thatta or Debal, when its former ruler Jaisi (Jai Singh) of the Sumra clan fled to an island in the Indus. He demolished the temple of the place and raised mosque in their places. Having thus captured the fort of Debal Jalaluddin in Hijri 620 (*i.e.* 1223 A.D.) detached a force, under Khawas Khan towards Nahrwalaha, the capital of Gujrat from where he returned with immense booty.[14] It is quite probable that Khawas Khan, while marching to Gujrat from Sindh, might have avoided the more tedious and marshy routes and must have passed through Mewar dominions. But Jaitra Singh was not the man to let him pass so easily. He seems to have, therefore, attacked this army either when it was going to or returning from Anhilwara and quite probably the Abu record refers to the same event when it says that Jaitra Singh also destroyed the army of Sindh for we know for certain that during these years no other invasion on Mewar was attempted from that quarter.

Jaitra Singh's Victories over the Neighbouring Rajput States

A doughty warrior and a great military genius as he was, Jaitra Singh was dreaded by all his adversaries. Inscriptions represent that his ambitions involved him in ceaseless conflicts with the neighbouring states. The Chirwa and Ghaghsa records of the dates 1273 A.D.[15] and 1265 A.D.[16] respectively record that the rulers of Malwa, Gujrat, Marwar, Jangal-Desh and even the 'Malechcha' Sultan could not humble him. According to Chirwa inscription Jaitra Singh appointed Talarksa Yog Raj's fourth son Ksem as the Talarksa of Chitor. Of his two sons Ratan and Madan, the latter displayed great prowess in the battle of 'Athurna' when he fought for Jaitra Singh against Jaitra Malla.[17] Dr. Ojha identified this Jaitra Malla with Parmar Raja Jaitugi Deva II, son of Raja Devapal of Malwa who was also known as Jai Singh, Jaiyant or Jaitra Singh and whose known dates being 1243 and

14. Briggs *Ferishta*, Vol. IV, pp. 413-20/ Mabel Duff., *Chronology of India*, pp. 179-80 ; *Raverty*: *Tabaiat-i-nasiri*, p. 291, footnote.

15. *Vieana Oriental Journal*, Vol. XXI, pp. 155-62, verses 5, 6.

16. Ojha, *Hist. of Raj.*, Vol. II, p. 460. The same verse is repeated in the Chirwa Inscription. The original lines are:—

तमाल्वीयेन नगौर्जरेण न मारनेशेन न जांगलेन ।
मलेच्छाधिनाथेन कदापि मानोम्लानिं न निन्यैर्वानपस्य यस्य ॥६॥

17. Chirwa stone inscription verses 22, 23, 27, 28.

यः श्रीजेसलकार्येभवदुत्थूणकरांगणे प्रहान् ।
पंचलगुडिकेन समं प्रकटव (ज,लौ जेत्रमल्लेन ॥२८॥

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1255, he was contemporary of Jaitra Singh of Mewar. As Athurna originally belonged to a minor branch of the Parmars from whom the Guhilots of Bagad captured it and annexed it to their dominion, it may be contended that the Malwa prince might have come to the rescue of his own clans-men and vassals at Athurna where Rawal Jaitra Singh going to the succour of the Guhilot's of Bagad, the descendants of Rawal Samant Singh, gave him battle and defeated him.

The same inscription in its *nineteenth* verse mentions that in conquering Kotra, Talarksa Yog Raj's grandson (son of Yog Raj's second son Mahendra) Balaka fell flighting before Jaitra Singh in the battle against Rana Tribhuvana.[18] Tribhuvana, referred to above, was Solanki Raja Bhim Dev's successor in Gujrat whose one copper plate dated 1242-43 has been discovered to prove that he ruled for some time on the throne of Gujrat before he was set aside by Vir Dhaval, the founder of the Baghela branch of kings at Anhilwara.[19] The cause of this clash that is likely to have occurred about the year 1242 A.D. still remains unknown and we can only explain it by saying that it was probably the outcome of a prolonged conflict between the two dynasties or that Kotra which continued till this date under the Solankis was wrested at last from their hands by Jaitra Singh who might have undertaken an expedition against the place.

Of his fights with the ruler of Marwar nothing definite is as yet known and it is difficult to assertain who this ruler was whom Jaitra Singh vanquished and subdued. As the Parmars of Abu held sway over a large portion of the Marwar region, from where a number of their records have been recovered and whom even *'Hammir-mad-mardan'*, the drama referred to above calls as rulers of Marwar,[20] it may be inferred that during the weak rule of the successors of Dharavarsa who ruled at least till 1219 A.D., Jaitra Singh in his round of aggressive campaigns might have also subdued these parts in the immediate neighbourhood. This view is confirmed by the Patnarayan temple inscription of 1287 A.D.[21] which credits Pratap Singh, the third successor of Dharavarsa with defeating Jaitra Karan, and recovering his ancestral capital Chandravati which had passed into the possession of another dynasty. Scholars suggest that Jaitra Karan of this epigraph should be identified with Jaitra Singh of Mewar who was in his last days as contemporary of this Pratap Singh. If this identification against which no reasonable doubts exist is true we may conclude that Jaitra Singh captured Chandravati and retained possession of it for a considerable number of years till the evening of his life when his rule from there was over-thrown by Pratap Singh who recovered the place from him. It is perhaps for this reason that the name of the Marwar

18. बालकः कोट्टडकग्रहणे श्रीजैत्रसिंहनृपपुरतः। त्रिभुवनराणकयुद्धे जगामयुद्ध्वापरं लोक ॥१९॥ Chirwa Ins.

19. C. V. Vaidya, *Hist. of Medieval Hindu India*, Vol. III, p. 207.

20. श्रीसोमसिंहोदयसिंहधारावर्षैरमीभिर्मरुदेशनाथैः। *Hamir-Mad-Mardan*, p. 11.

21. V. N. Rau, *Bharat ke Prachin Raj Vamsha*, Pt. I, p. 81 ; Dr. Ojha has not elucidated these obscure references to Jaitra Singh's Fights with the rulers of Marwar and Jangal Desh.

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Raja was omitted from the list of the princes defeated by Jaitra Singh, as recorded in the Ghaghsa inscription. It is significant that the writer of this inscription was also the author of the Chirwa inscription.

Jaitra Singh's successful expedition against the Chauhans of Nadol is commemorated in contemporary inscriptions. Although, as has been shown, the writer of the Chirwa and Ganghsa inscriptions is one and the same person, one notices the substitution in the former of Jangaldesh ruler in place of Sakambharisvara of the latter.[22] This change is suggestive of the fact that both these terms stand to refer to one and the same adversary of Jaitra Singh. The epithet 'Sakambharisavara' or 'Sambhari-naresha' was generally adopted by the Rajputs of the Chauhan clan, Sakambhari or Sambhar being their original seat in Rajputana. This makes us sure then that these words beyond all doubts refer to the Chauhan chiefs of Nadol, whom Jaitra Singh reduced to subjugation. This is doubly clear from Abu Inscription which distinctly states that by the valour of his arms Jaitra Singh up-rooted the kingdom of Nadol. The Chauhans of Jalor since Kitu's days were hostile to Guhilots and as Kitu's grandson Udai Singh whose known records range from 1205 to 1249, united the kingdom of Nadol and Jalor under him, it is certain that Jaitra Singh his powerful rival and contemporary in Mewar invaded Nadol to seek vengence up the former foes of his family. But the expedition seems to have ended in a compromise, for Udai Singh gave his grand daughter Rupa Devi in marriage to Jaitra Singh's son Prince Tej Singh.[23]

The Raids on Mewar during the Reign of Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud (*c.* 1246-1266)

Rawal Jaitra Singh about the close of his reign seems to have faced one or more attacks of the armies of Delhi which entered his dominions in pursuit of some rebel relations of Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud, who was raised to the throne of Delhi in *c.* 1246 after a period of ten years of disturbance and civil wars that followed Iltutmish's death. Before and during Nasiruddin's reign discontent became rampant and revolts against the central authorities sprouted up. The Minister Ulugh Khan Balban, however restored order. Ferishta[24] says, in A.H. 646 or 1248 A.D. Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud recalled his brother Jalaluddin from his government of Kanauj to Delhi, but the latter apprehensive of a design against his life, fled to the hills of Chitor with all his adherents. The king pursued him, but finding after eight months that he could not seize him, returned to Delhi. On this basis Dr. G. H. Ojha and other modern writers believe that Jalaluddin and his men were provided shelter by Jaitra whose capital at this time was at Chitor and that

22. Ghaghsa stone Ins., Vol. VI.

श्रीमद्गुर्ज्जरमाल्वतुरुष्कशाकंभरीश्वरैरयस्य ।
चक्रे न मानभंगः स स्वःस्थो जयतु जैत्रसिंहनृपः ॥६॥

Compare the verse with that of Chirwa record verse 6 quoted on p. 347, footnote 16.

23. *E.I.*, Vol. IV, pp. 313-14.

24. Briggs., Vol. I, p. 238.

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the Sultan or his minister might have come into conflict with Jaitra Singh, the Guhilot prince who repulsed the Muslim forces from his country. But Ferishta's account is not confirmed by any other literary or epigraphic evidence and *Tabquat-i-Nasari*,[25] quite a contemporary work, mentions Sirmur hills in place of Mewar or Chitor in this context. This creates doubts about Ferishta's statement. Jalaluddin, whose main fault was that at Kanauj he once warned the Sultan against the ambitions of Balban whom he accused of secretly aiming at the throne, feared that his confidence had been destroyed and so he fled from his fief, and probably sought refuge in the Sirmur hills of the Punjab (and not of Chitor) and after a short sojourn proceeded to join the Mongols in Turkistan.[26] It is, therefore, not safe to take Ferishta's information as true, vaguely worded as it is.

A Forgotten Fight of Rawal Jaitra Singh with the army of Balban

We further learn from the Persian works that within four years of Jalaluddin's revolt there arose a strong opposition to Balban's domination headed by Imad-ud-din Rihan, 'a eunuch converted from the Hinduism and a leader of the Indian Muslim nobility.' He excited Maliks and poisoned the ears of the Sultan against the great minister who was consequently removed from the court in 1253 and Imad-ud-din himself was installed as 'Vakil-i-dar' at the capital. He then persuaded the king to transfer the fallen minister from his original fief of Hansi to that of Nagor in Rajputana.

While staying at Nagor during the period of disgrace Balban displayed great military activities and with motives either to take credit for his exploits or to devote his spoils to the improvement of his military strength, as the circumstances should dictate, he made a series of incursions into the rich territory of south eastern Rajputana. The *Tabkat-i-Nasiri*[27] says that he invaded the Hindu state of Bundi, attacked and defeated Nahar Deo of Ranthambhor and even proceeded to attempt once again the capture of Chitor. Rawal Jaitra Singh of Mewar though advanced in age seemed to have successfully defended his capital against the Muslim on-slaught, which was more of the nature of a plundering raid than an organised invasion.

Balban's Attack on Chitor Repulsed by Jaitra Singh

The eclipse in Balban's fortune, however, did not continue for more than a year. Jealousy among Rihan's own followers and the opposition of the Turkish Nobility, led to a powerful combination against the Indian convert. A formidable army of the Amirs and Maliks from all parts of the country

25. Raverty, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, Vol. I, p. 681.
26. *C.H.I.*, Vol. III, p. 67.
27. Raverty, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, Vol. I, p. 682.

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was led by Balban in 1254 against Rihan and the Sultan under their pressure was compelled to restore Ulugh Khan to his old position. But in the very next year of his restoration one last effort was made by the Muslim governors of Oudh and Sindh to challenge the dictatorship of Balban. Qutlagh Khan of Bayana, one of his leading opponents, who though now outwardly reconciled had secretly married the king's mother, Rihan's chief ally and an intriguing lady, was dismissed to Oudh, in order that he might be away so far as possible from the court. But there he was discovered to be secretly in league with Rihan, then at Bairaich. So early in *c.* 1256 Sultan Mahmud and Balban marched against him. As the main body of the army approached he retired and contrived to elude Balban's pursuit and on May 1, 1256 the army returned to Delhi. Ferishta[28] in this connection writes that Qutlagh Khan escaped to Chitor, which fort the Wazir destroyed but being unable to find Qutlagh, returned to Delhi. Except Ferishta no other writer says anything about it. If the Sultan's army had really destroyed the fort of Chitor, there is no reason why the more contemporary Muslim writers should have been silent about it. It again appears somewhat improbable that no Rajput chronicles should mention that alleged destruction of their fort. This much can be believed that Qutlagh Khan, formerly govrnor of Bayana, being well aware of the inaccessible nature of the Aravalli hills might have thought it safe to seek shelter for some days with Rawal Jaitra Singh at Chitor and the royal forces under Balban pursuing him might have made a futile attempt either to capture it or to demolish its fortifications. Jaitra Singh and his brave Rajputs, it may be presumed, proved more than a match and the Turkish army again had to return to Delhi with little or no success against this impregnable citadel. Thus after Iltutmish's expedition into Mewar when Nagda was destroyed and Chitor became the capital of the Guhilots, Jaitra Singh had to face more than once the attacks of the Muslim forces led by the famous minister Balban. The Chirwa inscription mentions that Ratan, the eldest son of Ksem, the Talarkasa of Chitor along with Bhim Singh, the Pradhan of Mewar fell fighting the enemies at the foot of Chitor hills.[29] This seems as one of these attacks undertaken by Balban in the last years of Jaitra Singh's reign. Dr. Ojha[30] thinks, though without reasons, that this battle of Chitor took place in the reign of Tej Singh, the son and successor of Jaitra Singh, when Gujrat Raja Visaldeo, Vir Dhaval's son attacked Mewar. But as the same inscription reports that when Ratan's younger brother Madan attained

28. Briggs., Vol. p. I, p. 240. See also A. C. Banerjee, *Rajput studies*, p. 52. Qutlagh Khan was assisted by all the disaffected Maliks and Hindus and was joined by Izuddin Balban Kishlu Khan, Governor of Sindh. The two Maliks effected a junction of their armies near Samana and in pursuance of a conspiracy into which they had entered with some of the Amirs at the capital to oust Ulugh Khan from power, they marched towards the capital, but were unable to put into execution their nefarious project. Ishwari Prasad: *Medieval India*, p. 154.

299. Chirwa stone inscription, *Vieana Oriental Journal*, Vol. XXI, pp. 155-62.

विक्रांतरत्नं समरेथ रत्नः सपचसंहारकृतप्रयत्नः ।
श्रीचित्रकूटस्य तलाट्टिकार्यां श्रीभीमसिंहेन समं ममार ॥२६॥

30. Ojha, *History of Raj.*, Vol. II, p. 472.

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predominance and grew to manhood Bhim Singh's son Raj Singh was also made the 'Pradhan' on his father's demise,[31] and Madan, as we have maintained on the basis of the same record, fought for Jaitra Singh in the battle of Athurna against Jaitra Mall, it clearly implies that the battle of Chitor in which Bhim Singh and Madan's elder brother Ratan participated and fell fighting must have taken place prior to the battle of Athurna and can in no way be supposed to have taken place in the reign of Tej Singh, as Dr. Ojha suggests.

An Estimate of Jaitra Singh's Achievements

The incessant military activities of Jaitra Singh against the neighbouring states of Malwa, Gujrat, Abu and Nadol and his valorous stand against the Turkish invasion from Delhi earned for him an undying fame. He was an interpid soldier and a consummate commander who came out victorious in the various engagements allowing not an inch of his territory to pass into the alien hands. The success of his arms against Iltutmish, Balban and the neighbouring Rajas left him supreme in Western India and after the Chauhans of Ajmer, the Guhilots during his reign, were the only powerful Rajput dynasty who could preserve their own independence. His military genius and courageous spirit served as a strong bulwork against the attacking sword of Islam in southern Rajputana through which lay the routes to the rich provinces of Gujrat and the Deccan. The defeats of the imperial forces in Mewar at the hands of this warrior prince checked their rapid expansion and postponed for another fifty years the conquest of the surviving Hindu kingdoms in western India and the Deccan. But even such a powerful and resourceful ruler could not rise above the prejudices of the time and most of his military exploits were mainly dictated by the sense of self-protection and not so much by his love of aggrandisement. Proud of his own clan and content with the safety of his ancestral kingdom Jaitra Singh never sought to extend the boundaries of his own dominions by annexing fresh lands though he could defy most of the chiefs in the neighbourhood who were humbled but not extinguished. Nor did he ever aspire to attain imperial honour or status by making a bold bid for the conquest of Dehli though for such a task he was eminently fit. In fact, the dissensions of the Rajput chiefs, their local patriotism and clan-sentiments, to which Jaitra Singh was not an exception, made it more or less impossible for them to combine against the common enemies. Consequently, though Mewar could be saved, the several other parts of the country easily succumbed to the attacks of Iltutmish and Balban. Outside Rajputana their expeditions were crowned with greater success and most of the Rajput clans defeated and driven out of their original seats were compelled to seek shelter in the safer and secluded regions of the desert.

31. Chirwa stone inscription verse 29.

श्रीभीमसिंहपुत्रः प्राधान्यं प्राप्य राजसिंहोयं ।
बहुमेनेनेकध्यं प्राक्प्रतिपन्नं दधद्दये ॥२९॥

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Thus the Rathors from Kanauj[32] and the Kachchawas from Gwalior were destined to find the principalities of Mandor and Dhundad which ultimately blossomed into the modern states of Jodhpur and Jaipur respectively. Except Mewar which remained in tact defended by Jaitra Singh and his Rajputs, the very face of Rajputana on the whole suffered a change at this time.

Thus, throughout his long reign of more than forty years Jaitra Singh, though his exploits remained as yet obscure, was the most forceful personality in northern India who could defend his own dominion against the Turkish domination and accomplish its internal consolidation. It is a pity that even such a powerful prince did not use his special talents in organising a coalition of the Rajput rulers of the land for re-establishing Hindu rule over Delhi.

A SHORT NOTE ON THE ORIGIN OF THE TERM 'KACHHAWAHA' (कछवाहा)

JHABARMALL SARMA

The ruling families of Kashmir, Jaipur and Alwar belong to the Kachhawaha clan (कछवाह) of Rajputs. There is a difference of opinion as to how this clan came to be known as 'Kachhawaha' (कछवाहा).

1. Col. Tod is of opinion that being descendants of 'Kush' (कुश) they were known as 'Kushwaha' (कुशवाहा) which later deteriorated into 'Kachhawaha' (कछवाहा).

2. Raj-Ratna Munshi Jagmohan Lal of Alwar supports Col. Tod and has proved by many examples to show that 'Sha (श) is generally changed into (Chha) (छ).

3. General Cunninghum found that the epithete 'Kachhapari' is added to the rulers of Narwar and Gopachal (Gawalior) in the old Sanskrit inscriptions and concluded that 'Kachhapghat' (कच्छपघात) and 'Kachhapari' (कच्छपारि) (which are identical in meaning) became 'Kachhapari' in Prakrit and were popularly known as Kachhawaha (कछवाहा) (in the collequial language).

4. Mahamhopadhaya Rai Bahadur Dr. Gouri Shankar Heera Chand Ojha opines that the terms 'Kachhapghat' (कच्छपघात) and Kachhapari (कच्छपापि) mean 'the slayer of tortoise' and 'the enemy of tortoise' respectively, slaying of tortoise cannot be supposed to be an honourable deed on the part of Rajput clan. He things that some ancestor of theirs bore the name 'Kachhawah' (कछवाह) or 'Kachhwaha' (कछवाहा) To Sanskritise the word the pandits changed into 'Kachhapghat' (कच्छपघात) just as 'Amir'

32. See my article on "Rastrakutas of Kanauj and their migration to Marwar", (*I.H.Q.*, 1944, June).

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(अमीर) was changed into 'Hamir' (हमीर) and Sultan (सुलतान) into 'Surtan' (सुरत्राण). He does not subscribe to Col. Tod's view as 'Kushwah' (कुशवाह) is no where found in the old writings of the 'Kachhawahas'.

5. Mr. Badan Powell does not believe in their relation with 'Kush' (कुश) for only 'Kachhapghat' (कच्छपघात) or Kachhapari' (कच्छपारि) is found in the old writings.

6. Mahamahopadhaya Pt. Har Prasad Shastri says that the Kachhawahas (कछवाहा) while claiming their descent from 'Kush' (कुश) the son of Ram, assert their migration to their present abodes from Narwar (नरवर) which is a country of the Nishads and untouchable caste, and where there was a caste of the name of 'Kachhapghat' (कच्पछात) and most probably the Kachhawahas belong to that caste. Thus they were untouchables and seem to have been subsequently taken into the Kashttriya fold.

7. Kaviraja Suryamall and Charan Ram Nath Ratnoo hold similar views ; *viz.*, the Kachhawas take the name of their clan from 'Katsavadh' (कत्सवाध) a descendant of 'Kush' (कुश). His father was 'Kooramji' ; so the 'Kachhawas' are known 'Kooram' or 'Koorma' as well.

8. Vidya Bhusan Pt. Hari-Narayan Purohit of Jaipur attributes the origin of 'Kachhawaha' (कछवाहा) to three sources namely, (1) Kush (कुश) son of Shri Ram Chandra, (2) 'Katsavadh' (कत्सवाध) son of Kooram, 57th in the lineal descent of Kush ; (3) Kachhapataghat (कच्छपघात) which changed into Kachhaphan and (कच्छपहन) then into Kach-chhawah or Kachhwaha. *No. 2 appears to be more probable.*

9. Pt. Radhakrishna Mishra, a well known scholar of Vedic literature and ancient History, is of opinion that in the Samhitas, the Brahmins, the Ramayan and the Mahabharat, the descendants of Ikshwaku (इक्ष्वाकु), the son of Manu, have been turned as Aikshwak (ऐक्ष्वाक्) on various occasions. According to the rules of Sanskrit Grammar the word Aikshwak (ऐक्ष्वाक्) dropped its first letter 'A' and became Kushwak (क्ष्वाक्). The Apabhramsha from these two words is Aikchhwak (ऐकछ्वाक) and Kachwak (कछवाक). In Prakrit 'Ka' is changed into 'ha'. Thus in course of time Kachhwak (कछवाक) also changed from Aikshwak and denotes the descendants of Ikshaku (इक्ष्वाकु).

There are others who in their own ways have attempted to trace its origin but all of them are mere speculations.

I too had to tackle with this knotty problem while writing my *'History of Shekhawati'* (not yet published). My labours have yielded a different result. To me the following salient facts of history seem to be of considerable importance in this connection:

1. That the terms 'Kachhapghat' (कच्छपघात), 'Kachhapari' (कच्छपारि) 'Kachhapaha' (कच्छपहा), all of which mean 'the slayer or conqueror of Kachhapas point to some grand victory of this Kashattriya clan against the

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Kachhapas' just as Vikramaditya's 'Sakari' (शकारि) points to the conquest of Sakas by the owner of the title, or Bimbasar's (विम्बसार) title 'Amitra-ghat (अमित्रघात) is expressive of his conquest of the foes.

2. That in the Purans there are references to many battles fought between the Kashttriyas and the Nagas.

3. That from the Mahabharat (Adi Parba Sloka 71) it is evident that some Nagas *e.g.* Karkotaka, (कर्कोटक), Vasuki (वासुकि), Takshak (तक्षक) Kachhap (कच्छप), Bhujang (भुजङ्ग) and others were the progenitors of the clans known after their respective names. Thus the Kachhapas were the Naga's family.

4. That on the basis of the numismatic evidence furnished by General Cunningham as well as from other sources it has been established beyond doubt that the Nagas ruled over the country round the modern Gwalior with their capital at Padmavati now known as Narwar. Even if Mr. B. Garde's view that 'Puwanya' (पवाँया) and not Narwar, is the ancient 'Padmavati' (पद्मावती) it makes little or no difference as 'Puwanya' too, is in the same region not far from Narwar.

5. Tha even to this day the region between the rivers, Uttar Sindh (उत्तरसिंध) and Pahooj, (पहूज) is known as 'Kachhawahghar' (कछताहधार).

6. That Dr. J. P. Straton in his book, *'The Jaipur-Amber family and State'* has proved the fact that after leaving Ayodhya this clan settled at Rohtashgarh whence it migrated to Kachhawahghar and founded Gopadri (Gwalior) and Narwar.

These facts automatically lead us to the conclusion that on migrating to Kachhawah *ghar* from Rohtasgarh the invaders found the territory ruled by the Kachhapas whom they encountered and conquered. In honour and commemoration of this conquest, really a brilliant achievement on their part, the conquerors assumed the proud title of 'Kachhap-ghat' (कच्छपघात) Kachhap-ari (कच्छपारि) 'Kachhap-han' (कच्छपहन) or 'Kachhap-ha' (कच्छपहा) which in its corrupted form is the 'Kachhawaha' (कछवाहा) of to-day.

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A GLIMPSE OF JAIPUR—A CENTURY AGO

R. N. CHOWDHURI

INTRODUCTION

An interesting glimpse of the conflict between the Byaparees of Jaipur and the British Resident Capt. W. H. Rickards a century ago is obtained from the original and unpublished documents of unimpeachable character preserved in the National Archives of India.[1] A careful perusal of these records enabled me to glean some new facts of general interest, which I am presenting here.

JAIPUR—A GREAT TRADING CENTRE

From time immemorial Jaipur was an important trading centre in Rajputana. Her pre-eminence in commerce, it appears, was largely due to the following factors:

Firstly, the keen interest and enterprising spirit of the Marwari community in commercial transactions of all kinds.

Secondly, the flourishing condition of her handicrafts and domestic industries, and abundance of mineral wealth like precious stones, copper, lead, nickel, iron, mica, steatite and garnets made her a great exporting centre.[2]

Thirdly, its unique geographical position and proximity to important trading centres like Delhi, Agra, Bharatpur, Kotah, Ajmere and Jodhpur facilitated free commercial intercourse with the neighbouring provinces.

Fourthly, the liberal patronage and encouragement of her enlightened rulers who realised that the prosperity of the people to a large extent depended upon free trade and commerce.

BRITISH PROTECTION—A BOON

Towards the close of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the Nineteenth century, Jaipur suffered greatly not only at the hands of the Maratha marauders and Pindari plunderers, who over-ran her territories,[3] but also from internecine strife and domestic disturbances. The incessant raids of the Pathan chief Amir Khan of Tonk, innumerable invasions of Holkar and Sindhia led to continued disorder and lawlessness, particularly in Jaipur situated as she is on the precinct of the eastern Rajputana.[4] Plunder and

1. Proceedings of the Foreign Political Department, 2nd May, 1851, Serial No. 1175, pp. 403-408.
2. Report of the Administration of the Jaipur State, Samvat 2003, Sept., 1946 to August, 1947, p. 6.
3. Mehta: *Lord Hastings and the Indian States,* pp. 57-58.
4. Busawun Lal, *Memoirs of Amir Khan of Tonk.* (tr. by Prinsep), 1832, pp. 447-453; Tod, *Annals of Rajasthan,* (Cal. 1894), Vol. II, pp. 359-61.

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pillage made the life and property of the inhabitants insecure while frequent exactions and extortions of her rulers considerably denuded her exchequer. Moreover, Maharaja Jagat Singh who reigned from 1803 to 1818, according to Tod, had "the disgraceful distinction of being the most dissolute prince of his race or his age."[5] Thus, anarchy and confusion reigned supreme for more than three decades (1787-1818); trade languished, commerce was interrupted and agriculture rapidly declined partly from insecurity, but still more from the perpetual exactions of Raja's minions.[6]

Curiously enough, Jaipur was the last of Rajput States to accept British protection. Thanks to the bold and decisive policy of Lord Hastings, the predatory power of India had been, one after another, lay prostrate at the British feet. The Pindarees were annihilated, the Peshwa was exiled from Poona to Bithur, the Bhonsla was humbled, Sindhia was palsied by his fears, and Holkar, who had extensive lands assigned to him besides a regular tribute from Jaipur, had received a death-blow to his power in the field of Mahidpur.[7] Mealwhile, the famous free-booter Amir Khan beseiged the town of Madhoajpura in Jaipur state for about a year (21st. Nov., 1816-11th Nov., 1817). "This encounter played just like a drama that rightly served the purpose of the last curtain upon the tragical drama of the blackest period in history and the dawn of the advent of Pax Britannica, when the tragedy of more than two centuries was beautifully converted into a hopeful comedy."[8] It was amidst the booming sound of the cannon-shot of the Nawab of Tonk that Maharaja Juggut Singh, tired of ceaseless war, after a prolonged procrastination, concluded the subsidiary treaty on 2nd April, 1818 A.D. By it the Kachwa prince "acknowledged the supremacy of and promised subordinate co-operation to, the British Government." The amount of the tribute was adjusted on a sliding scale by which the state was excused from it altogether for the first year and agreed to pay four, five, six, seven and eight lacs of rupees respectively for the second, third, fourth, fifth and sixth year. After that the amount was to be 8 lacs a year until the revenues exceeded 40 lacs per annum when the state was to pay 5/16th of the additional revenue above 8 lacs.[9]

Results of the Subsidiary Alliance

Rai Bahadur Thakur Narendra Singh of Jobner, Ex-education Minister of Jaipur, has remarked that "the weaker and the needy were fully compensated and the country was able to take a sigh of relief.[10] "True, British Protection, from the political standpoint, was of immense benefit to the external safety and security of the state for it checked foreign aggression immediately. True, the immediate sequel was the grant of free licenss to the petty trades-

5. *Ibid.*, p. 361.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 362 ; Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, (1950), pp. 48-52 ; 68-74.
7. Busawun Lal, *Amir Khan*, pp. 471-478 ; Tod, *Annals of Rajasthan*, Vol. II, pp. 363-4.
8. R. B. Thakur Narendra Singh, *Thirty decisive battles of Jaipur*, (1939), p. 368.
9. C. U. Aitchison, *A Collection of treaties, Engagements and Sunnuds*, (1864), Vol. IV, p. 137, clause 6.
10. Narendra Singh, *A Brief History of Jaipur*, (1939), p. 79.

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men exempting their miscellaneous manufactured merchandise of all kinds, which they imported from the neighbouring British provinces, from custom duties."[11] Yet the sweeping remark of the learned Thakur, in view of the subsequent internal convulsions and mis-government, needs revision for no one was compensated and the relief from the insurrections of the feudal nobles and party strife of the factions was really to come three decades later.[12]

Infact, an impartial study of the available original materials reveals that E. I. Co. was the "most effective dissolvent". "'It has been the fixed policy of our nation (British) in India", writes a recent writer, "to enfeeble every power in connection with it.[13] "Its effects were more injurious not only to the ruler but also to the fabric of their administration.[14] "Metcalfe considered it" the "worst plan of all.[15] "Elphinstone's condemnation of it is equally strong. The interference exercised through the British Resident was the "most invidious and the least successful of all."[16] A shrewd judge of subsidiary alliance has rightly pointed out that "it has a natural tendency to render the native Government. . . . weak and oppressive ; to extinguish all honourable spirit among the high classes of society and to degrade and impoverish the whole people . . . . It renders him indolent by teaching him (Native Prince) to trust to strangers for the security ; and make him cruel and avaricious by showing him that he has nothing to fear from the hatred of his subjects. Unless the reigning prince be a man of great abilities, the country will soon bear the marks of it in decaying villages and decreasing population.[17] "Unfortunately, from 1818 to 1851, Jaipur was the only state in Rajputana, which had minor Princes at the helm of affairs. The consequence was the re-appearance of economic and Political chaos."

Economic and Political Chaos Again: 1818-35 A.D.

Inspite of initial external security, there is little doubt that the British alliance brought in its train the most embarrassing interference and detestable diplomatic intrigue of the feudal barons which led to continued internal turmoil and domestic disturbances. "Two successive minorities which followed the death of Jagat Singh in 1818 gave rise to opportunities for strife over the succession and for much mis-government."[18]

The history of the two succeeding decades (1818-1838) witnessed a series of tragic incidents such as the disputed succession to the throne, bitter hostility and acute antagonism between the two rival factions of the court-Rawul Byree

11. Letter from Capt. W. H. Rickards to Col. Low, Agent, Gov.-Genl., Rajputana, dated 22nd March, 1851. Foreign Political Consultation, No. 151, para 3.
12. Dr. M. S. Mehta, *Lord Hastings and the Indian States,* pp. 148-151 ; Tod, *Annals of Rajasthan,* Vol. II, pp. 363-372 ; *Annals of Ambar ;* Ch. IV.
13. Thompson, *The Making of Indian Princes,* (1943), p. 1.
14. Mehta, *Op. cit.,* p. 244.
15. His letter to Jenkins, Kaye's *Life of Metcalfe,* Vol. I, p. 478.
16. His written evidence before the select committee. Parliamentary Papers, 1831-32, Vol. XIV, p. 155.
17. Letter to Hastings, dated 12th August 1817, Gleig, *Life of Munro: II,* (1830), p. 460.
18. Major C. A. Baylay, *Gazetteer of Jaipur,* (1879), p. 137.

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Sal and Sanghi Jotha Ram, the riotous affair of Ranathambhor[19] and the insurrection of Bijay Singh Bhatti, the mysterious death of Maharaja Jai Singh III (1835), the outrageous attack on Major Alves (G. G.'s Agent in Rajputana), the brutal assassination of his assistant Blake near the first Chopar, the fortuitious birth of Ram Singh—all these culminated in serious internecine troubles which continued to agitate the state for a long time.[20] Throughout this period "the most scandalous corruption, intrigue and mis-govt. prevailed.[21]" The contemporary account of the English traveller Boileu speaks volume against the late minister or rather the autocrat Jotha Ram, under whose mis-rule the miserable country has so long groaned. According to this keen observer, the political condition of Jaipur in 1835 was so desperate that it had "an empty treasury, desolate palaces, stagnating commerce, a ferocious populace and a rabble army.[22]" The consequence of this renewed political and economic chaos was the non-payment of the stipulated annual tribute and the accumulation of large arrears.[23] Thus, the resources of the state was depleted, and in a word, *she touched the nadir of economic dislocation and political ruin.*

Minority of Maharaja Ram Singh: 1835-1851 A.D.

The serious but not critical condition of Jaipur state at length imposed on the British Government the "absolute necessity of exercising direct and decided interference in the best interst of the state."[24] It was proclaimed that the "British Government was the guardian of the interest of the minor Raja Ram Singh", who was then two years old, "to secure the state against embezzlement or mis-appropriation of the revenues."[25] A council of regency consisting of the principal nobles was formed under the supervision of the Political Agent of the State,[26] which opened a new chapter of peace and prosperity in the history of Jaipur.

In 1838, 26 lacs of rupees were paid to clear a part of the huge arrears of Tribute, which then amounted to 48 lacs, as a means of propitiating the British Government. But it was soon felt that "the tribute was too high and it appeared to exceed one-third of the revenues of the country", the Governor-General preferred "to grant remission, when its realisation cannot be effected without entailing loss on the country."[27] As the total revenue of the state,

19. Foreign Miscellaneous, 1830-32, Vol. 238, pp. 123-30, Jaipur Papers. (Org.)
20. *Ibid.*, Political Consultation, 15th June, 1835, No. 63-5; 2nd Nov., 1835, No. 38-39; Brooke's Minute, General B-1868, No. 93, pp. 63-75. Sutherland, Sketches of the Relations Subsisting between the British Govt. in India and the different Native States, (Cal. 1837), pp. 74-77.
21. Thornton, *East India Gazetteer*, (1854), Vol. II, p. 291.
22. Boileau, *Personal Narrative of a Tour through Rajwara in 1835*, (Cal. 1837), p. 159.
23. The arrears of tribute in 1835 amounted to 40 lacs.
24. Foreign Dept. Political General Letters from Europe, Court of Directors 1838 A.D. No. 13, Vol. 44, para 15.
25. *Ibid.*, 1837 A.D., No. 9, Vol. 45, para 2.
26. Foreign Political Consultation, Original, 5th March, 1835, Nos. 54-60.
27. Governor-General's letter to Col. Alves, Agent, Rajputana, dated 14th Nov., 1838, Foreign Political Consultation, Original, 14th Nov., 1838, Nos. 34-5.

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its capabilities, its actual disbursements, were still unknown, Major Ross was deputed on 29th Sept., 1838, to submit an exhaustive report on the resources of the country. He was directed to "avoid the previous line of conduct, which has produced so little benefit and so much embarrassment to the state."[28] "His mission was to ascertain the possibility to lowering the tribute, which was destined to receive the universal acclamation of the people and the ruler of the state. The result of his investigation revealed the distracted condition of the country.[29] The tribute was found to be far in excess of a fair proportion of the revenue, and therefore, in 1842, Lord Auckland made a remission of 46 lacs of arrears and reduced the annual tribute to 4 lacs of rupees.[30]

The appointment of Lt.-Col. J. Sutherland, as Agent to the G. G. in Rajputana, on 12th Feb., 1839, inaugurated a new era of reform and retrenchment.[31] A series of new measures of importance were introduced during the decade 1839-49 ; the army was reduced considerably, every branch of administration was reformed ; suttee, slavery and infanticide were prohibited ; financial reforms were also undertaken—which paved the way for the rapid economic recovery of the State. Col. Sutherland stated the effect of these reforms in the following words which deserve to be quoted: "A visible improvement has taken place in the condition of the country . . . , while everywhere there is a sense of security and the prevalence of order and tranquility, which, the people say, have been unknown during either the last two reigns, and which they compare with what existed in the days of Sawai Jai Singh, the founder of the city of Jaipur.[32]"

The Prelude to the Imposition of New Taxes

The government of Jaipur, it is needless to add, was in debt inspite of the remission of arrears and reduction of the annual tribute. In 1847-48, only Rs. 9,39,587/- of the public debt was paid off and only Rs. 3,59,545 remained due. In the following year, the revenues exceeded disbursements by Rs. 49,777 leaving a balance of Rs. 3,09,768. To solve this financial defecit and to ensure rapid economic recovery of the state, the Council of Regency presided by Capt. W. H. Rickards, the then British Resident, sanctioned, in 1850, the imposition of the taxes on all English goods imported to Jaipur, which hit hard the interests of the petty Byaparees.

When roads were few and travelling was insecure, free licenses were granted to the Byaparees of Jaipur, who traded in various manufactured articles, native and European, such as glass, knives, paper, mirrors, bridles, and other small wares, exempting them from custom duties. These few goods and those of small value were brought in packs on the shoulders of the

28. For. Pol. Cons. Org., 3rd July, 1839, Nos. 4-6.
29. *Ibid.*, 26th Jan., 1839, Nos. 29-30.
30. C. U. Aitchison, *Op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 32.
31. Col. Sutherland, aften ten years of strenuous labour, died in harness at Bharatpur on 24th June, 1848 A.D.
32. Pol. Despatch of Sutherland to Governor-General dated 1st Nov., 1843. Quoted by Thornton in *East India Gazetteer*, (1854), Vol. II, p. 292.

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pedlars or on a bullock or on a pony. But by 1849, rare and valuable commodities of all kinds were brought in perfect safety by the *mewattee besattees* to Jaipur, without payment of duties, to the manifest injury of the unlicensed Byaparee and of the revenue. The Finance Minister represented to Capt. Rickards, the Political Agent, "the serious injury done to the regular traders or Byaparees, by the exemption from the duties of customs of the small class of mewattee pedlars or besattees, who grossly abused the privilege, brought into Jaipur valuable merchandise of all kinds under the protection of their licenses, and undersold them ; in consequence the other traders suffered and the government revenue was injured."[33]

The ordinary Byaparees were taxed at Rs. 3/2/- for one maund weight of miscellaneous goods of the value of Rupees One hundred while the mewattee besattees only paid Rs. 1/6/9 pies as Town duty for one bullock or pony load, weighing about 4 mds.[34] To abolish the invidious distinction between the pedlars and the regular tradesmen, the Council of Regency acting under the advice of the Political Agent, decided to raise the tax by -/4/- as. Thus, the new imposition only amounted to Rs. 3/6/- per maund of manufactured commodities, either of native or of foreign origin, of the value of Rupees One hundred. Small wonder, therefore, that the mewattee pedlars of the city of Jaipur, who had enjoyed exemption and military protection, during the last half a century should vehemently protest against this "unauthorised imposition of taxes".

The Protest and Its Sequel

On 29th January, 1851 A.D., the petty tradesmen, after a mass meeting, unanimously resolved to ventilate their grievances to the Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie, and consequently submitted the following petition:

Petition of Mohammad Kassim and others of Jaipur to the Governor-General:

To the Most Noble James Andrew Marquise of Dalhousie, G. G. of India, The Humble Petition of Mohd. Kassim, Imam Bux, Punnah Mohd., Abdul Hakim, Resident and Tradesmen of Jaipur.

Respectfully Sheweth,

That Petitioners are tradesmen and merchants commonly called Byaparees of the city of Jaipur in which occupation they and their ancestors have been engaged since the last fifty years. Now as the name and influence of the British Government has extended tranquility and protection, the Tradesmen have enlarged the value and quantity of their investments much for the benefit of the Indian public and more to the encouragement of the European industry —as the greater part of the goods and merchandise taken by them to Jaipur consists of European wares and foreign commodities—which pay duty before sent from Bombay or Calcutta *i.e.* export in Europe and custom tax at the

33. Foreign Political Consultation, 22nd March, 1851, No. 151, para 4.

34. Till 1840 the mewattee besattees paid Rs. 1/5/6 as town duty per bullock or pony load of imports.

*Foreign Political Consultation: Dt. 29 Jan., 1851, No. 149.

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ports in India. In consequence of this security to trade, the Petitioners have been unmolested in their occupation upto the fore part of the last year 1850 and they hold Parwanah and Passports for Free trade without any transit duty or custom tax of any sort, from the Raja of Jaipur under the seal and authority of Maharaja Juggut Singh and others, and so far was protection tendered to the Petitioners that on the line of the road from and to Jaipur, Northward and Southward, their merchandise was escorted by horsemen belonging to the government of Jaipur. Now since the year 1850, the Political Agent at Jaipur has issued orders making all merchandise of English goods brought into Jaipur subject to a heavy tax both for Transit and Town duty perhaps for the benefit of the Raj—which however the Raja declines to impose under his own name, and as it looks very unfavourable to the liberal policy of the British Goverment in all other parts of the continent of Asia, where British influence is felt and appreciated ; the Petitioners beg most respectfully so that the Poltical Agent of Jaipur may be directed to remove the restriction he has put upon our trade without the sanction of the superior authority thus allow them the free exercise of their occupation as heretofore, as guaranteed to their ancestors, and to themselves. And Petitioners as in duty bound will ever pray. Dt. 29th January, 1851 A.D.

On receiving the representation, Lord Dalhousie called for immediate explanation from the Political Agent at Jaipur. After careful consideration, the following reply was despatched by Capt. W. H. Richard[35]:

(1) *Firstly,* the new tax only affected small fraction of the mercantile community. It should be clearly understood that the petitioners, who had referred themselves as Byaparees, were mere Pedlars and hawkers in distinction to the regular tradesmen.

(2) *Secondly,* the actual amount enhanced (-/4/-) was insignificant. The difference between the old and the new scales was four annas per cent to all traders. Besides, a large reduction of taxes on necessaries (grain of all kinds) had been made and the defecit was made up by the slight alteration in the duties on luxuries.

(3) *Thirdly,* the licenses were non-transferable. True they had licenses to trade free of duty from former Maharajas of Jaipur but it is questionable whether this personal liberty to trade to whom given could be transferred as the licenses were granted to the particular parties. Thus, the claim of the petitioners to trade duty free was untenable.

(4) Finally, the tax was levied not upon English goods exclusively but upon all goods wherever manufactured, native and foreign. It aimed also to secure equity and justice as the low price of the manufactured commodities sold by the pedlars ruined the unlicensed traders.

Lord Dalhousie informed the petitioners that after proper investigation and enquiry, their complaint appeared to be altogether groundless.[36]

35. For. Pol. Consult. Org., No. 151, 22nd March, 1851.
36. Foreign Department, Political Proceedings, Vol. No. 1175, No. 152 ; 15th April, 1851, G.G.'s orders.

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Conclusion

A careful study of these documents reveal that:

(*a*)The British attitude in the matter of interference in the internal affairs of the Rajput States—particularly in the case of Jaipur—underwent a clear and deliberate development. It was used invariably in the interest of the British Government frequently as a corollary to the theorem of internal chaos and confusion, corruption and mis-govt.

(*b*) It indicates the form and degree of interference, which embraced not merely the revenue branch but particularly the spending of the revenues. "It is our right and duty to prevent", ran the despatch of the Court of Directors, "the dimunition or defalcation of the revenues more especially during a minority."[37]

(*c*) The above instance also shows that in the present capital of Rajasthan, a century ago, a body of petty merchants had not only the audacity but also the necessary capacity to make an organised protest against the British Resident long before the formation of Jaipur Chamber of Commerce. Thus the hyperbolic statement of a recent economist that most of the Indian States are not only proverbially backward but also economically stagnant and inarticulate[38] is not applicable at least to Jaipur even a century ago.

(*d*) Finally, the imposition of the extra tax not only rapidly restored the economy of the state but soon yielded a surplus revenue. The immediate consequence was the assumption of direct sovereignty by Maharaja Ram Singh in 1852 A.D., despite the fact that he had not attained the age of maturity then.[39]

Indeed, Pax Britannica proved to be a "blessing in disguise".

37. Foreign Dept., Political Letters from Court of Directors, 1837, Vol. 47, No. 9, para 15.
38. Ind. Council of World Affairs, Pamphlet No. 10, "Indian States and India's Economic Development" by Dr. Gyan Chand (1946), pp. 9, 17.
39. Foreign Original Political Consultation, 12th August, 1852 A.D., No. 82.

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A GLIMPSE OF JAIPUR MEDICAL COLLEGE A CENTURY AGO

R. N. CHOWDHURY

INTRODUCTION

More than half a century ago Brigadier Surgeon Lt.-Col. T. Holbein Hendley compiled from official sources the well-known *"Medico-Topographical Account of Jeypore"* (1895 Calcutta) which briefly traces the history of medical institutions of the State. In course of my research work in the National Archives of India, I came across a series of illuminating documents of unimpeachable character which throws new light on the medical history of the present Capital of Rajasthan. The new records are important in two respects: *firstly*, these letters relate the story of the foundation of the first public hospital and dispensary in the city, a century ago ; *secondly*, they tell us the little known fact of history, the existence of the Jaipur Medical College for a period of six years, (1861-1867), which was even ignored not only by Holbein, who resided as a surgeon in Jaipur for more than a quarter of a century, but also by Major C. A. Baylay, who compiled the *Rajputana Gazetteer* as early as 1879.

THE FOUNDATION OF THE FIRST PUBLIC HOSPITAL

As early as May 13, 1841, Asstt. Surgeon Thoresby, medical officer incharge of the agency, represented to the political agent about the urgent necessity of "Constructing a convenient hospital not only for the accommodation of the sick belonging to the escort and establishments, but also in respect of men of various regiments in our service, who having been taken ill upon the roads come to Jaipur or remain here in passing, for the purpose of obtaining medical assistance."[1] The Jaipur Council of Regency considering the beneficial effects of such an institution sanctioned Rs. 800/- for the construction of a hospital building. Three years (1841-44) elapsed before any concrete step in this direction could be taken as the authorities of the Jaipur Darbar were divided in their opinion as to the efficacy and utility of English medicine. However, it was not till the middle of 1844 when, by general concurrence, a house centrally situated and affording suitable accommodation was made available for the interesting experiment to convince the masses of the superiority of Western surgical and medical science to that of the indigenous system.[2]

1. Foreign Political Consultation, June 14, 1841.
2. Foreign Political Consultation, July 4, 1845, No. 97.

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Thanks to the voluntary services of the philanthrop surgeon Harris, the medical officer incharge of the agency, the Hospital started functioning on Sept. 14, 1844. Lord Hardinge, the then Governor General of India, spared no pains to provide the new establishment with medicine, Hospital Stores and surgical instruments through Messrs. Hulse & Co., Agra. The novel feature of this establishment was that its expenditure was met partly by donation from the Darbar, partly by voluntary contributions from the wealthy citizens, and partly by receiving regulated payments from the rich patients.[3] The following is the first return of the patients who received medicines and treatment at the city Hospital of Jaipur[4]:

	Attendance	Cured	died	Left
In 17 days of Sept. to Oct., 1844 ...	105	57	1	1
November 1844	305	197	1	1
December 1844	260	270	—	3
January 1845	230	186	—	—
February 1845	200	193	1	—
March 1845	199	194	—	1
April 1845	354	346	1	—
May 1845	315	310	1	—
Total ...	1,968	1,746	5	8

A careful study of the first return exhibits that 1,968 patients received medical treatment during the above-mentioned eight months and seventeen days, of whom 1,746 were discharged as "cured", 5 died and 8 left or discontinued treatment, and 209 remained as patients upto June 1, 1845.[5] It is needless to add that without the keen interest and personal superintendence of Dr. Harris the success of the institution at least in its infant state of precarious existence would have been well-nigh impossible.

The Origin of the Jaipur Medical College: 1846

This infant institution soon attracted the attention of the population not only in this principality but in the neighbouring states. To meet the wants of so large a population as that of Jaipur, a qualified doctor from Calcutta Medical College was badly needed. When Lord Hardinge refused to spare any experienced hand for Jaipur, Dr. Coleridge, the agency surgeon, wisely suggested in his letter dated June 8, 1846, to the Political Agent that "as the native doctor is not equal to the duties, a school of medicine and surgery for the education of native medical men naturally suggests itself as a means for supplying knowledge to the students and practitioners for the people. The native appears to me to have all the mental qualifications for high medical

3. Foreign Political Consultation, June 8, 1844, No. 50-3.
4. Foreign Political Consultation, July 4, 1845, No. 50.
5. The indoor patients did not exceed the number fifteen.

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education—he is patient and observant and persevering, and taking the assistants at Jaipur institution as specimen, I can scarcely imagine more apt or zealous pupil." He was of opinion that "with the aid of a few well educated sub-assistant surgeons such a school might be formed" at Jaipur and "that every benefit which could be desired would arise from such an arrangement".[6]

This prudent proposition was submitted to the Medical Board, which, after a careful consideration remarked that "the prejudices and superstitions of the Hindu Population are still strong, that the students would be reluctant to dissect human body without which a practical knowledge of anatomy cannot be imparted. Such knowledge is universally held to be an indispensable part of the education of a Medical Student of whatever rank or class." The three members, Atkinson, "Inspector General of Hospitals, Surgeon Panton, and Hough, the physician General, concluded that the difficulty, if not the impossibility of subjects arising, from the feelings of the people form, at present, an obstacle that cannot be surmounted."[7] The consequence was that the Governor General did not consider it expedient to establish a medical college at Jaipur.[8] Thus the first attempt to open a medical college made by Thoresby and Coleridge ended in a failure but the idea revived only fifteen years after.

Foundation of the Medical College 1861-67

After the Mutiny a regular class for training midwives was started under the direct supervision of Dr. Burr, the civil surgeon. Maharaja Ram Singh, the most enlightened ruler of the state in the nineteenth century, "who secured a European reputation for the encouragement of learning"[9] inaugurated the medical college on Sept. 7, 1861. Col. J. C. Brooke, the Political Agent gave a graphic description of the function. "A state Darbar was held in the quadrangle of the Maharaja's College in which were assembled all the principal Thakurs and officers of the state, as well as the English gentlemen were seated on chairs. The boys of the College to the number of 500 headed by their teachers were seated in forms in front of H. H.'s throne . . . the streets were crowded with thousands of spectators." The Political Agent then addressed the assembled Thakurs "on the advantages of education generally and specially with reference to their own position and influence in the state, and explained the benefits of their children would derive from the projected Medical College". Dr. Burr afterwards explained the advantages of the medical college and addressed the students about to join it." The impressive ceremony then concluded and the institution virtually started functioning on Sept. 14, 1861, when "in the medical college twenty-four students, who already enrolled their names attended the first lecture."[10]

6. Foreign Political Consultation, July 1846, No. 185-7.
7. Foreign Political Consultation, August 29, 1846, No. 102.
8. *Ibid.*, No. 103-4.
9. Durrel Pank, Notes on Jaypur, (1899), p. 26.
10. Foreign: General A., Oct. 1861, No. 27-28.

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The Medical College of Jaipur did not, however, make satisfactory progress. The musty record tells us that "the expenses incurred when the school first started have been Rs. 30,000 and for the some 12 students have been reported as qualified after six years' study on an average cost of Rs. 5,000/- for each student while Play Fair at Agra qualifies native doctors in 3 years at a cost of Rs. 232/- including all expenses.[11] Dr. John Murray, I.G., of Hospitals, who inspected the college in July 1867, reported that "the Maharaja has displayed an earnest desire to introduce European medical scheme into Rajputana much in advance of the people. Dr. Burr has shown great energy and zeal in conducting the Jeypore Medical Establishment . . . The College at present has eleven regular pupils classified as six senior and five junior, the latter attending the usual lectures while the former daily receive clinical instructions in medicine and surgery while acting as clerks and dressers. . . " One student only was reported to be equal to a first class Native Doctor and five as qualified to conduct branch dispensaries. "The result is not satisfactory, the means employed are inadequate and the system defective. The people prefer the old system of medicine, the pupils dislike touching the dead bodies in dissecting and their future prospects are not promising.[12] The Native doctor Hussan Bux and sub-asstt. surgeon Parbati Charan Ghose assisted Dr. Burr to the best of their abilities in running the institution for six years. But it was abolished due to the following reasons:

1. Religious prejudices of the more respectable classes of natives against the study of European medical science, more specially surgery.
2. The absence of the prospect of sure employment or of sufficient private practice in a country like Jeypore where European medical treatment was then little appreciated.
3. The co-operative cheapness of educating a youth at Agra (Rs. 232/- including cost of books, at the rate of Rs. 75/- a year) for a native doctorship which would take three years.
4. Reluctance of the students to dissect human bodies.

The College was amalgamated with the Agra Medical College in 1867 and a few seats for Jaipur students were reserved.

Conclusion

It is therefore apparent that Jaipur, the premier state of Rajputana, marched abreast with the advanced provinces of British India in matters of art and learning. Thus the foundation of Sawai Man Medical College in 1947 saw the fulfilment of the long cherished dream of Maharaja Ram Singh, whose laudable attempt in this direction deserves to be admired and approbated.

11. Foreign General AA, August 1867, No. 1-7.
12. *Ibid.*

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THE FRAGMENTARY SECOND SLAB OF KUMBHALGARH INSCRIPTION V.S. 1517

DR. G. N. SHARMA

The inscription under review, belonging to the Mamadeva's[1] temple of Kumbhalgarh, is in a form of a very small piece[2] preserved in the Victoria Hall Museum, Udaipur. This fragmented slab in its original condition seems to have contained 43 verses. Its breadth at present, from east to west is 8" and length from north to south is 6". Its readable portion contains six lines. It is so fragmented that the number of letters roughly diminishes in gradual descent. The text[3] portion of the slab rightly appear like a Turkish cap from below.

The first line contains 'Dwitiya-Pattika' and number 'two' at its end. The second line begins with last 'pada' of the first verse of this slab, or the 69th verse in continuation from the first slab to the second slab, containing 12 letters, the last of which only appears half. The third line is the part of the 70th verse containing 13 letters. The fourth consists of 9 letters forming the part of the 71st verse. The fifth one retains only 8 letters of 72nd verse. The lst part retains only four letters of 73rd verse. From counting the letters in each line it appears that in breadth the original slab would have been 2' 6" and 3' 3" in length approximately.

The characters are Nagri with 'Siro' and 'Prashasthamatras' with nicely engraved letters of an average about two-fifths of an inch. The language is Sanskrit with same errors in the text of the slab as it is.

The inscription reviewed is of little value as it contains practically nothing.

Moreover its present form does not help us to deduce with accuracy as to why was the slab broken and who broke it?

However, I have been able to discover the entire text of this missed slab through the help of a manuscript entitled *'Prashasti*[4] *Sangrah'* of Saraswati

1. The temple of Mamadev was built by Rana Kumbha in V.S. 1517. It was formerly called Kumbhaswami temple.
2. The stone used for the slab is black in colour.
3. (A) द्वितीय पट्टिका २
   (B) सः पुरुषार्थं रक्ष। क्षोणीतलो(ल)लं
   (C) भ्रुवमुत्तभागं। अर्षांतरन्यकूर
   (D) जयविभवस्य निजेन
   (E) मुष्मिन् दिलोकने सा
   (F) कृतात्मा
4. Proceedings of Indian Historical Records' Commission, Udaipur session 1944, G. N. Sharma: *A Note on Prashashti Sangrah,* pp. 73-74.

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Bhawan Library, Udaipur. It consists of the transcripts of those inscriptions of Rana Kumbha (V.S. 1490-1525/1433-1468 A.D.) which originally belonged to the temple of Mamadeva at Kumbhalgarh and the Kirtisthambh (the tower of fame) at Chitor. It is made up of 35 folios, each measuring 11" × 5" and containing 8 lines of about 34 letters each. Although some portions of the text are soiled by water, the manuscript as a whole is in a fairly good state of preservation. Each page has a margin of an inch all around. Except the colophon, the headings, the invocatory and introductory phrases the composition is entirely in verses. It is on the whole free from errors. The few slips which occur here and there are probably due either to the carelessness of the engraver of the original inscription or that of the copyist of the present manuscript. It has two parts, as it is evident from the numbering of the pages. The first part ends with the 21st leaf. The text of the second slab belongs to this part and covers five leaves from the 6th to the 10th.

As regards orthography, 'Sandhi' is not observed in optional cases. The 'luptakar' is used very often. 'Halantm' at the end of a 'pada' is replaced by 'Anusvara'. 'sh' takes the place of 'kh', 'shru' that of 'shu' and the letters 'kh', 't', 'p', 'y' and 'ch' are so similar in appearance to 'kri', 'n', 'm', 'p' and 'v' respectively that they are hardly distinguishable. 'chha' is used to represent the combined sound of 'chha' at some places.

The colophon[5] of the manuscript which appears on the folio 14(b) states that it was copied out by Sad Shiva, the son of Bhatt Shri Shambhu of Gor caste (a sub-division of the Brahmans) the resident of Mahadhatripur at the instance of Garibdas, the head priest of Rana Raj Singh in V.S. 1727 (1670 A.D.).

The manuscript also preserves the text, probably, of the last slab[6] (fifth) and helps us in knowing the name of the author as Mahesh,[7] the author of Kumbha's inscription at Chitor.[8]

The transcript of the second slab as preserved in this manuscript, moreover, furnishes a very interesting fact about the system of numbering followed in the 3rd slab. The first verse of the 3rd slab is numbered 121, whereas the parallel verse in the manuscript bears the number 112. According to the numbering of the 3rd slab, therefore, the 2nd slab ought to contain 52 verses, as pointed out in the *Epigraphic Indica*, volume XXIV, page 307, but the manuscript copy of the text of the 2nd slab gives only 42 verses. As, however, the verses of the 3rd slab are found to correspond word for word with the verses of the copied text, it stands to reason that the discrepancy as to

5. "संवत् १५१७ वर्षे शाके १३८२ प्रवर्तमाने मार्गशीर्षे वदि ५ सोमे प्रशस्तिः संपूर्णा। श्रीकुंभकर्णेन स्थापिता। श्रीपुरोहित गरीषदासप्रसादानुलेख संवत् १७२७ वर्षे आषाढवदि १२ रवौ माधातृपुरवासिना श्रीगौडज्ञातीय यादशीशंभूसुतसहाशिवेसलिखिता प्रशस्तिः।" . . . .

6. The last slab is also missing from the temple of Mamadeva.

7. एतां पूर्णा श्रीमहेशोतिपूर्णा निर्भाति (त) स्यति प्रशस्तां प्रशस्ति।

8. It also removes the doubt expressed by Dr. Ojha in his *History of Mewar*, Vol. I, p. 320 and Mr. A .K. Vyas in *Epig. Ind.*, Vol. XXI about the authorship of Kumbhalgarh slab.

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numbering is probably due to mistake of the engraver of the original inscription, who must have inadvertently changed the number of the initial verse from 112 to 121, and persisted in the same mistake while numbering subsequent verses. I am, therefore, inclined to think that the scribe of the manuscript has only corrected the original numbering and has not missed any part of the text.

The next of the 1st, the 3rd and the 4th slabs has already been published and edited in *Epig. Ind.*, vol. XXIV and XXV. The text of the 2nd and the 5th remains to be published and edited. I propose here to reproduce the text of the fragmentary piece along with the revived text and then give a brief survey of the text of the 2nd slab as preserved in the *'Prashasti Sangrah'*.

The full text of the fragmentary slab should run thus:[9]

अथास्तिदेशः कमलानिवेशः ससाधुवर्गः परमार्थ सर्गः

सपादलक्षः परमार्थदक्षः। पुरुषार्थदक्षः। क्षोणीतलो (ला ङ्कं करणः प्रवीणः[10]

इति श्रीमेहपाटवर्णनं (म्) ॥ अथ श्रीचित्रकूटवर्णनं (म्)।

श्रीचित्रकूटं सकलोर्वराया वदंति संतो ध्रवमुत्तमांगं (म्।

अंगांतरन्यक्करमाद्यतो (ऽ) त्र प्रासाददंभन्मुकटो विभाति ॥७०॥[11]

पत्रोच्चहेमकुलशाबपि दंभतो ऽयं मन्येरविः स्वमकरो द्वद्धु धाजपाय।

राहोरजेय विभवस्य निर्जन धाम्ना तेजस्विनो हि विजये विविधाप्पु (म्भु) पाया ॥७१॥[12]

यदेकनेत्रं किलचित्रकूटं वदंति पृथ्व्या नदस्य सत्यं (भू)।[13]

यतोनुरत्त्याखपता वभुष्मिटविलोकनेसा कृतसाचिनेत्रा ॥७२॥

विधायवेधाः सुरभोगिनाय धनेश्वराणां च पुराणिचित्ते।

अनिवृ (सत्वा) द्विहधे[14] विधाना प्रावीण्य शामित्व कृते कृतात्मा[15] ॥७३॥

The summary of the 2nd slab:—

In this slab there are three Varnas[16] each of which begins with the word 'atha' and ends with 'iti'.

The inscription begins with 'Dwitiya Pattika' as an introductory line of the slab. Then follows the 69th verse without any invocatory verse. The subject dealt with in this verse is a continuation of that treated in the verses 58-68 of the 1st slab *viz.* the description of Medapata-Mewar.

9. The underlined portions exist in the fragmentary piece while the rest have been restored from the manuscript.
10. Metre—Indra-Vajra, Upajati
'Anupras alankar'
11. Metre—Indravajra, Upajati
Apanuti.
This verse was numbered 69 and then corrected for 70 by the same hand and ink.
12. Metre—Vasantilak.
13. Metre—Upendravajra.
14. 'अनिवृत्तार्थद्विदधे will be a better reading.
15. Metre—Upajati Indravajra.
16. (1) Chitrukutvarnan, (2) Chitrangadavarnan, (3) Vanshvarnan.

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The verses 70-101 give us an account of Chitrakuta with a vivid description of the fort of Chitor as well as its royal palaces, temples, towers, market places and mansions of chief merchants. The whole Varnan serves to throw sufficient light on the prosperous condition of the country during Rana Kumbha's reign.[17] Here the writer has described the dwellings of the common people and literary condition of the period.

The verses 102-105 preserve an account of the lake commonly called Chitrangada,[18] with beautiful palaces on its side, constructed by Chantrang Mori from whom Bappa wrested Chitor.

The last section of the slab covers 'Vansha-Varnana' within verses 106-111. Although the account of the dynasty is continued on the next slab, these six verses are not without their importance. They throw much light not only on the current controversies about the relations between the Rawal lines of rulers of Mewar and the Rana line of the Chiefs of Sisodia, but also on those about the parentage of Guha and Bappa.

There are several views current as regards the origin of the Guhilot dynasty to which Bappa belonged. Abul Fazl[19] suggests that the Rana traced his descent from Nosherwan of Persia. Col. Tod[20] agrees with this view and further connects the dynasty with Sumitra of Solar race and Siladitya of Vallabhi. The Persian origin of the Rana's family is fantastic as it is supported by no evidence. Even Crooke,[21] the editor of the *Annals* expresses his disagreement with this opinion. But Tod's view as regards the relation between Vallabhi and Mewar dynasties gets support from Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar[22] who also believes that there was some connection existing between Vallabhi and Guhilot dynasties. This relation can also be explained by the fact that a Bhatt caste of Mewar claims its relation with the Bhattas of Vallabhi and asserts that it migrated from Vallabhi to Mewar with the ancestors of the Ranas. Moreover, Bhattas of Mewar and Vallabhi worship *Ekling* as the family deity, as the Ranas do, which is the further proof of showing some relation between the Vallabhi and Mewar lines.

There is yet another theory propounded by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar who holds that the Guhilots were originally Nagar Brahmans. In support of his theory he has cited large number of evidences.[23] But however, Dr. G. H. Ojha,[24] C. V. Vaidya[25] and Shri M. L. Mathur[26] reject this view and establish

17. A verse from this Varnan may be quoted as an example:—
नानापव्योपकीर्णैर्विपणिषु मणिभिर्दुर्गवर्षेतिरम्ये। यस्मिन्यौरोजानोऽभीर्बहु वसति सुखं मन्यते स्वर्गवासान्।

18. "महानि(लैं) रूछत्रित (रुछित) सीकरोत्करः सरः सुचित्रांगद दष राज्यते"
"चित्रांगदो विचित्रशीलः शैलेबलीं भूपमतिर्बभूव"

19. Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari* (Jarrett), Vol. II, p. 268.
20. Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajastan*, Vol. I, Chapters 2 and 3.
21. Crooke: *Tod's Annals*, Vol. I, Introduction.
22. *J.A.S.B.*, 1909, p. 167.
23. Bhagnagar Ins., p. 75; *Indian Antiquiry*, Vol. XVI, pp. 347-348; *Indian Antiquiry*, 1910, Vol. 39, p. 191.
24. Ojha, *Mewar Rajka Itihas*, Vol. I, pp. 65-89.
25. C. V. Vaidya, *History of Medieval Hindu India*, Vol. II, pp. 330-33.
26. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, December, 1950, pp. 263-276.

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on the interpretation of the words *'Vipra'*, *'Dvija'*, *'Brahma Kṣatri'* and *Kṣatri'* used in various epigraphs that Guhilots are the Kṣatrias of the solar race.

The transcription of the 2nd slab of Kumbhalgarh helps us in deciding these controversies raised on the interpretation of words. It informs us that Bappa, a Brahman of Anandpur,[27] well versed in learning, left his home with his trusty followers and came to Nagda in the wild tract of Mewar.[28] He served Harit who being pleased with him conferred upon him the dignity of a ruler.[29] Here the qualifying phrase **'विप्रक्षिप्रतरप्रबोधमधुरानदैकनिष्ठः'** introduces Bappa in a manner which affords no ground for doubting in Bappa's origin as a Brahman. This phrase explains the reason why all the writers have used Vipra specifically for Bappa to show his origin from Brahman dynasty. If in some of the epigraphs[30] Bappa or his successors have been referred to as Kṣatrias it is that Kṣatriaship which he had acquired through Harita's favour. This is why for Bhartri Bhatta, the successor of Bappa, the Chatsu inscription[31] of the 10th century A.D. used the word 'Brahma Kṣatri'—a Brahman admitted to the orders of Kṣatriya. In epic times the function of a Brahman was of both learning and war (**चापेनश्रायेनवा**). Hence the word 'Dvija' according to Sanskrit etymology, may mean Kṣatria ; or 'Vipra' may mean one who sows virtue, though it usually means a Brahman and is generally used as such. History of later early age and early mediaeval times is full of examples[32] of many ruling Kṣatria dynasties which trace their origin from Brahmans. Thus Bappa's Brahmanic origin is in accord with the tradition of our country.

The fact of Bappa's Brahmanic origin was so commonly believed that even Kumbha in his commentary of *Gita Govind*[33] has not hesitated to call Bappa Brahman. Right from the 7th Century A.D. to our own days Bappa's Brahmanic origin has been a popular fact. Samoli ins. of 646[34] A.D., Aitpur

27. Mr. Ojha and Col. Tod have shown their inability in identifying Anandpur. Ms. Amarkavya Vaishvali of Saraswati Bhawan Library, Udaipur States at folio 4(a) that it is near Chitor which is called Arnoda these days.

"चित्रकूटस्य निकटे आनंदिपुरनामकं पुरं पुरासींह अधुना अरुणादाभिधानः"

28. **"तत्रानंदपुराधिवासकपितः श्रीअप्पनामाभवद्**
विप्रः शिप्रतरप्रबोध मधुरातं दैकनिष्ठं परं
यस्तक्त्वा वसयि महत्तरचणां युक्तो निपत्येयिवान्
श्रीमन्तागहृदाभिधं पुरबरं श्रीभेदपाटरवनौ ।"

29. **हारीतराशिमुनियुगवपादमद्यसेवाप्त सभ्यगप्रसादवरप्रसादः ।**

30. *Bhavnagar Ins.*, p. 75 ; *Kundeshwar ins. Nagda El.*, Vol. 4, pp. 31-32 ; *Bombay Asiatic Society Journal*, Vol. 22, pp. 166-167 ; *Indian Antiquity*, Vol. 39, p. 191, verse 6 ; *Nugari Pracharini Patrika*, Pt. I, pp. 322-23.

31. *Epig. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 13.

32. Mirashi Vakataka Ins. Cave XVI at Ajanta, Hyderabad, Arch Series No. 14, p. 10 ; K. P. Jayaswal, *JBORS.*, March-June 1923, pp. 180-83 ; *Epig. Karnatika—Kadambas*, Vol. VII, p. 178.

33. Ms. Saraswati Bhawan.

34. **'देव द्विजगुरुजनान्दो श्रीशीलादित्यो ।'**

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ins. of 977[35] A.D. Chatsu ins. of 10th century[36] A.D. Rasiyaki Chhatri ins. of V.S. 1331,[37] Rayamal ins. of V.S. 1545[38] and many others[39] have repeatedly declared Guhilots as of Brahman origin. The same fact has also been mentioined by mediaeval writers like Nensi[40] and Ranchhoda Bhatta.[41]

The Brahman origin of Bappa was not forgotten as late as the reigning period of Rana Fateh Singh of the 20th century A.D. During his period Maulvi Abdul Farhati in his *Tofai Rajasthan* mentioned in clear terms that Ranas of Mewar were originally Brahmans. Unfortunately the book was proscribed by the then Government of Mewar. Such attempts of suppressing the true facts suggest that the destruction of the 2nd slab was also a deliberate action of some body who did not like to see such records exist. However, from the above discussion and circumstances I reach to the conclusion that the fact of Brahman origin recorded in the slab may not be taken as a last word until some other contemporary evidence is made available ; it at least keeps little space for the interpretation of the words *'Dvija'* or *'Vipra'* as attempted by Dr. Ojha.

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35. आनंदपुरविनिर्गतविप्रकुलानन्दो ।

36. ब्रह्मक्षत्रान्वितो भतृमहो ।

37. यस्याहागत्य विप्रः स्वपुरदधिमटीवेदिनिक्षिपायुगो । बापाख्यो वीतरागश्चरणयुगमुपासीत हारीत राशैः ॥

38. 'श्रीमेहपाटभुविनागहृदेपुरेनूद्बाष्पोद्विजः ।

39. *Ekling Mahatmaya,* Canto. 10, vv. 12-13
हारीताप्येगमत्स्वर्गं बाष्पो राजाबभूवह । क्षात्रेणकर्मणा पृथ्वीं शशास सः द्विजोत्तम ।

40. 'आहमूल उत्पत्ति ब्रह्मपिण खत्रे जाणा'

41. 'तस्यशिष्यो भवद्बाष्प स्तस्याज्ञातः प्रसाहतः
'अगस्त्य शस्त्यं प्रबभूव बाष्पः'

APPENDICES

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APPENDIX A

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS ASSOCIATION

ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1951

I am happy to report that one volume of the Comprehensive History of India, Volume II—The Mauryas and the Satavahanas (325 B.C.—300 A.D.) —has been sent to the press, and one other volume, Volume III—The Gupta Empire and After (300-985)—is being prepared for the Press and will be given for printing to the press soon. This will be followed by two other volumes and I am hoping that the process of publication of the volumes will continue steadily. Ample progress has also been made in the preparation of volumes other than the four which I mentioned in my report last year.

The Indian History Congress Association had adopted a resolution at its last meeting welcoming the scheme of the Government of India for the writing of the History of the freedom movement in India, and had appealed to its members to render effective assistance in that project. The Association had also emphasised the importance and urgency of writing such a history, and had hoped that it would be completed within a period of five years.

The resolution relating to the need for a permanent organisation for research in military history of India and the importance of research in this branch of History in the Universities was communicated to the Government of India, State Governments and the Universities. So also was the other resolution concerning the provision of adequate facilities for research. The Governments and Universities have welcomed the suggestion and some of them have indicated the measures taken by them. It may be hoped that they will continue to show interest in historical research and will progressively adopt measures to foster it.

The total number of members of the Indian History Congress upto 10th December 1951 was 199, exclusive of Life Members.

I am grateful to the Government of Rajasthan for inviting this session to Jaipur and giving us an opportunity to meet in a city of great historical associations. I am also thankful to Sri Satya Prakash Srivastava, the Local Secretary for making arrangements for the session.

In the end, I must express my gratitude to Dr. H. C. Raychaudhury, the President and Dr. Tara Chand the Vice-President, for their support and guidance.

BISHESHWAR PRASAD
General Secretrry.

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APPENDIX B

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS, 1950-51

ACCOUNT NO. 1

Statement of accounts of the Indian History Congress for the period from 1st April 1950 to 31st March 1951.

	Dr. Rs. a. p.	Cr. Rs. a. p.
Opening Balance		5,506 14 3
Life Membership fee a/c		400 0 0
Donation from Cuttack session		500 0 0
Membership fee a/c		2,580 8 0
Sale of Proceedings		214 14 0
History of India Scheme		168 6 6
Imperial Bank a/c	2193 4 0	
Establishment a/c	599 0 0	
Printing of Proceedings a/c	3,497 2 0	
Postage & Telegrams a/c	161 15 9	
Stationery a/c	15 3 0	
Bank Commission a/c	15 2 0	
Printing a/c	336 15 3	
Audit expenses	25 0 0	
Fixed Deposit a/c	2,421 0 0	
Interest from F.D. a/c		33 0 0
Miscellaneous a/c	76 14 0	
Miscellaneous a/c		15 0 0
Cash with Office	77 2 9	
Total	9,418 10 9	9,418 10 9

Opening Balance for 1951-52

With Imperial Bank, Allahabad	
In Current a/c	2,193 4 0
In F.D. a/c	2.421 0 0
Cash with Office	77 2 9
	4,691 6 9
Less to be paid to I.H. Scheme	168 6 6
Opening Balance on 1.4.51	4,523 0 3

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Income and Expenditure a/c

Income				*Expenditure*			
Life Membership fee	400	0	0	Establishment	599	0	0
Ordinary do	2,580	8	0	Printing of Proceedings	3,497	2	0
Donation from Cuttack	500	0	0	Postage & Telegrams	161	15	9
Sale of Proceedings	214	14	0	Stationery	15	3	0
Interest earned	33	0	0	Bank Commission	15	2	0
Miscellaneous	15	0	0	Printing Account	336	15	3
	3,743	6	0	Audit Expenses	25	0	0
Deficit of the year	983	14	0	Miscellaneous A/c.	76	14	0
	4,727	4	0		4,727	4	0

Note: Rs. 983/14/- was over spent and was met from the old years's balance.

(Sd.) B. P. SAXENA,
Treasurer.

Examined with the books certified correct to the best of our knowledge, information and belief.

(Sd.) Illegible,
G. P. Jaiswal & Co.,
Chartered Accountants.

APPENDIX C

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

Budget Estimates for 1952-53

Particulars	Estimates for 1950-51	Actuals of 1950-51	Estimates for 1952-53
Income			
Life Membership fee	200 0 0	400 0 0	200 0 0
Donations from Cuttack	...	500 0 0	...
Membership fee	2,500 0 0	2,580 8 0	2,500 0 0
Sale of Proceedings	100 0 0	214 14 0	100 0 0
Interest from Fixed Deposit	...	33 0 0	33 0 0
Total	2,800 0 0	3,728 6 0	2,833 0 0
Expenditure			
Establishment @ Rs. 56/- per month	600 0 0	599 0 0	672 0 0
Printing of Proceedings	1,700 0 0	3,497 2 0	2,500 0 0
Postage & Telegrams	250 0 0	161 15 9	200 0 0
Stationery	50 0 0	15 3 0	20 0 0
Bank Commission	10 0 0	15 2 0	15 0 0
Printing	300 0 0	336 15 3	300 0 0
Audit Expenses	25 0 0	25 0 0	25 0 0
Miscellaneous	100 0 0	76 14 0	100 0 0
Total	3,035 0 0	4,727 4 0	3,832 0 0

(Sd.) B. P. Saxena
Treasurer

(Sd.) Bisheshwar Prasad
General Secretary

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APPENDIX D

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

MINUTES OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

JAIPUR SESSION, 1951

The Annual meeting of the Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress was held on 28th December 1951 at 7 P.M. in the Maharaja's College Building, Jaipur. Dr. G. S. Sardesai presided.

The following members were present:

1. Professor D. V. Potdar
2. Dr. R. C. Majumder
3. Dr. N. K. Sinha
4. Dr. P. M. Joshi
5. Dr. N. P. Chakravarty
6. Dr. K. K. Dutta
7. Dr. J. N. Banerjee
8. Dr. A. D. Pusalkar
9. Sri R. G. Gyani
10. Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad
11. Dr. B. P. Saxena
12. Dr. P. C. Gupta
13. Dr. G. M. Moraes

1. The Minutes of the last meeting were confirmed.

2. The General Secretary presented the Annual Report for 1951 which was recommended to the Annual Business Meeting for adoption. (Appendix "A").

3. The Committee considered the audited accounts for the year 1950-51. It was resolved that the accounts be recommended for adoption to the Business Meeting. (Appendix "B").

4. The Committee considered the Budget Estimates for the year 1952-53. It was resolved that the estimates as proposed by the Treasurer be recommended to the Business Meeting for adoption. (Appendix "C").

5. The Committee elected the following Office bearers for the year 1952.

President :		Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai.
Vice Presidents :	1.	Dr. H. C. Roy Chaudhury
	2.	Dr. R. P. Tripathi
General Secretary :		Dr. P. C. Gupta
Joint Secretary :		Dr. G. M. Moraes
Treasurer :		Dr. A. C. Banerjee

6. The Committee elected the following President and Sectional Presidents for the 15th session (1952).

President :	Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar
Sectional Presidents :	
Section I	Dr. R. G. Basak
Section II	Dr. G. M. Moraes
Section III	Dr. M. H. Nainar
Section IV	Dr. A. L. Srivastava
Section V	Dr. V. G. Dighe

7. The Executive Committee considered the report of the sub-Committee to revise the Constitution and recommended certain amendments in the present Constitution. (Appendix "F"). (This has been circulated to members of the Association with notices of the Annual Business Meeting).

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8. The Local Secretary, Mr. Satyaprakash Srivastava informed the Committee that the Government of Rajasthan have been pleased to grant a donation of Rs. 1,000/- towards the publication of the Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Jaipur Session. It was accepted with thanks.

9. The Committee considered the invitations of the Allahabad University, Government of Madhya Bharat and Bhopal for holding the next session (1952) of the Indian History Congress.

It was resolved that the invitation of the Government of Madhya Bharat be recommended for acceptance by the Business Meeting.

10. The Committee nominated Dr. R. C. Majumder for the Central Advisory Board of Archaeology.

11. The Committee considered the resolutions, as shown in Appendix "G", for submission to Annual Business Meeting.

P. C. Gupta,
General Secretary

APPENDIX E

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

MINUTES OF THE BUSINESS MEETING

Jaipur Session, 1951

The Annual Business Meeting of the Indian History Congress Association was held on the 30th December in the Maharaja's College building, Jaipur. Dr. G. S. Sardesai presided:

1. The Minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

2. The Indian History Congress placed on record its profound grief and sorrow at the death of—

1. Professor C. S. Srinivasachari
2. Sri N. N. Ghosh
3. Sir William Foster

3. The General Secretary presented the Annual report for the year 1951 as recommended by the Executive Committee which was adopted by the house (APPENDIX "A").

4. The Association considered the accounts for the year April 1950 to March 1951 as recommended by the Executive Committee. It was resolved that the accounts be adopted (APPENDIX "B").

5. The Treasurer presented the budget estimates for the year 1952-53 as recommended by the Executive Committee. It was resolved that the budget estimates be passed (APPENDIX "C").

6. The President reported the election of the Executive Committee of the following office bearers for 1952 and President and Sectional Presidents for the next session.

President :		Dr. G. S. Sardesai
Vice Presidents :	1.	Prof. H. C. Roy Choudhury
	2.	Dr. R. P. Tripathi
General Secretary :		Dr. P. C. Gupta
Joint Secretary :		Dr. G. M. Moraes
Treasurer :		Dr. A. C. Banerjee

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President and Sectional Presidents for 1952 session:

President :	Sir Jadunath Sarkar
Sectional Presidents :	
Section I	Dr. R. G. Basak
Section II	Dr. G. M. Moraes
Section III	Dr. Mahammad Hussain Nainer
Section IV	Dr. A. L. Srivastava
Section V	Dr. V. G. Dighe

(As Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar expressed his inability to accept the office of the General President the Executive Committee elected Dr. Radhakumud Mookerjee by circulation. Dr. V. G. Dighe went abroad for further studies. The Executive Committee elected in his place Dr. S. K. Bhuyan by circulation).

7. The Association elected following as members of the Executive Committee.

1. Dr. R.. C. Majumder
2. Professor D. V. Potdar
3. Dr. P. M. Joshi
4. Sri R. G. Gyani
5. Dr. N. K. Sinha
6. Professor K. K. Dutta
7. Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad
8. Professor A. S. Altekar
9. Dr. J. N. Banerjee
10. Dr. S. P. Sen
11. Dr. A. D. Pusalkar
12. Professor R. V. Oturkar
13. Dr. M. Rama Rao
14. Professor K. N. Dutta

8. The Association considered the recommendations of the Executive Committee for amendments in the Constitution (APPENDIX "F"). The house adopted the following resolution—

> "Resolved that, in view of the far-reaching implications of the constitutional changes proposed by the Executive Committee, the proposals be circulated to all members of the Association for careful scrutiny and that consideration of the matter be taken up at the next session of the Association."

9. The Association considered the following resolutions sent up by the Executive Committee and adopted them (APPENDIX "G").

10. The Association considered the recommendation of the Executive Committee for the venue of the next session of the Indian History Congress and it was resolved that the invitation extended by the Government of Madhya Bharat be accepted with thanks.

11. The Association adopted a vote of thanks to Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad for the services rendered by him to the Indian History Congress Association.

12. The Association adopted a vote of thanks to the Reception Committee for inviting the Indian History Congress Association to hold its session in Jaipur.

13. The meeting terminated with vote of thanks to the chair.

P. C. Gupta,
General Secretary

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APPENDIX F

AMENDMENTS

The Executive Committee considered the report of the Sub-Committee to revise the constitution and determine trends of research and recommended the following amendments in the present Constitution.

1. Clause 3. Add after "Indian History". "Who accept the objects of the Association and are not below 21 years of age".

2. Clause 4 should read as follows: "There shall be the following classes of members: (*i*) Ordinary Members ; (*ii*) Life Members ; (*iii*) Fellows".

3. Add Clause 4(*a*) "Ordinary Members shall pay a fee of Rs. 10/- per annum, Members paying Rs. 250/- shall become Life Members of the Association.

(*b*) Fellows will be selected from among the members and their number will be limited to 100. Any member who has at any time held office of President or Sectional President of the Indian History Congress shall be a Fellow. Fellows present at the annual session of the Congress and voting shall elect not more than 10 members till the number reaches 100. Thereafter the vacancies will be filled from among the members at the annual meeting.

(*c*) The basis for election to Fellowship will be accredited research and advancement of historical knowledge. A Fellow will pay an annual fee of Rs. 25/-. A Fellow will automatically cease to be a Fellow if he is absent from three consecutive sessions of the Congress".

4. Clause 7(*a*) For "The following sections will be recognised where necessary" substitute: "The Sections shall be the following:"

(*i*) Ancient Indian History upto 1200 A.D. for Northern India and 1300 A.D. for Southern India.

(*ii*) Mediaeval Indian History upto 1707 A.D.

(*iii*) Modern Indian History from 1707 A.D. onwards.

(*iv*) Special Section to be determined from time to time by the Executive Committee."

5. Clause 9(*c*): Delete the word 'General'.

After Clause 9(*g*) add: "No member shall hold the same office or remain a member of the Executive Committee for more than three consecutive sessions.

6. Add Clause 27 as follows:

"27. There shall be a Council of Research composed of the President, Secretary, 10 members elected by the Fellows and one representative from each of the Universities and such Research Associations as may be recognised for this purpose by the Council so considered.

The Council of Research will meet annually at the time of the Indian History Congress and review the progress of historical research in the country, suggest co-ordination of research activities and the lines of future research.

The Secretary shall convene its meetings."

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APPENDIX G

RESOLUTIONS

1. The Indian History Congress Association appreciates the response to its resolutions passed at the Nagpur session by the Government of India, some State Governments and the Universities and urges them to make further efforts to implement its recommendations with a view to promote research and historical studies.

2. While appreciating the efforts made by the various Universities in the cause of research, the Indian History Congress Association recognised the importance and necessity of co-ordination and co-operation in research among the Universities situated within a region of recognised affinity and hopes that steps will be taken to bring about such co-ordination in respect of selection of subjects, collection and availability of source material, exchange of Professors and award of research fellowships and publication of research work.

3. The Indian History Congress Association requests the University of Rajputana to organise a thorough search throughout the area served by it for discovering old inscriptions, records, manuscripts, coins and other historical materials that lie scattered in public and private custody.

4. The Indian History Congress Association requests the Rajasthan Government to preserve and catalogue valuable records and manuscripts in Jaipur and other merged states and to organise research in them through the University of Rajputana.

5. The Indian History Congress Association places on record its appreciation of the efforts made by the University of Baroda to collate and bring out a critical edition of the Ramayana.

6. The Indian History Congress Association reiterates the resolutions passed at the Nagpur session relating to the centralisation and preservation of records in properly maintained Record Rooms under trained archivists, the accessibility of records to bonafide research students and establishment of research professorships and fellowships ; and in this connection urges the necessity of employing research workers and publishing important source materials.

7. This Association conveys its grateful thanks to Shri Sohanlal Dugar for his generous donation of Rs. 5,000/-.

Further resolved that this amount be placed at the disposal of the President for exploring the records in Rajasthan.

APPENDIX H

List of Members for 1951 (Jaipur)

PATRON

1. Hon'ble Shri Harekrushna Mahtab, Minister of Industries, New Delhi.

LIFE-MEMBERS

1. The Rt. Hon. Dr. M. R. Jayakar, M.A., LL.D., D.C.L., P.C., Vice-Chancellor, Poona University, Poona.
2. Shri Jehangir K. Seervai, Warden Road, Bombay.

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3. Prof. S. V. Puntambekar, Dept. of Politics, Nagpur University.
4. Dr. A. S. Altekar, D. Litt., Ranighat Quarters, Patna.
5. Shri Manibhai Dwivedi, M.A., Research Scholar, Navasari, Western Railway.
6. Thakur Batuk Singh, M.B.E., Dy. Financial Adviser, Military Finances, Govt. of India, South Block, New Delhi.
7. Shri K. M. Ahmad, Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad (Deccan).
8. Shri I. B. Patel, Frenny House, Sitla Devi Road, Mahim, Bombay.
9. Prof. A. B. Pande, M.A., Dept. of History, Banaras Hindu University, Banaras.
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